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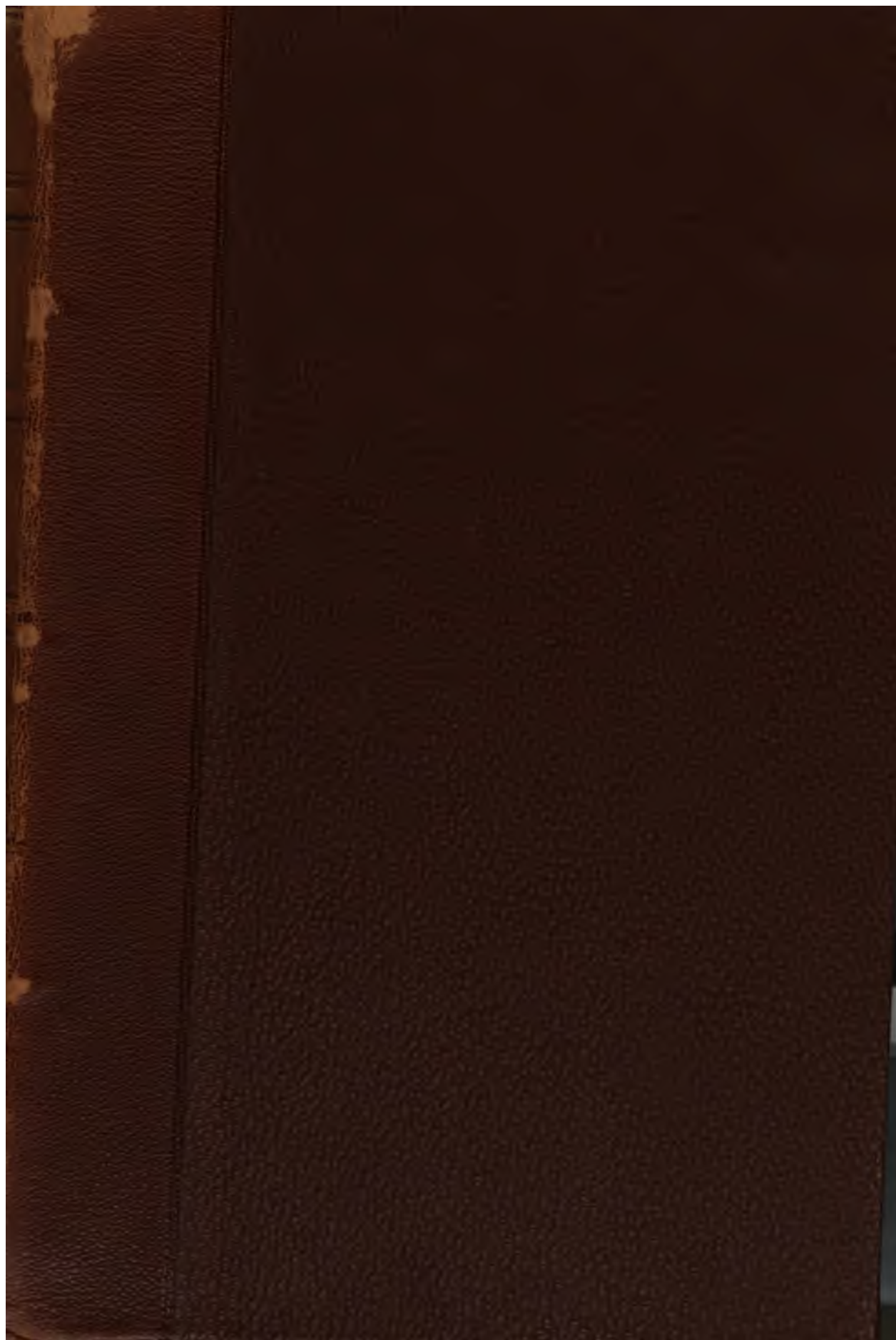
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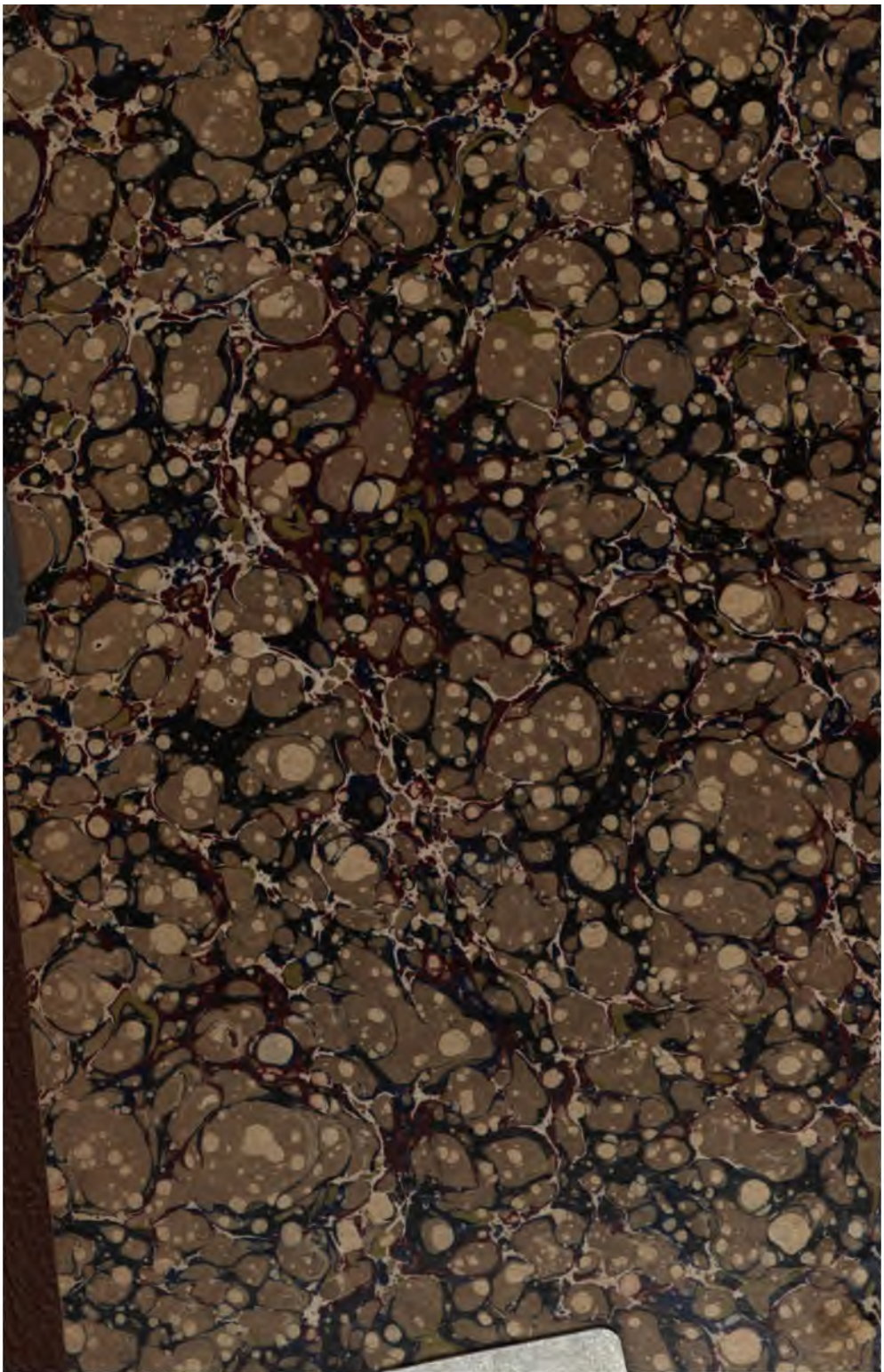
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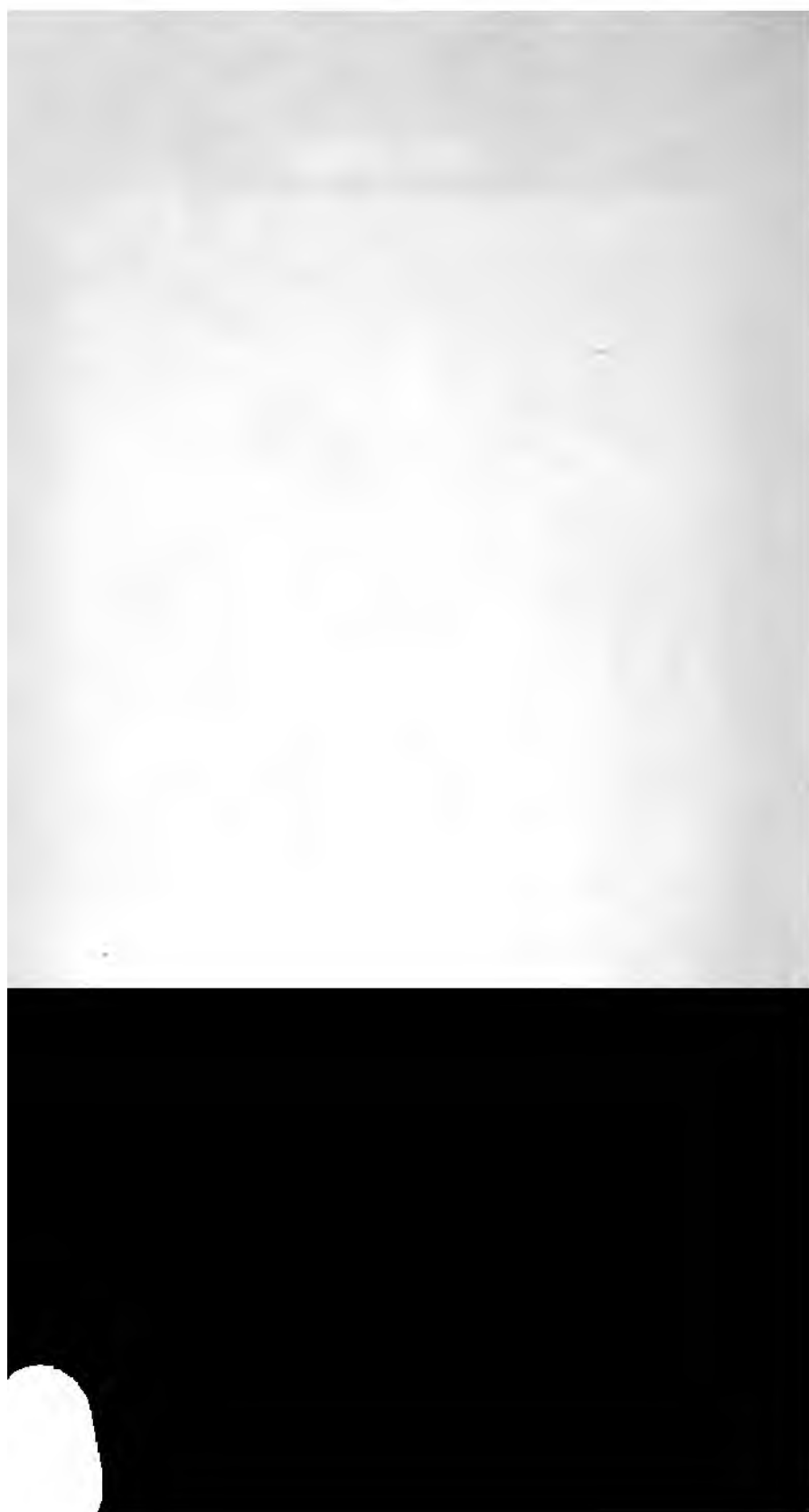




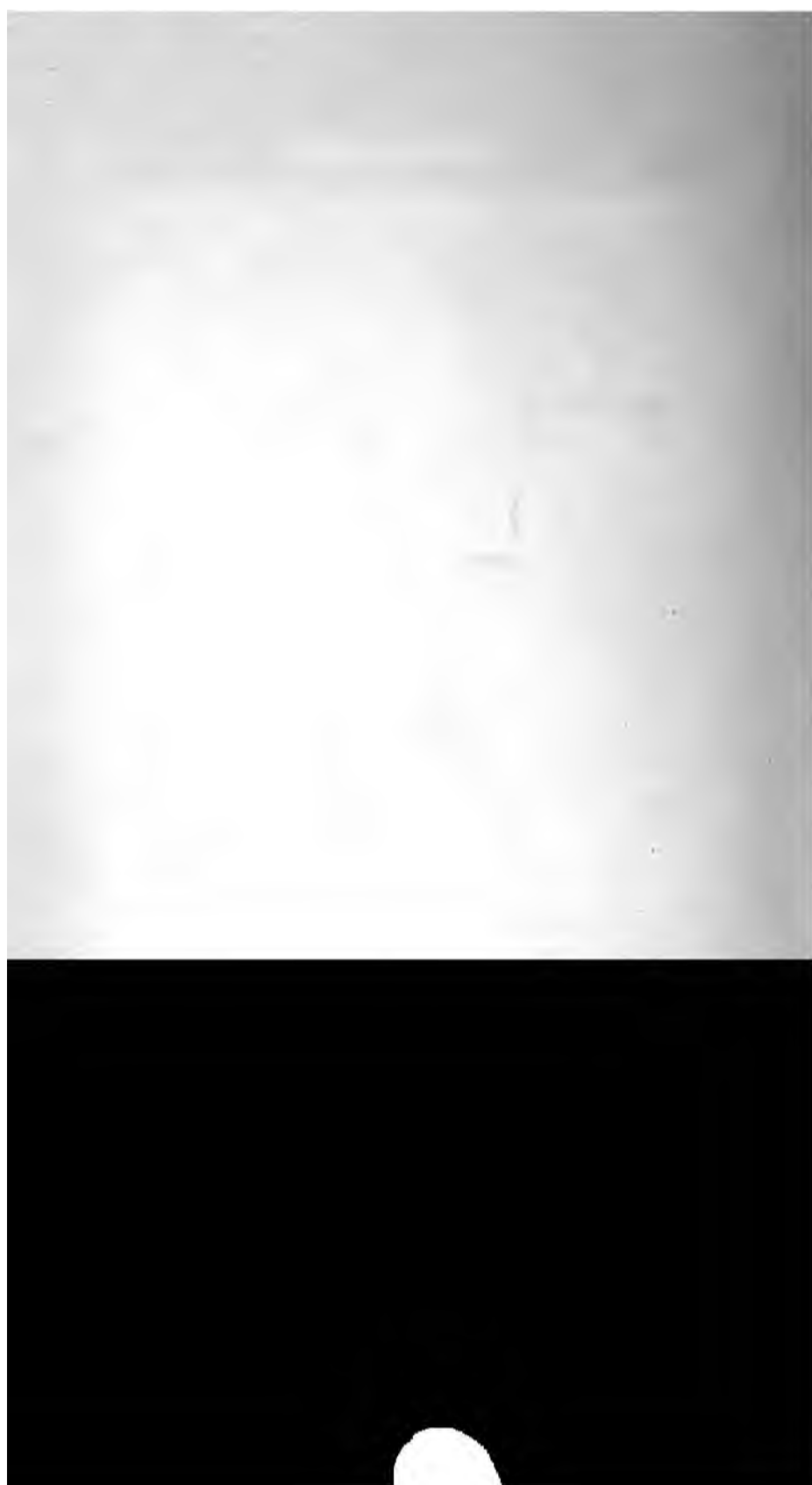


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THIRD SERIES.

VOL. VIII. NO. 1.

APRIL, 1907.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

CHARLES ALDRICH, Curator.

PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR. SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS.

DES MOINES, IOWA.

*Application made at the Des Moines, Iowa, Post Office, for entry to the mails
as second class matter.**

ANNALS OF IOWA.

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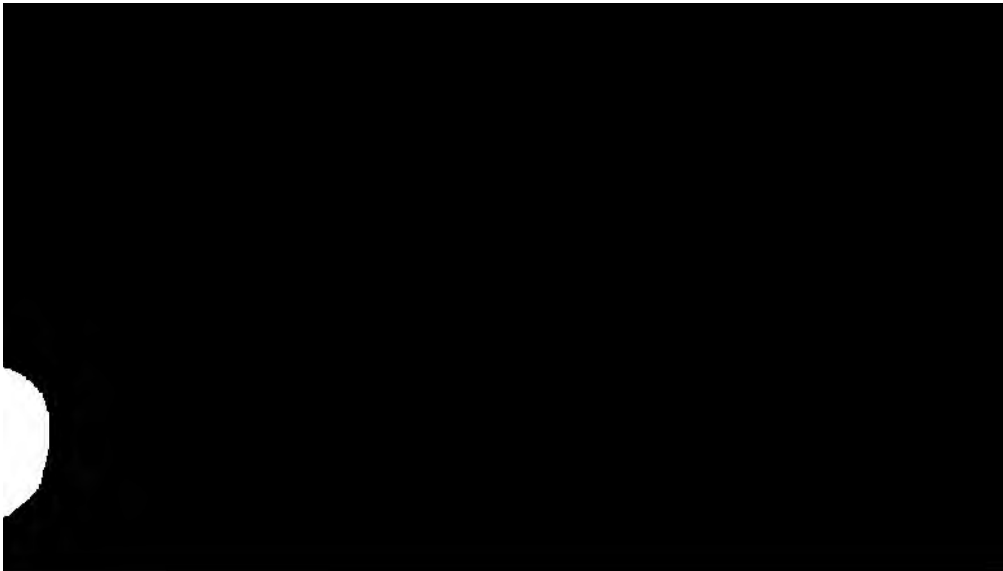
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Ornithologists' Union.**

**PUBLISHED BY THE
HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA,
DES MOINES,
1907-8**

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THE POETS OF IOWA.

THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE IOWA POETRY COLLECTION.

THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE IOWA POETRY COLLECTION.

THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE IOWA POETRY COLLECTION.

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THE TWENTY-FIRST VOLUME OF THE IOWA POETRY COLLECTION.



C. J. Garrison

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VIII, No. 1. DES MOINES, IOWA, APRIL, 1907.

3D SERIES.

MEMORIES OF A SWEDISH IMMIGRANT OF 1852.

BY HON. C. J. A. ERICSON.*

My father's name was Erik Nilson, born August 2d, 1804. My mother was Catherine Clemetson Nilson, born October 9th, 1803. There were three boys born to them, namely: Nils P. Peterson (surname adopted, he, having learned the paper manufacturer's trade, was by custom entitled to take his patron's name) who was born in 1825; Gustaf Adolf Ericson, born in 1829, and the writer, Charles John Alfred Ericson, born March 8th, 1840.

We take our surname from our father's Christian name, as is the custom in Sweden. My father was a farmer and freeholder in the Province of Calmar and Sodra vi Parish in southern Sweden.

In 1845 the first immigrants left that part of the country for America. An uncle of mine, S. P. Svenson, came from Horn Parish to New Sweden, Jefferson county, Iowa, in the


*It is seldom, indeed, that an immigrant from a foreign land—unable to speak a word of our language—rises from the laboring class to such an enviable position in his new home as that so fittingly occupied by Senator Ericson. His life has been one of business success and filled with useful public labors. He has given timely aid to poor and struggling young people, especially in their efforts to secure thorough education. He has for many years been a strong supporter of the Augustana Lutheran College at Rock Island, Ill. He is a member of the committee which has labored with much success in securing a permanent endowment for the institution. It has been largely due to his efforts that valuable real estate has been acquired for the benefit of the College. In this work he has been a liberal giver. He erected entirely at his own cost the beautiful and commodious public library building in the city of Boone. He served one term (1872, including the extra session in 1873), in the Iowa House of Representatives, and is now serving his ninth year in the State Senate. Schools, public libraries and the Historical Department have always found an intelligent, progressive and influential friend in Senator Ericson. His life is a record of sterling honesty which is absolutely unimpeachable.—EDITOR OF THE ANNALS.

year 1849; and the following year another uncle, O. Clemetson, came to Andover, Henry county, Ill. They wrote letters home in the most glowing terms describing the country and the opportunities for poor men in this New World, as it was called.

These letters contained such sentences as the following: "The farmers here do not know how many chickens or how many hogs they own, as these run at large. We are allowed to go and gather all the eggs we want; likewise they let us milk their cows and keep all the milk we want. As soon as we can buy a cow it can run at large in grass two feet high! We can mow all the hay we want—all free! All our bread is white, being made from bolted wheat flour. We get two kroner (fifty-four cents) for a day's work, and in harvest time four kroner and all you want to eat! This is surely the Promised Land!"

In 1849 my brother G. A., and in 1850 brother N. P., emigrated to America and settled near Moline, Ill. The letters we received from them were full of hope and great expectations for the future, and people came from far and near to read these letters. Copies were made and read to crowds of people upon public occasions in the surrounding country. All the information about America, then, was gained from letters received from those who had emigrated.

In the spring of 1852 father made up his mind to migrate to America. He sold his farm and began preparations for the long journey. Large iron-bound chests were made,



Here we found out there was no vessel in port bound for America, and no one could tell when there would be one. In about six weeks the three-masted sailing ship "Virginia," Captain Janson commanding, arrived and would shortly sail for New York.

A bargain was made for passage at \$20.00 per head, we to board ourselves. We were required to take on board the ship a prescribed amount of provisions for each person, which was inspected. If, therefore, the passage should be prolonged until our provisions were consumed, it devolved upon the captain to supply the deficiency. We sailed June 6th, there being one hundred and fifty immigrants.

The fresh water was carried in huge wooden casks and every morning the drinking water (one quart to each person) was measured out. The process of distilling salt water was not then known. The potatoes had to be boiled in salt water. As there was only one ordinary-sized range to cook on, you can better imagine than I describe the situation when forty women all wanted to cook at the same time!

Temporary two-storied bunks were constructed along the sides of the ship. These were curtained off as best they could be, as otherwise it would have been but a single room for all the immigrants. The health on board was fairly good, although one adult and one infant died during the passage. They were buried at sea and received Christian rites, the captain officiating.

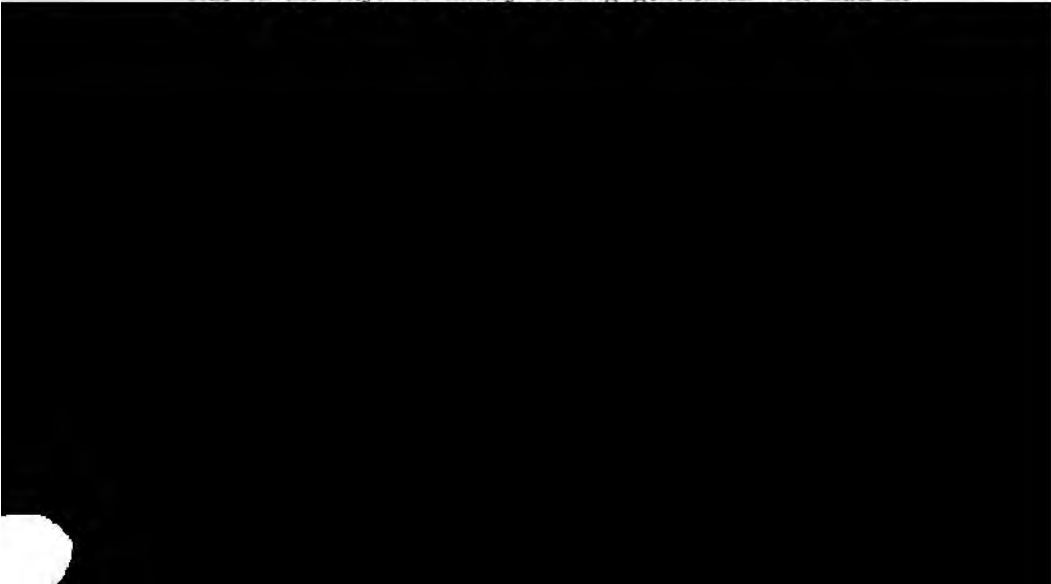
We did not encounter any severe storms, but these small wooden sailing vessels rocked a great deal more than the modern steel greyhounds. Bear in mind that at the time no regular lines of ocean steamships were in existence. We saw but few ships during the passage; nor did we see land until we came in sight of New York harbor on July 19th, having made the trip in forty-five days, which was considered fast time. A two-masted schooner, the "Minona," was out eighty-four days the same year, with immigrants on board from that port. In our case you may be sure the sight of land was hailed with delight.

Landing at a pier on East river at noon, two hours later a dozen men and women, including father and myself, started

for the city to "see the sights!" The first thing which attracted our attention was a fruit stand on which was a pile of big red tomatoes. They looked tempting and some were purchased, but proved a disappointment to our taste.

We proceeded up the city wondering at the big buildings, until all at once we were attracted by music from a brass band heading a regiment of cavalry. The bright uniforms of the officers and men proved too attractive and we followed through many streets. We kept in mind that we must find our way back to our ship and we noted a bronze lion in front of a corner store; perhaps at the next corner was a gilded clock hung out for a sign; next we turn to the right and then to the left, all to be remembered on our return. But upon endeavoring to retrace our steps, we found too many "lions and gilded clocks," and soon became bewildered and lost in a great city.

No one of the party could speak a word of English. We knew but one name or place and that was the "Bethel Ship," an old dismantled vessel fitted up as a Mission chapel for seamen and immigrants by a Swedish Methodist minister named Olof G. Hedstrom, but we could not make ourselves understood. When we found we were lost we became excited and left the sidewalk, taking the middle of the street. We had crossed the city to North or Hudson river, where there were also ships and piers. We traveled up and down this street many times looking for our ship, not knowing it was on the other side of the city. A kindly looking gentleman who had no-



hot July day. Imagine our welcome on board ship again! But we had certainly had an experience which we never could forget.

On the following morning we boarded a Hudson river steamer for Albany, where we landed at midnight. Our train was waiting to take us via the Erie railway to Buffalo; but, for fear some of us would get lost in the dark, two ropes were stretched from the steamer to the cars and we marched to the train thus guided. The cars were ordinary freight cars, having temporary benches made of lumber with no back-rest. Our conductor knew but a single word in Swedish which was "bilget" (ticket).

On arrival at Buffalo, all tired out, we were herded on board a lake steamer and taken to Dunkirk. Here we were again put into freight cars, with benches as before, and started by rail for Chicago. We suffered greatly on this journey for want of rest and sleep, which could not be had in these cars. Besides they were poorly ventilated and we were only supplied with drinking water at long intervals.

On reaching Chicago we found that cholera had broken out there and many people were dying; hence we must move on. There being no railroads west of Chicago, we boarded a canal-boat drawn by horses which conveyed us to Peru, La Salle county, Illinois. Here we hired teams to take us to Andover, Henry county, Illinois, twenty miles from Rock Island. There we found the first Swedish settlement. The pioneer Lutheran minister, Rev. L. P. Espbjorn, had come over in 1849 and located there. Workmen were erecting a brick church and we were allowed to sleep on the floor of the basement one night, spreading quilts over the shavings for a mattress.

Here I met my uncle, O. Clemetson, heretofore mentioned, who emigrated in 1849. We also met an old acquaintance, Mr. Stenholm, who came over in 1850. He had taken the precaution to bring a light wagon with him from Sweden and now offered to convey us in this same wagon to Moline. We accepted his kind offer and loaded our belongings on it, but had great difficulty in keeping it right side up, because it was not nearly as wide tracked as the American wagons; and


where the road was sideling it required one man on each side to keep it from tipping over.

We arrived at our destination near Moline, Illinois, on August 1st, 1852, at the home of my two older brothers, where we received a hearty welcome. We had been on the journey nearly four months. Twelve days of the time from New York to the Mississippi river, which is now accomplished in twenty-four hours.

I remained with my brothers the next few years, working on their farm for my board and clothes. I remember the first thing my brother told me to do. It was to go to our neighbor, Mr. Smith, and request the loan of his spade. I protested that I could not make him understand, not knowing a word of English. Brother said, "You repeat after me, 'Mr. Ericson sent me here to get your spade.' " I kept repeating this all the time while walking a mile and did not stub my toe on the way. I got the spade and returned highly elated over my success.

I was next taught how to drive three yoke of oxen to a breaking-plow, hauling logs to the sawmill and cord-wood to town. I ran a ferry-boat two seasons across Rock river, worked for an American on his farm, as soon as I could do a man's full day's work, for six dollars per month. Later learned to run a stationary engine in a sawmill and a flouring-mill. Then I clerked in a store in Altona, Ill., where I first got my business experience.

In 1858 my brother, G. A. Ericson, moved to the south



needed, as far as my money would go. Mr. C. W. Keyes waited on me personally. I always liked him; he is pleasant and honorable and a gentleman wherever you meet him, as well as a shrewd Yankee, be it said to his credit. After paying for my purchases he said, "Is there not something more you would like to buy?" I said, "I can see a number of articles I think I could make use of, but as my ready cash is exhausted I have reached my limit."

He kept looking at me very critically, evidently studying my character, and as I was only in my 20th year it was not easy for him to make up his mind. Finally he said, "If I should sell you a small bill how soon can you pay for it?" I answered, "My dear sir, I am going into Boone county to a cross-road place called Ridgeport, fifty miles north of Des Moines. It is a new country, with but few settlers, and I do not know what I can do. Should you trust me for anything I can make but one promise and that is that you shall never lose anything by me." The result was I selected another bill of goods amounting to \$120.00 on credit. He did not ask for any references, nor where I came from, and for all he knew he might never have seen me again.

I then hired a team to take me to Ridgeport. On arriving at this place I met my brother and we traded a yoke of oxen, ten acres of timber land which he owned and a due-bill payable in merchandise for a remnant stock of goods amounting to \$250.00 from W. L. DeFore and Richard Green. So, on opening for business my stock amounted to about eight hundred and fifty dollars, on which I was in debt three hundred and seventy dollars. I rented the store building, sixteen by twenty-two feet, from Allen T. Silver, a former merchant of the place, for three dollars per month. I also hired a two-room log house for my residence, at one dollar and fifty cents per month. I had some wood in the log hauled from the timber which I chopped myself. I was now ready for business and opened the store.

People came in to see the new storekeeper and see what he had to sell. They priced his wares hesitatingly, but only made small purchases. It soon developed that the people had but little money to purchase goods with, and the question was

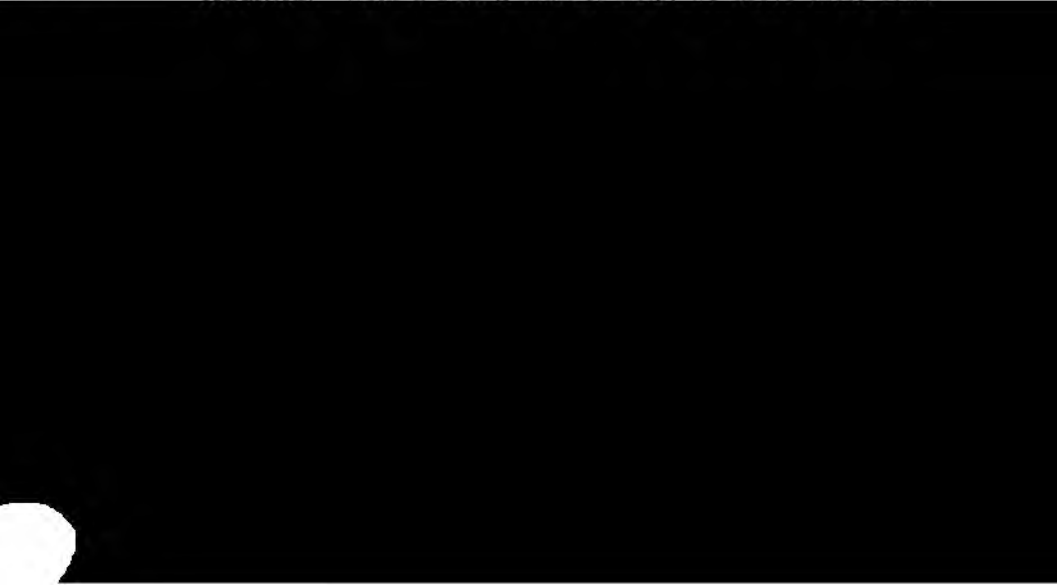
asked, "Could we swap you some maple-sugar or some beeswax for some blue denim and hickory shirting?" In this way the business developed into what was known as "barter" more than "cash."

In this way the following native products became current in the trade at the store: Furs of all descriptions, dry hides, maple-sugar, honey, beeswax, eggs, ginseng and feathers. A month after opening the store I hired a team with which I hauled an assortment of the above described products of the country to Des Moines, and with what money I had was enabled to liquidate my indebtedness to Messrs. Keyes & Crawford, who then trusted me for a larger bill of goods. Thus my credit was fully established with that firm.

My business increased, but the country was new and the settlers had but little that I could make use of to exchange for goods.

Hence it became, of necessity, a study with me what I could do to encourage the production of something which would sell for cash. I began to urge the farmers to raise corn and hogs for market, saying I would be in a position to pay cash for live hogs the following year. In the fall of 1860 I got a contract to buy fat hogs for a party at \$1.75 per hundred pounds, for which I received a commission of ten cents per head. I succeeded in buying over six hundred head.

The same fall I bought two car-loads of dry, fat cows off grass, paying ten dollars per head regardless of weight or condition. With a young man to help, we drove these cows



Postage-stamps then as now were cash on delivery. But perplexing as this was to my customers who brought in some barter but had no cash, their letters must have stamps, and the first question to settle in the trade was, "I must have stamps for these letters out of it." This was a hardship on the postmaster, but they had to come. Domestic postage was then three cents and foreign forty-two cents. As frequently happened double-weight unpaid letters came to the office from Europe, which would be eighty-four cents to collect in gold. Then during the civil war when gold was at two hundred per cent. premium the amount would be two dollars and fifty-two cents.

In the fall of 1860 I took a contract from Messrs. Hand & Cusey of Humboldt county, Iowa, to buy hogs at from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per hundred pounds according to weight. My commission was ten cents per head. In those days hogs were only fatted for winter market. During September I went out among the farmers and made written contracts for the number of hogs they had to sell, to be delivered December 1st. On that day Jesse Funk, of Bloomington, Ill., came out to receive them, bringing the money in his satchel to pay for them. I weighed in 1,500 head in two days. These had to be driven on foot to Otter Creek (now Chelsea) in Tama county, a distance of ninety miles, that being the terminus of the Chicago & Northwestern railway at that time.

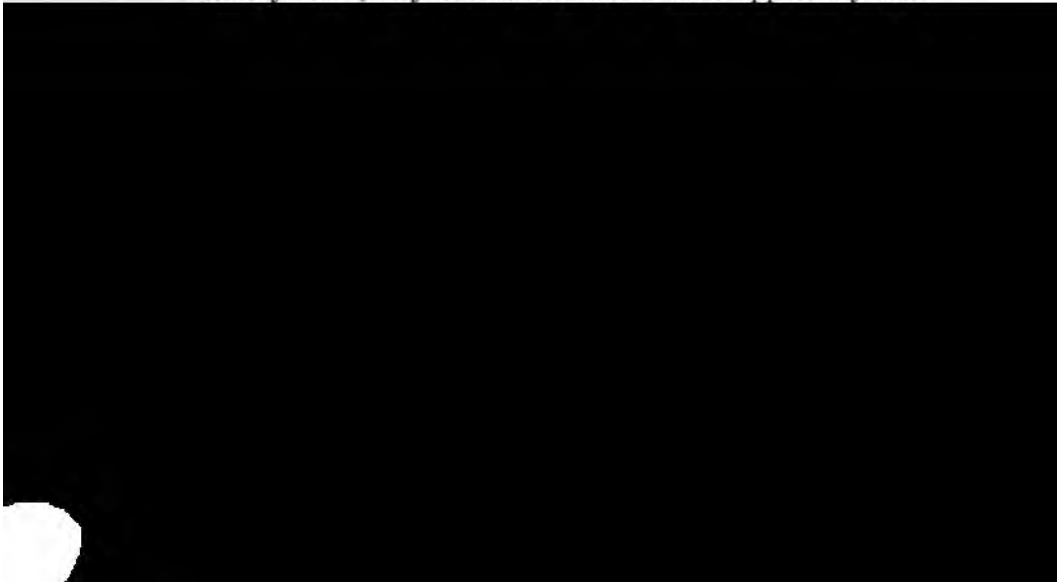
By this time business had increased beyond my expectations, so that I had to build a store twenty-five by sixty feet and later added to its length. I also built a new residence the following year. I had now taken up the question of butter-making and the marketing of the same. Prior to this time there was no sale for butter. It required firkins to pack the butter in, which held one hundred and ten pounds. We had no coopers in the country and all these things had to be provided for. I sent men into the timber to fell trees, cut them into proper lengths, split into staves and made a drying kiln to season them. I also sent other men to cut hoop poles. I sent east for a cooper and soon had a supply of firkins on hand and sent out word about a week before the day I was ready to take in butter.

I placed four firkins and a barrel in a row and as the butter came in it was sorted according to color, freshness and quality to make each firkin as near uniform in quality and color as possible.

Few people had any conveniences for, or any experience in farm dairying, and at first some of the butter went into the barrel which was labeled "soap grease." You can easily imagine the difficulty that would arise in the grading of the butter among a dozen women, all present at the same time! But there was no one else in the country buying butter, so I could be independent.

This branch of the business soon developed into large proportions and also practically doubled my merchandise sales. On account of the civil war, prices of every commodity began to advance rapidly. I began to buy certain lines of staple goods far in advance of my needs, which proved to be very profitable.

In 1864 I formed a partnership with Joseph F. Alexander in buying and shipping live stock. We were quite successful and for several years it was said we were the largest shippers on the C. & N. W. railway in Iowa. In the spring of 1867 I made the mistake of my life, and I mention it here only to show that "honesty is the best policy." Two stock buyers from a northern county came down and proposed a partnership with Alexander & Ericson in order to handle and ship live stock on a large scale. We had known them for some years. They owned farms and were apparently well-



take them. So we had to ship them to Chicago as rapidly as possible, at a great sacrifice. When all were sold we still found ourselves in debt in the sum of twenty thousand dollars.

In trying to arrange for the payment of this large indebtedness I soon discovered that instead of four of us as paymasters, it devolved on two only. I pleaded and reasoned with our new partners to stand with us and do what they could and act honestly and we could all save our credit and pay our debts. But I could make no impression on them. Their wives owned the farms and the sons owned the personal property and *they owned nothing!* Soon after they sold their farms and emigrated to Kansas, but never prospered. This was a tough lesson at twenty-eight years of age; but it served to bring out all the energy and determination I possessed to get from under this load, and in due course of time it was all paid and my credit maintained.

In 1868 I built five schoolhouses in Dodge township, Boone county, receiving school orders bearing 10 per cent. interest in payment, there being no money in the school treasury. It was nine years before all the orders were paid. The houses were all built of native lumber kiln dried, basswood (linden) siding, white walnut finishing lumber, hard maple flooring and oak shingles, doors and window-sashes made by hand.

About this time I admitted one of my clerks, Mr. Swen M. Ferlien, to a partnership in my store, he having clerked for me about ten years. In 1870 Jackson Orr received the Republican nomination for Congress. He was at that time conducting a general store in the city of Boone. Meeting him on the street one day, he said, "Charley, I want to sell you my stock of goods." I said, "I have not thought of coming to Boone. I have a good business where I am." But he insisted, so I spent about four hours in his store going over his stock and making an approximate estimate of its value; after which I said I would think about it. He said, "I make my opening campaign speech in Jefferson to-morrow afternoon. You come down and see me in the morning." I did so and offered to pay his merchandise bills to a certain amount, give him a house and lot and two hundred acres of land that would

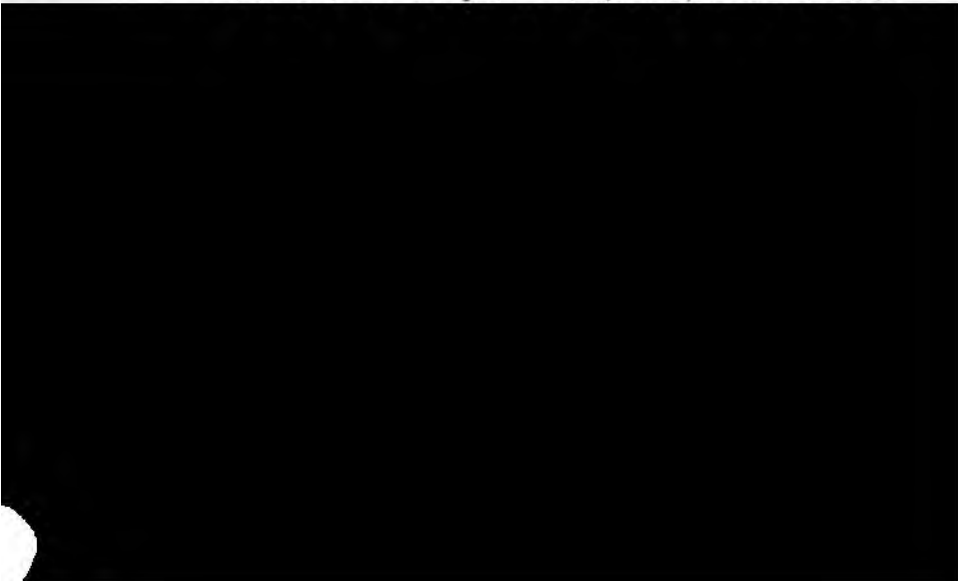
make good farms, provided he could get the water off of it, for his stock just as it was. We walked to the depot together and as his train whistled he said to his young son who was with us, "You tell Chris. Meidell (his head clerk) to give Charley the key to the store!" Thus a five thousand dollar trade was made without the payment of a dollar down or the scratch of a pen to show for it.

The store in Ridgeport was then sold to my cousins, P. A. & A. M. Swanson, the first having clerked for me for several years, and the firm of Ericson & Ferlien continued in business in Boone successfully for five years, when the business was disposed of to L. D. Cook & Co.

Upon the organization of the First National Bank of Boone, No. 2051, in 1872, I became one of the stockholders and was elected its first vice-president. Three years later, when failing health necessitated the retirement of the cashier, Mr. Vincent Wood, I was elected to take his place and as cashier entered upon active duties in the bank. In 1878 we voluntarily surrendered the government charter and reorganized as a private bank under the name of "The City Bank" with the same stockholders and officers.

In 1880 the president, W. F. Clark, died and from this time the management devolved on the cashier. The second president of the bank, Mr. Frank Champlin, passed away June 20th, 1905. Whereupon, I was elected to succeed him as president and Mr. C. E. Rice is my successor as cashier.

We started with a capital of \$50,000.00, which was later



PRE-GLACIAL RIVER CHANNELS OF CENTRAL IOWA.*

BY CHARLES R. KEYES.

It is now a well established fact that the major drainage features of Iowa date back at least to late Tertiary times and that the main waterways were initiated upon an old Tertiary peneplain. In this region it is also clearly demonstrated that during glacial times the various ice lobes deflected in marked degree the courses of many of the streams. The recognition of pre-glacial valleys explains many otherwise unaccountable features which our present river valleys display. Some of the phenomena, to which attention has been here called, are found in central Iowa, especially in the vicinity of the city of Des Moines, and at this time are of exceptional interest. Geologically they are very important in their bearing upon the origin and history of certain of existing geographical characters.

During the past few years a large amount of exact information has been collected from various sources regarding these old river courses in Iowa. The pre-glacial channels in the vicinity of the present city of Des Moines come in for special attention for the reason that they have been so long misunderstood and have given rise to much unnecessary and unwarranted speculation among those who have not looked carefully into the geological aspects of the subject.

One of the most remarkable old channels of the Des Moines river, for instance, is the one which is now known to exist in the east part of the capital city. For a distance of four or five miles above the Raccoon Fork the present stream runs in a comparatively narrow, rock-bound gorge, which has long attracted notice. Both above and below this gorge the present valley of the Des Moines is several times as wide as it is in the gorge. A geological cross-section of this rock-

* The cuts used in this article are kindly loaned by the Iowa State Geological Survey.

bound gorge is represented below (Fig. 1). The steep bluffs and fresh rock ledges exposed in the sides of this part of the valley clearly suggest that the gorge is quite recent in origin

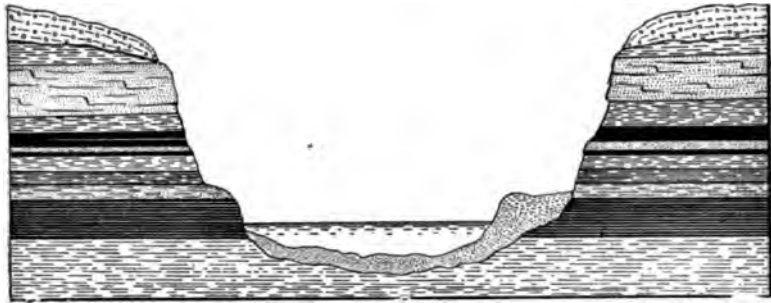


FIG. 1.

and that it was rapidly formed. There are many facts to which reference will be made later, going to show the inference to be the correct one.

East from Capital hill, a broad valley extends to the sharp Four Mile ridge. This valley is three or four miles in width. There is no running stream now occupying it. To the south this valley finally opens out into the broad valley of the present Des Moines river below the mouth of the gorge. To the northward the valley swings around to the west and merges with the Des Moines river valley again about opposite to the mouth of the Beaver creek, near the north end of the gorge. The course of this old valley and its relationships to the present Des Moines valley, the Beaver

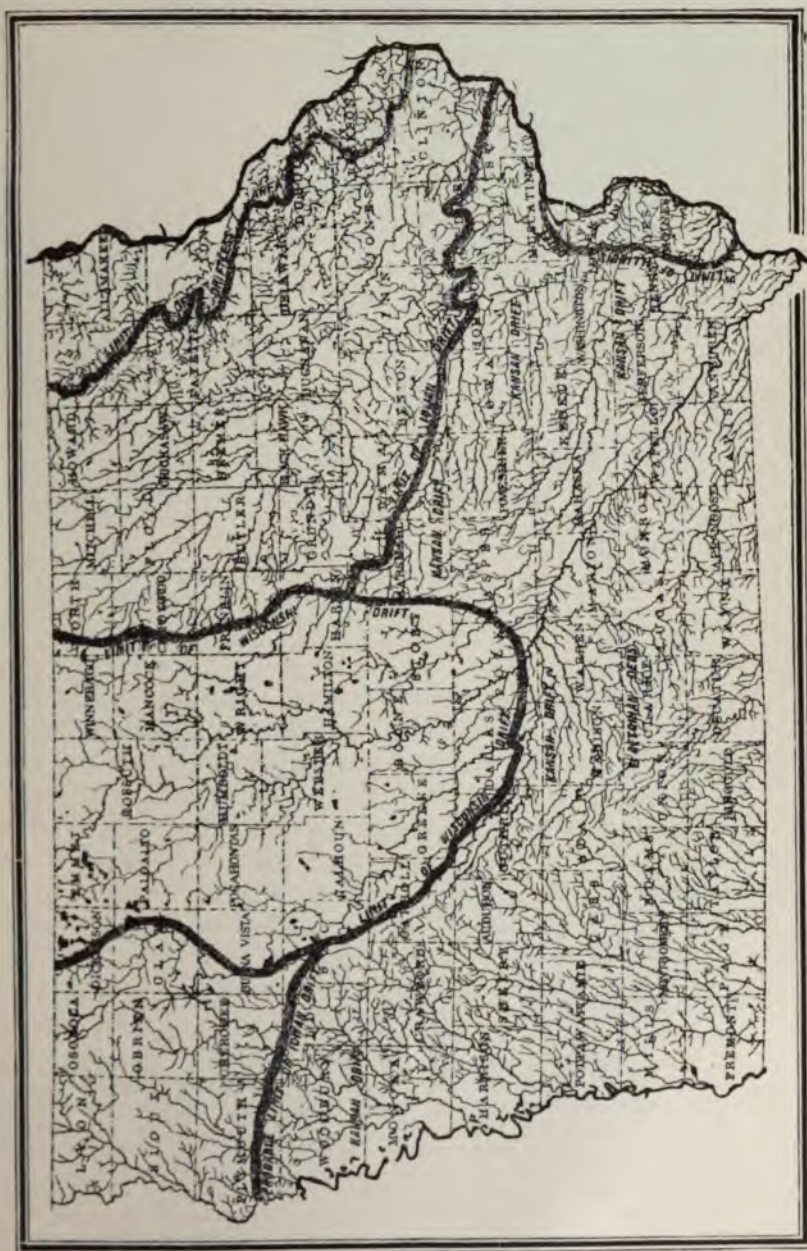


FIG. 3.



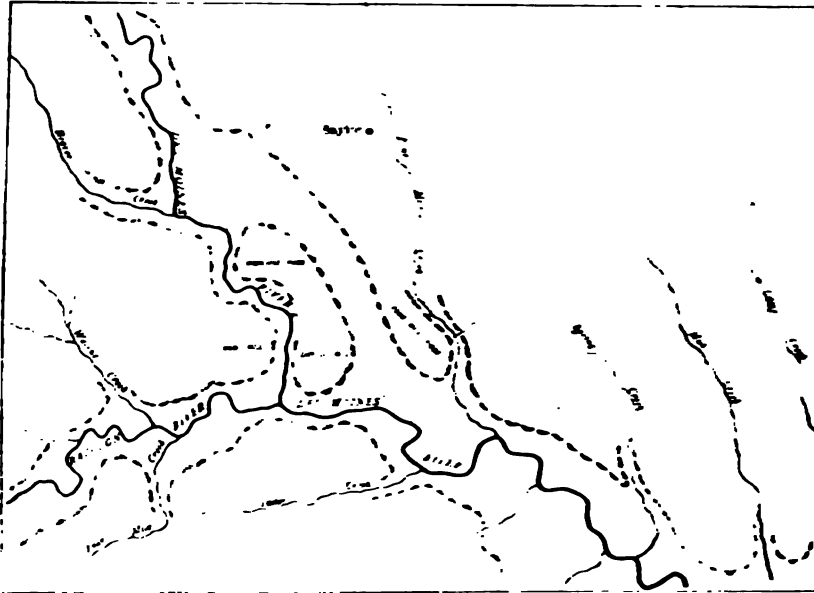


FIG. 2.

merous well records in the valley show conclusively that the drift deposits in the valley are 100 feet and more in thickness and that the rock-floor is to be found at about this level. These facts are also in accordance with similar observations made in the broad parts of the present Des Moines river valley above and below the gorge.

Beaver creek also flows along the line of a large pre-glacial channel, so large and deep that Dr. H. F. Bain, who has studied it in considerable detail, is almost inclined to regard it as an old course of the Des Moines river. This author says:

The Beaver valley shows topographic characteristics similar to those of the old valley just described. Its width is comparable to that of the latter valley, and if to it be added the width of the narrow valley occupied by the upper course of the Des Moines, the sum is about equal to the width of the Des Moines below the mouth of the Raccoon. The bottom of the Beaver valley is covered by the modified Wisconsin drift. Wells in this bottom land do not reach rock at depths of fifty feet. The side slopes show rare rock exposures, though the coal measures rise in them to heights considerably above the stream. At points undisturbed Kansan drift is found low down in the valley.

There is then a broad pre-glacial valley running across the country, now occupied in part by the Beaver, in part by the Des Moines and in

part unoccupied. For reasons to be considered later it is known that the course of the Des Moines above the mouth of the Beaver is much more recent, so this older valley may reasonably be considered to be that of the Des Moines. That the Raccoon river also flows in a pre-glacial valley seems well established. The topographic relationships, the drift-veneered sides, and the at least considerable filling up which it has undergone, all point to an age comparable to that of the Des Moines.

It is also quite possible that when the northern extension of this pre-glacial Beaver channel shall have been fully traced it will be found to be the old source of the north Raccoon river.

The manner in which the drainage lines may have been completely changed or modified by the later ice sheets is best shown by reference to the accompanying sketch map (Fig. 3).



In this connection attention may be called to similar old channels of pre-glacial character at the mouth of the Des Moines river (Fig. 4).

The Mississippi river at Keokuk now flows in a very recent rock gorge whereas in pre-glacial times it flowed in a wide deep valley lying to the west of that city. The comparative magnitudes of the two valleys are indicated below (Fig. 5).

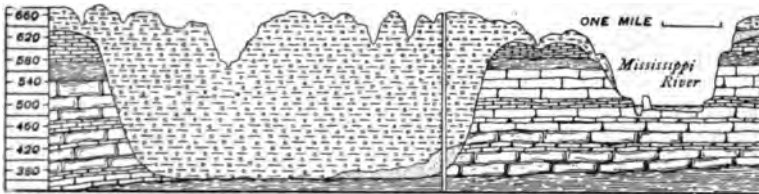


FIG. 5.

These facts were first brought out by Prof. C. H. Gordon and were subsequently fully corroborated by other geologists.

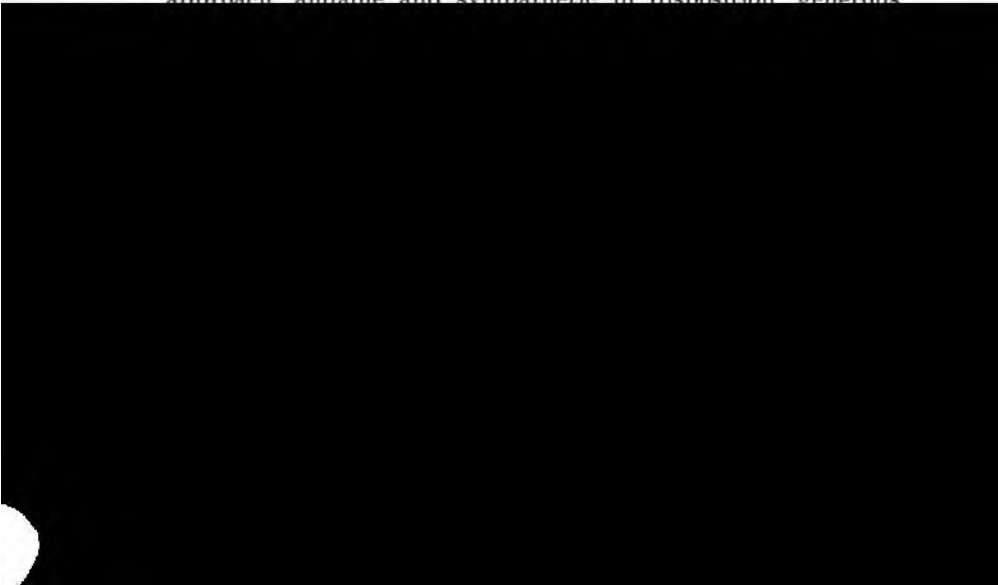
ENLARGING OF IOWA.—It is reported in the eastern papers that there was a movement on foot in Washington to enlarge our boundaries as a State by taking from Minnesota that portion of territory that lies between our western boundary and the Missouri river. It makes but little difference to Iowa whether it is annexed or not. If given, Iowa can take care of it, if not, she will make a State second to none without it.—*St. Charles City Intelligencer*, April 9, 1857.

THE WESTERN STAGE COMPANY is a great corporation, the most extensive, probably, in our State. The Company employ fifteen hundred men, and over three thousand horses, and own more than six hundred coaches. The capital invested is a million and a half of dollars. The field of their operations is in Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri and Nebraska, and they are now running a regular line of stage to Fort Kearney, three hundred miles west of the Missouri.—*St. Charles City Intelligencer*. Feb. 17, 1859.

JUDGE JONATHAN C. HALL.

BY HON. EDWARD H. STILES.

It is no easy thing to so sketch an extraordinary personality as to bring saliently out the particular traits that make it so. The first time I saw Jonathan C. Hall was in the old court-house at Ottumwa fifty years ago. I was introduced to him as a young law student just from Connecticut. He talked with me in that good-natured and kindly manner highly characteristic of him, and the acquaintance thus commenced laid the basis of a lasting friendship. Though he had then attained the highest professional rank, his presence and bearing were perfectly devoid of the least tinge of vanity or self-importance. There was about him, however, an indescribable something that told as plainly as words that nature had fashioned him in no ordinary mold. Without being apparently sensible of it himself, his presence was commanding, and his "supremacy was written upon his features and person." He was heroic in frame, of Taft-like structure, whose height was apparently diminished by its breadth, and whose embonpoint unmistakably showed the signs of generous living. He had a large head, a full face, a rather florid complexion and light hair. He was careless in dress, inattentive to the little conventionalities of society, easy of approach, amiable and sympathetic in disposition, generous





S. C. Hall

PIONEER LEGISLATOR; ASSOCIATE JUDGE IOWA SUPREME COURT.

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practice, and especially by the younger members of the bar, who flocked to see and listen to one about whom they had heard so much.

Along with these fascinating personal qualities he possessed strongly intellectual ones. The capacity of deep and vigorous thinking, of analyzing difficult problems, of solving perplexing questions by the sledge-hammer forces of his potent and resourceful mind. He was perspicacious in legal argument, and when occasion demanded powerful as an advocate. He wasted none of his strength on trivial points, but grasped at once the pivotal ones and went straight for them with vehement force. He was naturally mild and sometimes apathetic. It took something more than the ordinary to arouse him, but when fully aroused, he was a very Titan in power. These conspicuous qualities deeply impressed him on the State and justly established him as among the greatest lawyers of his time. Nor were these achievements assisted by the auxiliaries of either a polished education or a polished speech, for he had neither.

In this connection I can do no better than quote from a description of some of the early lawyers furnished me by one fully qualified to know and who was one of the most profound lawyers and thinkers this State has ever produced. I allude to Judge Charles Mason. Intending to sometime sketch the judges, lawyers and some of the prominent men of earlier Iowa, I took the liberty of writing to him for such information concerning his contemporaries as he might be pleased to convey; and I cannot refrain from saying that I highly prize as a token of his interest in the matter, and of the kindness of his great heart, the manuscript which, with the aid of his daughter as amanuensis, he prepared and sent me when enfeebled by an illness which proved to be his last. Speaking of Judge Hall in the manuscript referred to he said:

J. C. Hall was one of the ablest practicing lawyers I have ever known. His leading characteristic was strength. He cared little for polish or rhetoric, using language sometimes inapropos and incorrect, but uttered in such a way that no juror could fail to understand his intended meaning. He regularly attended all the courts held in the first judicial district, and was engaged in almost every case that was tried therein. He was most persistent and persevering in the pur-


suit of his main purpose, and was very generally successful. When fully aroused he seemed like a great locomotive that nothing could resist. If defeated on one point he was fruitful in expedients by some flank movement to obtain success on others. He was indefatigable and untiring, and his success was in a great degree commensurate with his industry. There were other better read lawyers, but I know of no one with whom I would have been more willing to entrust a difficult case.

Along the same lines, Judge Springer, himself a distinguished lawyer and judge, and president of the Constitutional Convention of 1857, in the course of his address at the reunion of the surviving members of that convention, held in 1882, said:

Judge Hall had been a member of the First Constitutional Convention held in Iowa and was the only member of our convention that had been a member of either of the previous conventions, and had held with credit a seat on our Supreme Bench. He was an able man among able men. He was endowed by nature with a large heart and a still larger brain. As an advocate, lawyer and jurist his place was in the front rank of the Iowa bar. Though not possessed of the culture and scholarly attainments of some of his contemporaries, yet for strength and depth of mind, for logical force and power of argumentation he was entitled to rank with the foremost men in the State.

Coming from the sources they do, these estimates of Judge Hall go far in establishing a firm basis for his judicial fame.

After this general view let us glance at some of the particular instances of his life. He was born in Batavia county, New York, in 1808. He died in 1874 at the age of 66. His father, Colonel Samuel Hall, was one of the pioneers of that part of New York. He came there with his wife and family



Vechten, a distinguished lawyer of Albany. He completed his studies with lawyers of ability in Ohio. In 1830, at the age of 22, he was admitted to the bar at Columbus, and entered the practice at Mount Vernon, where he located the same year. He was early successful and established a good practice at that place. But circumstances, the loss of a favorite child, the desire to break his environments, and the boundless freedom of his spirit, induced him to take the way which the star of empire is said to, and seek the then far west. He came to Burlington in 1839, looked the country over and decided on Mt. Pleasant, where he with his family located in 1840, during the second year of our territorial organization. Here he soon established an extensive practice. He regularly attended the courts of the different counties as they were organized. His fame as a lawyer spread. The circuit of his practice increased. He was retained in important litigation both within and without the State. He had foemen worthy of his steel, and whose great ability was able to invoke and make necessary the best of his own. Foremost among these were David Rorer and Henry W. Starr, of whom as well as of the other persons mentioned herein I trust I may sometime be privileged to write further.


In 1844 the people were seeking the admission of the territory as a state. To this end a convention was called to frame a constitution on which the state could be admitted. He was chosen a member of this convention. He had for associates some able and noted men, among whom were Stephen Hempstead, ex-Governor Lucas, Ebenezer Cook, Ralph P. Lowe, Shepherd Leffler, Elijah Sells, Francis Gehon, Stephen B. Shelledy. He was regarded as one of its ablest members, and it was conceded on all hands that his influence had been potential in framing for that period a constitution well suited to the condition of the people. As a matter of fact this constitution was rejected by the people on account of the state boundaries as therein fixed, but with these changed it was afterwards adopted with few alterations and became the constitution of the State.

In 1854 he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the State. His opinions will be found in Vol. IV, G. Greene's Reports.

When a new constitution, that of 1857, came to be framed, he was elected a member of the convention chosen for that purpose. Here again he had some strong associates, among whom were Francis Springer, Timothy Day, James F. Wilson, Edward Johnstone, R. L. B. Clark, John T. Clark, William Penn Clarke, D. G. Solomon, George Gillasp, Amos Harris, Lewis Todhunter, William Patterson, Robert Gower, John Edwards and other men of ability. In this notable body he exercised even greater influence than he had in the convention of 1844, and many of the wise and beneficent provisions of the instrument it gave to the people are traceable in a great degree to his broad and vigorous mind. The printed debates of that convention will attest this and constitute a lasting memorial to his fine qualities. He was the author of the provision authorizing the public school system.

In every position, he was a friend of and true to the people. His ideas of legislation were humane and progressive, and to his influence the people of Iowa were greatly indebted for its redemption and exemption laws.

He was a champion of internal improvements. In 1855 he was elected president of the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company, and it was greatly through his influence and foresight that its affairs were placed on a substantial basis. The first locomotive that entered Burlington



warmest personal friends, though their politics were as wide apart as the poles." (The father of Professor Howe herein referred to was the venerable and reverend Samuel L. Howe, whose early, long-continued and heroic career as an educator have durably embalmed him in the annals of the State and the affections of her people.)

In the fall of 1859 he was, against his inclination, sent to the Legislature as a representative of Des Moines county in the Eighth General Assembly. At the ensuing session of that body a new code of laws, and embracing a new system of practice, was to be reported by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, and it had been the great desire of his people that he should be present and exert his influence in molding into final shape what was to be known as the *Revision of 1860*. In this work he took a prominent part and unceasingly devoted himself to it. Without in the least detracting from the unwearied labors of the very able commission which prepared and reported the code as it originally stood, it is not too much to say that his efforts were greatly effective in improving it in some of its important features.


Immediately after the inauguration of the rebellion a special session of the same Assembly was called by the Governor to meet the emergency. Among his associates therein was Henry C. Caldwell of Van Buren county—afterward a distinguished Iowa soldier, and successively major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel of the Third Iowa Cavalry, and after that, for a period of forty years, one of the greatest and purest judges that ever graced the Federal Judiciary. He and Judge Hall were both on the Judiciary Committee.

The measure giving the soldiers in the field the right to vote did not pass into a law until 1862, but it originated in 1861. Several persons have been given credit for its origin, but it unquestionably belongs to Judge Hall, as what is to follow will clearly show. In the summer of 1902 I paid Judge Caldwell a visit at his summer home in Colorado. We talked of a number of men we had known, and among others of Judge Hall. He said he regarded Judge Hall as not only a very able lawyer, but really a great man and entitled to be classed as such. Of this conversation I took notes at the

time which I now have before me, and from which, as bearing on the point alluded to I quote. Judge Caldwell said:

I was Chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the House and Judge Hall was second on the committee. We became very warm friends and were in accord on all questions that came before the extra session of May, 1861. One night Judge Hall came to my room with a paper in his hand which he laid down on my table and said: "Caldwell, I have drawn a bill providing for taking the vote of the soldiers in the field during the war. This is going to be a great war. Mr. Seward is greatly mistaken in his estimate of its duration. It will be one of the greatest wars of ancient or modern times; and before it ends all the able-bodied men liable to do military duty may be compelled to enter the armies of the Union and go to the front. This would take from their homes the great mass of the patriotic men and friends of the government within the military age, leaving behind those who are unfriendly to the government and whose sympathies are with the rebellion; and with these ballots they would be able to do the government more damage than if they were at the front with muskets in their hands fighting against us. The votes of these men would be more dangerous than if they themselves were in the open field. Hence in order to provide against such a state of affairs, we must confer the right to vote on the soldiers in the field." I suggested that it would be unconstitutional. He said that he had investigated that question and was satisfied that it would be constitutional, and he so declared by the Supreme Court in the event of litigation. Judge Hall was not only a lawyer of great ability, but a great man, and his patriotism and profound, prophetic foresight in this single instance, shows him to have been such.

As I had heard the origin of the measure ascribed to others I thought it possible that there might be some mistake about the matter. In a few days, however, I received from Judge Caldwell a copy of the House Journal which he had procured from the state archives, fully confirming the statement he had made. As the origin of the measure has been



Mr. Hall, by leave, introduced the following bill:

House File No. 39. "A bill for an act to authorize volunteer officers and soldiers who are absent from the State and in the service of the United States, and citizens of this State to vote at State Elections."

Which was read a first and second time and referred to the Committee on Elections.

Under date of May 28th, on page 110 of the Journal, the following entry will be found:

By leave, Mr. Rees submitted the following Report:

Your Committee to whom was referred House File No. 39: "A Bill for an Act to authorize Volunteer officers and soldiers who are absent from the State and in the service of the United States and citizens of this State to vote at State Elections," report the bill back and recommend its passage.

SAMUEL REES,
D. D. SABIN,
J. W. LELACHEUR.

On the same day the following entry appears on page 118 of the Journal:

Mr. Hall moved that the House take up House File No. 39: A Bill for an Act to authorize Volunteer Officers and Soldiers who are absent from the State and in the service of the United States, citizens of this State, to vote at the State Elections. Carried. Mr. Williams moved to postpone the further consideration of the bill till the year 2065. Upon this motion Mr. Hall demanded the yeas and nays, which were ordered and were as follows:

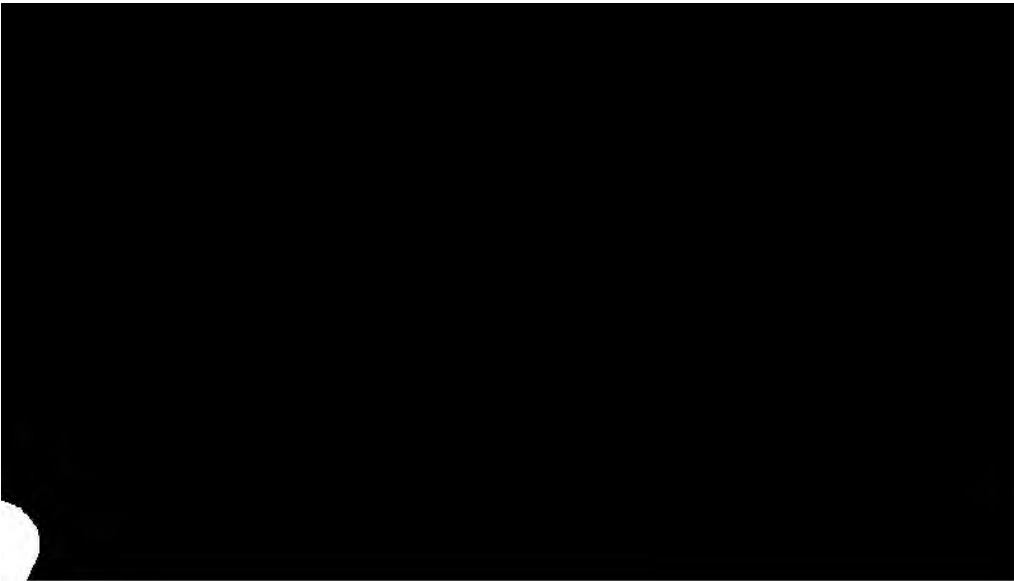
On the same day the House adjourned *sine die*.

Mr. Williams, who made the motion to postpone the consideration of the bill till the year 2065, was one of the representatives from Dubuque county, and immediately upon the adjournment of the Legislature he proceeded to Virginia, his former home, and entered the Confederate service.

When it is remembered that this action of Judge Hall was only a little more than a month after the bombardment of Fort Sumter (April 12th, 1861), and more than two months before the first battle of the war (that of Bull Run, July 21st, 1861), and that the seventy-five thousand troops called for by the President for three months had been thought in high quarters sufficient to crush the insurrection, no one can fail to appreciate the profound discernment which enabled him, it would seem beyond any man of his time, to so clearly foretell the mighty events which lay in the future.

I have referred to the fact that many of the lawyers of that time, and perhaps largely as a class, were convivial. Do not let me be misunderstood, for while they were more or less convivial, they were not debauched. The flowing bowl was an incident of those days, but it was rarely abused, and while lawyers indulged more freely than members of the other learned profession, they were seldom dissipated, or hors de combat in the hour of action. Why they took precedence, in the respect mentioned, over doctors and clergymen, is easy to understand. The vocation of clergymen, for obvious reasons, properly placed them under very different limitations and conditions. To a great extent the same may be said of the doctors. Both of these were comparatively isolated in their fellowship and professional action. Neither, so to speak, "flocked together" as did the lawyers, at the courts of their own and those of the other counties composing their circuit, and which all the leading ones attended. To do this, they frequently went long distances and through all kinds of weather—not by railroad, bicycle or automobile, for it was before their day—but overland, and generally, though not always, on horseback. Their almost constant companionship naturally made them convives.

It is not alone the glamour of biography that makes it valued or interesting. It is rather its incidents, that serve to portray the individual from different points of view, and as he really was in his every-day as well as in his Sunday clothes; in his relaxation as well as in his strength. Human



serve to illustrate the customs of the time, and what I have said. The dramatic persons of the incident were four noted lawyers, who were taking a horse ride of 250 miles through an almost unbroken wilderness, to procure some testimony in a certain contested election case. They were the Hon. Daniel F. Miller of Keokuk, the Nestor of the Iowa bar for length of continuance of service at the time of his comparatively recent death; Judge Jonathan C. Hall of Burlington, the subject of this sketch; the Hon. Lyman Johnson of Keokuk, and the Hon. John F. Kinney, then a judge of the Supreme Court, who had been appointed as the commissioner to take the testimony. The contestants were the said Daniel F. Miller, commonly referred to as "Dad," and William Thompson of Mount Pleasant, a well-known lawyer, familiarly known as "Black Bill" from his dark complexion. They had been opposing candidates for Congress in the southern district. There were then but two districts in the State. Thompson being awarded the election, Miller entered the contest, on the ground that the poll-books from the Mormon precinct at Kaneshville, now Council Bluffs, had been stolen from the room where they were deposited, and that the returns, if shown, would give him a clear majority. Not being able to find the missing poll-books, Miller was proceeding with his companions to Kaneshville where the vote had been cast, to take testimony to show who had voted, for whom the votes had respectively been cast, and that the same had been polled and forwarded. Hall and Johnson represented Thompson in the proceeding, Miller represented himself.

In after years it so happened that on the 6th of December, 1884, I met Mr. Miller—whom I as nearly everybody else loved—at Des Moines, and we came home on the same train, occupying the same seat. It was night and the journey was long and slow. I desired to learn all I could of the earlier times and of the men who had invested it with so much extraordinary interest, and plied him with many questions; among others some relating to his contest with Thompson. He gave me all the details respecting the alleged theft of the poll-books and their subsequent unexpected discovery, which it

would not be germane to relate here. He then gave me the following narrative of the journey across the country above alluded to, which I at the time reduced to writing in a memorandum book I carried, which I afterward read over to him for correction and approval, and which I now give in his own language as thus written :

We started to take depositions in my election case with "Bill" Thompson. The State was divided into two Congressional districts. Thompson and myself had run for Congress in the southern district. The poll-books had been stolen and we had to take secondary evidence, so to speak, as to how the vote had gone. Judge Kinney, then one of the territorial judges, had been commissioned by the Government to take the testimony. J. C. Hall and Lyman Johnson were Thompson's attorneys; I represented my own case. We, Kinney, Hall, Johnson and myself started westward. We had a two-horse wagon. Johnson drove. It was the cholera season. Many had died in Keokuk. We laid in a lot of medicine to meet the event of cholera sickness. We started from Keokuk. As we were about to start, and before I got into the wagon, I pulled out a bottle of brandy which I had taken the precaution to provide myself with, and as I held it up in my hand, I cried out, "I have got the advantage of you fellows." "Not by a great sight," says Hall, and as he spoke he raised from the bottom of the wagon a two-gallon jug. Thus equipped, we started. In due course of time we arrived at Keosauqua. We took some testimony there. Fifteen persons had died there with the cholera. We did not stay there long, but pressed westward. Our ultimate destination was the Missouri river in the vicinity of Council Bluffs—then called Kaneshville—to take the testimony of Mormons who had encamped there on their way to Salt Lake. They had been driven from Nauvoo, they had tarried in Iowa, had remained there long enough to vote; quite a large body of them had reached and congregated in the neighborhood of the Missouri river.

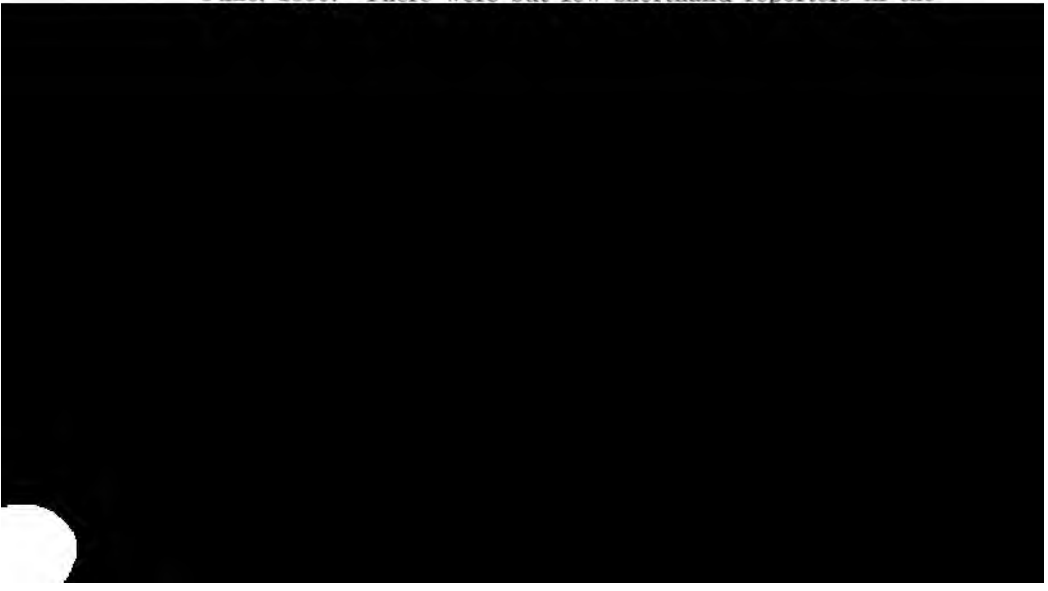
We went from Keosauqua to Centerville. The only road was the Mormon trail—a trail they had made in their removal westward over the prairies and across the streams. We followed this trail. It was the month of March; our way lay through the wilderness; the weather was somewhat rough, but we kept supplied with a sufficient amount of

get sleeping for the night here. Can you keep us?" we replied. "Yes, I guess so; get out and come in," said he. We looked after the horses with the man and then went in. He had two cabins, one in which he lived and cooked, and a very small one in which were located three beds. This was assigned for our lodging. But we were not quite happy. We had run out of material again; Hall, especially, was terribly disconsolate. He called the proprietor in and asked him if he had any whiskey he would let us have. The man replied, "Wall, strangers, I have got some whiskey. I went with my team all the way from here to St. Joseph, Mo., to get it; the roads are bad and I tell you whiskey are whiskey. I got a barrel of it and I'll let you have some, but whiskey are whiskey." "Well, what do you mean; how much do you want for it?" said Hall. "Seventy-five cents a pint," said the man. (Twenty-five cents a gallon was the highest price for whiskey at that time.) "Why, my gracious, that is cheap; how can you afford to sell it for that after bringing it so far? Give us a pint of it," said Hall. The man brought us in a pint with which, and a good, rousing fire to warm up our chilled frames, we soon made ourselves comfortable. The pint was soon gone, and Hall calling in the man, said to him that his whiskey was so cheap, we must have another pint of it. Well, another pint was brought and considerable of it drank before supper was called, as we were very cold, chilled through. I forgot to say that it was about ten in the evening, when we arrived and about midnight before supper was ready. On the table was some good corn-bread, a good substitute for coffee made of dried crusts of bread, ground, milk, and in the middle of the table a huge yellow dish filled or nearly so with a clear looking liquid in which were floating scraps of the bacon from which it had been tried. As a substitute for butter I placed a lot of it on my plate as did all the rest of us, to sop our corn-bread in. I put a piece of the latter, well sopped, in my mouth, but immediately after getting a good taste, threw it out, exclaiming, "My gracious, this is rusty bacon!" I was hungry, but my stomach revolted. Hall, however, who was a man of most robust stomach, and whose appetite had become whetted by the long fast, said, "I tell you boys this corn-bread and gravy is good," and he ate a large quantity of it. Supper ended, we went to our sleeping cabin; we sat and talked a while, and finally Kinney and Johnson turned in. Hall and myself concluded we would sit up and enjoy ourselves a while longer. As we sat there Hall called my attention to a copy of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, which had been shown him the day before, in which there were intimations that he had been connected with the loss of the poll-books, and said he believed that I was responsible for what he termed these — incendiary documents which were being thrown broadcast. "I'll be darned if I like it," said he. The whiskey had produced just that effect on me that the allusion put me in fighting trim, and I said, "I don't care a blank whether you do or not; I believe there is some ground for it and you can make the most of it." Hall rose to his feet, swelling with anger and resentment. He looked me squarely in the face for a moment, his eyes glistening like fire, and I thought he was about to strike me, when his face relaxed into gentler lines and he said, "Well, Dan, I reckon we had better not make fools of ourselves." I immediately put out my hand, which he cordially grasped, and after taking a "night cap" we went pleasantly to bed. Towards morning I heard him giving vent to the most terrible groans. He had partly raised himself up in bed. I could plainly see by the light of the open fireplace. I sprang up. "My God, Hall, what is the matter?" I excitedly asked. "Get the medicine quick," he replied, "I have got the cholera; I never was in

such agony in my life; I believe I shall die." I at once aroused Kinney and Johnson. "Get up," said I, "for heaven's sake get up quick; Hall has the cholera; get out the medicine quick, and I will run and arouse the people in the other cabin and get them to heat some water." Out of the cabin I went to the other one and called to the man to get up. "Get up quick, your whole family, and heat all the water you can just as soon as possible; one of our men has the cholera. Don't be frightened; you need not come near the house; heat the water and we will come for it." On my return to the cabin Hall had succeeded in getting up and was standing in front of the large fireplace, his hands holding to the mantel or jamb. After some retching and relief of the stomach, we concluded there was no cholera in the case; whereupon we all joined in a hearty laugh, and none more heartily than Hall himself, and returned to our repose.

The extent of Judge Hall's practice is readily shown by the report of cases which went on appeal to the Supreme Court. At the term held in the southern judicial district at Burlington in May, 1848, he was in twenty-six cases out of thirty-nine that were then decided, as shown and reported in first G. Greene's Reports. At the term held there in May, 1849, and reported in second G. Greene, he was in twenty-two cases out of the thirty-two then decided. When we consider that but comparatively few cases tried below go to the Supreme Court, some idea can be formed of his immense practice in the southern district. In addition, he had a goodly number of the other districts of the State.

It is a pity that of the great number of his forensic efforts so few remnants of his oral ones have been preserved. Indeed, I know of but one—that in the case of Ruel Daggs vs. Elihu Frazier, tried in the district court at Burlington in June, 1850. There were but few shorthand reporters in the



he claimed to have been prevented from retaking by the so-called Abolitionists in the neighborhood of the Quaker settlement of Salem in Henry county. David Rorer was for the plaintiff and Mr. Hall was for the defendant. In the existing excitement against those who sought to interfere with the right of the master to follow and retake his fugitive slaves under the law, Mr. Rorer had the easy side of the case, Mr. Hall the difficult one. It was a combat of trained and powerful intellects, and I doubt whether many better specimens of offhand, extemporaneous argument in a *nisi prius* court than theirs in that case, can be found anywhere. That of Judge Hall, though struggling against the weight of testimony and adverse conditions, glows with ingenious force and varied, pungent, ratiocination; and I am constrained to say that of Judge Rorer, who had better standing-room, was not behind. These proceedings are alone sufficient to show that both were past grand masters in their profession. Their friends and the profession at large should feel thankful to Mr. Aldrich and the Historical Department of Iowa for the resuscitation and publication of the proceedings referred to.

If his lot had been cast in a large city where the stimulus of high conditions and the friction of great interest invoke extraordinary forces, he would doubtless have acquired national fame as a lawyer. He evidently possessed mental powers whose depths were never fully sounded. It was said by Walpole that "Men are often capable of greater things than they perform. They are sent into the world with bills of credit, and seldom draw to their full extent." And so it was with Jonathan C. Hall.

In politics he was a Democrat of the old school; but above all and at all times, a patriot. He left surviving him a son, Benton J. Hall, who early attained great prominence as a lawyer, represented his district in Congress, was Commissioner of Patents under President Cleveland, and died lamented and beloved by every one who knew him.


ELIPHALET PRICE.*

BY THE LATE HON. SAMUEL MURDOCK.

We met in early life upon the border, where the civilized and savage commingled to pursue a common road, and for more than a third of a century he was my neighbor and my friend, and what I have here to say over his past life is but a tribute I owe to his distinguished worth.

Neither in the history of our own country, nor in that of any other civilized nation of the globe, has there ever been another half century of human affairs in which there has been so much progress and development, in all the avocations of human life, as the one that now closes the career of our lamented friend.

He saw the country from the great lakes to the Pacific ocean a wilderness and peopled alone by the hunter, and the savage, and he saw the same territory rapidly converted into states and peopled by a race of men who have converted it into blooming farms and fertile gardens; and established over all a government and a civilization based upon the principles of exact justice and self-government, the greatest and perhaps the grandest the world ever saw.



struggles of the last half century of western life, in which he was connected, would require volumes, instead of a newspaper article.

The history of Iowa and the development of civilization in this great valley can never be correctly written without his name being in the front rank of those who contributed the service of a long life to the establishment of everything that has proved beneficial to existing races and their posterity; and I must leave it to the pen of him who may come after me, and who in future years may seek to write of the rise, progress and development of American civilization to do more, and content myself and your readers with a few of the leading, prominent features and acts of his eventful life.

He was born in Jersey City, in the State of New Jersey, on the 31st day of January, 1811, and as he grew up he received from his father the rudiments of a common education, and when about 18 years of age his father took him to New York City and bound him as an apprentice to learn the trade of a painter.

This old relic of feudal times, called master and servant, still forms one of the chapters of the law of "domestic relations," and although it has nearly vanished from western civilization, it still clings with force to the institutions of the older states, and at the time we speak of it was in its full force and vigor in the State and city of New York, and was often made the pretense for the very worst acts of tyranny and oppression by the master over the apprentice.

Here, however, was a field for the genius of our friend and he soon accomplished a thorough organization of all the apprentices of the city into a strong society, with a constitution and by-laws that taught the most tyrannical master that they had rights which he was bound to respect.


This society soon raised a sum of money with which they purchased a fine library of all the leading works of that day and it was here that our old friend laid the foundation of that classical and historical knowledge which made him famous in after years as a writer and a scholar of no ordinary capacity.

Vicissitude and misfortune, however, overtook his old master, and he absolved young Price from his indenture and this threw him upon the world to make his own way through life.

About the beginning of the year 1831 he arrived in the city of Philadelphia and became the local editor of a paper called *The Market Exchange*, and in this capacity he soon brought himself into notice by his witty and spicy articles, many of which are more witty and mirthful than those of Ward or Nasby. But he soon tired of this work, and looking about for wider fields for his talent, in the fall of that year he repaired to Washington City.

General Jackson was at that time President of the United States, and the Senate and House were then represented by such men as Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Adams and others, who have now, like himself, passed away, but whose deeds will live forever. He remained here through two sessions of Congress, heard all these great and distinguished men from time to time discuss great national questions, and formed an intimate acquaintance with many of them that ended only with their lives.

He left Washington some time in 1832, with the design of seeing the far west and exploring the valley of the Mississippi; traveled on foot to Pittsburg, and after recruiting his wearied limbs, embarked on a steamer for Cincinnati. After remaining in this city for a short time he took passage on a steamer for New Orleans, and when he arrived in the latter city he found a large number of its inhabitants



plank and check for him a few minutes while he procured a little medicine from a neighboring drug store.

This he gladly did, and very soon the captain of the boat came along and discovered that his clerk was absent and a new man in his place, when he immediately followed his clerk to the drug store, only to find that he too had just died of the fearful disease.

Returning in a few moments to his boat he immediately engaged the services of our lamented friend as his clerk for the trip. Never was a service more gladly accepted or more faithfully performed, and in due time we find our young friend in Galena, looking about for some vocation that would give him a living.

But to him in his youthful days "fields always looked greener when they were far away," and he turned his steps towards Iowa, arriving in Dubuque some time in the fall of 1832.

It will be remembered that on the 21st of September, 1832, the Sac and Fox Indians had ceded to the United States a strip of land about fifty miles wide, extending from Missouri to the mouth of the Little Iowa. This treaty was to take effect on the first day of June, 1833, but as soon as the terms of it were known hundreds of men rushed across the great river, took up claims and began prospecting in the lead mines of Dubuque.

The Indians protested against this inroad, and Gen. Zack. Taylor, who was then commanding at Fort Crawford, and who was afterwards elected President of the United States, was ordered to proceed to the purchase and drive out the settlers. This order he executed to the letter and our old friend with others was compelled to leave the Territory.

Like all the others, he hung upon the border, and on the expiration of the time he returned to Dubuque and was among the first white men who made a legal settlement within the limits of what is now the great State of Iowa.

In the fall of 1834 he, in company with a party of hunters, explored the valley of the Turkey, and being enraptured with its romantic scenery, its rich and fertile prairies and its


rippling stream, he determined to make the valley his future and permanent home.

Returning to Dubuque to fulfill a contract he had entered into with Father Mazzuchelli to build for him a Catholic church, he again, in the fall of 1835, returned to the valley of the Turkey, and in company with C. S. Edson, a person well-known to the old settlers of Clayton, spent the first winter near the town now called Osterdock.

In the winter of 1836 a Mr. Finly erected a sawmill on the Little Turkey, near the present town of Millville. He shortly afterwards sold out his mill and his claim to Robert Hetfield and Mr. Price. In the erection of this pioneer sawmill, Joseph Quigley, still living in Highland, was the millwright, and Luther Patch, still living and now residing in Elkader, was the sawyer.

After a time Price sold out his interest in the mill, selected for himself a beautiful and fertile tract of land on the north side of the Turkey, about five miles from Millville, and on this he built his cabin. In a few years he converted this wild land into one of the finest farms of the county.

It was in this cabin that he became known to every settler and wayfarer in the land. Whether his stock of provisions was great or small, good or bad, he would divide his last loaf and meat with the stranger. It was this unbounded liberality on his part that gave him in after years such a hold upon the hearts of all the old settlers of his county. Many a time has the author of this article, with wearied thoughts and tired



Iowa Cavalry, was wounded at the battle of Fort Dapelson and afterwards died of his wounds.

His amiable wife died in 1865 and he never married again, but with his youngest daughter, who still lives in Colorado, he kept the younger portion of his household together to the last.

During his long residence of thirty-eight years in our county he always took an active and prominent part in State and county politics, and in the management and organization of parties he had no peer in the State of Iowa.

In early times he was an ardent Whig, but upon the repeal of the Missouri compromise he threw his whole soul and action into the Republican party, and was among the very first, with voice and pen, to arouse the people against the strides and encroachments of the slaveholder. When the Rebellion broke out he took an active part in the organization of military companies, encouraged his sons to draw the sword, and from the beginning to the end of the great war his voice and pen were never idle in the cause of the Union.

No one in the State in a civil capacity did more, no one could do more than he did in the cause of the Union, and his speeches and writings at the time were models of learning, ability and oratory.

When he was well and himself he was a natural born orator, and this gift, added to his tall and graceful form, gave him at all times the full command of his audience. At one moment he could convulse that audience into boisterous laughter, and in the next arouse them into expressions of the most frenzied passion, and in a moment more they were again in the region of the clouds, where fancy was unrestrained, and where they had the option of basking in the sunshine unharmed by the whirlwind's roar, or with the thunderbolt leaping down to earth again, laughing at one of his sallies of wit, or lighting perhaps, in the mire and filth of accumulated dirt, only to curse themselves for having spent an hour listening to such a consummate juggler.

A lifelong complaint caused him to renounce public speaking, and he resorted to his pen, and if we only take into consideration his subjects, his themes, his racy, chaste and mu-

sical style, together with his remarkable ingenuity of spinning all his facts and fancies into a common thread, he had no equal in the civilized world.

In literature he was a prince in the art of humbugging, and was more a master of this art than any juggler or showman who has appeared before the public for the last three hundred years.

He could stand upon the Rocky mountains, fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, and with his pencil and paper humbug a world; and, when he saw his infernal rat story published for truth in all the leading journals of America, illustrated in Police Gazettes, translated into foreign languages, and hawked about by the newsboys on the streets of London, Paris, St. Petersburg and Berlin, he sat down and laughed himself sick over the ease with which he could gull and tempt the cupidity of mankind.

It will be remembered that the story related how the rats had attacked, killed and eaten up the infant child of Sergeant O'Keef, belonging to the signal station on the summit of Pike's Peak, and when it was published and illustrated in pictures many a tender mother, and many an innocent child throughout the reading world shed sympathetic tears over the horrible miseries of that little child as the infernal rats were tearing the quivering flesh from its bones. Scientists, too, in every part of the world, took up the subject and discussed the question whether rodents in such numbers could possibly exist in such an altitude above the sea, and the ques-

read and reread by the lovers of history and romance while the English language is spoken upon this continent.

He was for many years the vice-president of this society, and through his knowledge of this great valley, his general acquaintance with the early settlers, his intimacy with all the Indian tribes of the northwest, together with his experience in public life, he was enabled to collect and preserve for that society a vast fund of information and historical facts that without him would have been lost forever. He was also the author of the thrilling and interesting story called *The Indian Runner*, a story that twenty-five years ago went the rounds of the American press and was translated into foreign languages and published in all the leading journals of Europe.

In 1845 he wrote and published the thrilling and melancholy story of *The Mysterious Grave*, founded upon no fact whatever, and because the statement that these words: "Erin, an exile, bequeathes thee his blessing," were found in the grave, the story was copied into Irish papers and many a poor Irish mother wept over it as perhaps the grave of a lost and wandering son.

But perhaps his most successful story, one that called forth the greatest and most numerous encomiums, and one that was read at every camp-fire in the army, and in every cottage wherever the English language was spoken, is *The Drummer Boy*. It was first published in *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, and for tenderness of expression, for ingenuity of theme, for elegance of style and diction, for converting the ideal into reality, for chaining the reader's attention and calling from him emotions of sympathy and patriotism, for the ease of deception and for its perfect and consummate delusion, it is his masterpiece. No one doubted but that the story was true and the poor little "Drummer Boy," like Charlie Ross, was found in every village and hamlet in the land.

No story of modern times ever had a wider circulation, or was ever read with deeper or more sympathetic interest, and like *Pilgrim's Progress*, *The Vicar of Wakefield* and *The Deserted Village*, it will be read around the hearthstone of domestic tranquility, when its anonymous author is forgotten.

Saxe, the poet, traced out the author, complimented him highly and converted the story into one of his finest poems.

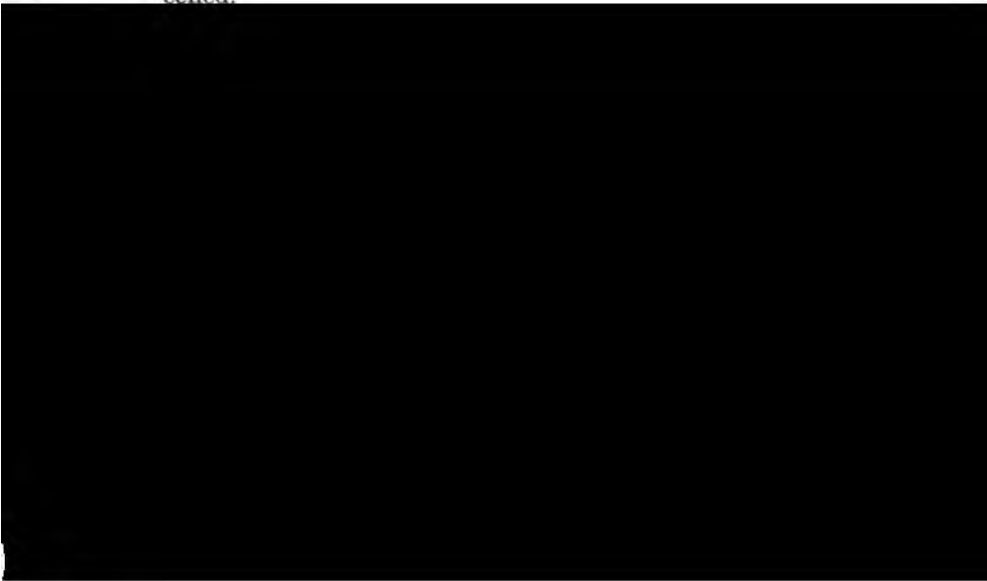
During his long and active life in our midst he was a constant contributor to the columns of the *Miners' Express*, *Dubuque Tribune*, *Dubuque Herald*, *Lansing Mirror*, and other papers of Iowa, and in all of these articles can be seen the same racy, chaste and elegant style of composition and thought that place him above any other writer of his day.

He took an active part in the organization of Clayton county, and held the first justice court within its limits. He was the first clerk of the Board of Clayton County Commissioners, was elected the first School Fund Commissioner and served one term as a Judge of Probate.

In 1850 he took the United States census of the counties of Clayton, Fayette, Winneshiek and Allamakee.

In 1850 he was elected from the counties of Clayton, Fayette, Winneshiek and Allamakee to the State legislature, and it was at this session that he brought himself into notice as one of the most skillful and sagacious politicians of the State. He took an active part in this Legislature, in the organization of the school system of the State, and to his actions and suggestions are we to-day indebted for some of our best laws relating to schools.

For many successive terms he was elected Governor of the Lobby, and that body received from him an annual message, that for keen wit and withering sarcasm has never been excelled.



he ever occupied with clean hands and with a reputation for honesty, capability and fairness.

In the fall of 1864 he followed the brave General Hatch through all his military raids in Mississippi, and was an eyewitness of all the battles and skirmishes this general had with the rebel general, Forrest.

He was for many years the President of the Old Settlers and Pioneers' Association of the county, organized the first meeting and delivered before it one of the finest and most eloquent speeches of his lifetime.

Long before any railroad had reached any part of the great west, he called the people of the county together at a mass meeting in Guttenberg to discuss the propriety of giving aid to a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and in his opening speech before that meeting he declared with the most prophetic vision that he would live to see Clayton county checkered with railroads and this he accomplished with some years to spare.

Shortly after this meeting he made another speech to a few of the old settlers at Littleport, in which he said, "There are men in this audience, as well as myself, who will live to see a railroad passing up the Volga," and after the road up this stream was completed he wrote to the author of this article from Colorado, saying in reference to it, "My dream is fulfilled, my prophecy has come to pass, and my mission will soon be ended, but Clayton county, hail!"

One can hardly realize that that giant form that towered among us so long, that mingled in all our conventions, railroad meetings, county seat courts, balls, parties and routs, is gone forever, and that his voice and pen, which once stirred the thoughts and hearts of thousands, are now silent forever.

For fine, interesting conversational powers he had no equal in the State of Iowa, and it was at all times a rich treat to spend a few hours in his company. Never vulgar, always temperate, his language flowed with the same easy, elegant and poetical style of his compositions.

He could tell and embellish a good anecdote, sing a good song, convulse a crowd with merriment and laughter over any subject, and when one had left his company and pondered a

moment over the interview, the wonder was why his absurdities were not discovered while you were still in his presence.


Kind, courteous and social to all, whether rich or poor, his sympathies were aroused to the highest pitch at distress and sorrow, and he was at your service, while his money flowed like water. The priest and the layman, the tramp and the trader, the lawyer and the farmer, the rich and the poor, all found a home and a resting-place at his house and a seat at his table.

Ill health at last forced him to take refuge in the Rocky mountains, and in the year 1872 he sold his homestead, took the younger members of the family and departed for Colorado, leaving behind him the scenes of his early triumphs, exploits, association and hardships, upon which his eyes were never to rest again.

In Colorado he began the same career which characterized him in his early days in Clayton county, and with the vigor of his youth he visited the camps of her miners, ascended her highest mountains, looked down upon her wide-spread plains and with his voice and pen contributed to her greatness and her resources.

But old age and disease were fast destroying his stalwart frame, and when the fatal hour had come his death was like the blowing out of a candle.

Such are some of the leading acts and events of his long and useful life, and if I have not done him justice let an indulgent public attribute the fault to a want of ability on my




AT LINCOLN'S FIRST INAUGURATION.

BY CHARLES ALDRICH.

Considering the season of the year, and the means of reaching the end of the railroad, it was a long journey from Webster City, Iowa, to Washington, D. C., in that stormy February of 1861. There were two methods of reaching the railroad, which was a little over a hundred miles distant, either by the Western Stage Company's vehicles, or by private conveyance. Under the circumstances I chose the former. In the pleasant summer time the Western Stage Company ran a two-horse coach from the end of the Dubuque and Sioux City railroad (now a part of the Illinois Central system), to Ft. Dodge. But when the snows were deep they used a common two-horse sleigh, and sometimes a "jumper" or "pung." When the mud was deep in the summer a common lumber-wagon sufficed to carry the passengers and the mails. These old wagons had a wonderful proclivity for getting stuck in sloughs, and it was often jocularly advised that each passenger should provide himself with a fence-rail in order to pry out the wagons when the good horses could not pull them through. It may be well to state right here that the Western Stage Company's pioneer manager was Thomas McChesney, who had long been in their employ on the lines in our section of the State. He was a man of energy, sometimes a little emphatic in his use of language, but thoroughly informed as to every detail of the work under his charge. He knew the drivers, and most of the horses, and looked after the various properties of the Western Stage Company with an eye single to the interests of his employers. Many times he came through our way ahead of the mails, and when stopping at the stage stations became a sort of oracle, giving the people all the news that was afloat at the end of the railroad. In this way he was

a very popular man, and deserved his popularity for his genial nature and efficiency as a manager.

About the middle of February I made an arrangement with him for a seat in his sleigh, which was to pass Webster City about that time. In those old snow-storm days you could not always rely upon promptness in this mode of transportation. I remember distinctly the pleasant morning when the sleigh arrived, stopping for me in front of the old Town Hall, which disappeared more than thirty years ago. The morning was mild and pleasant, and the sleighing simply superb. For fellow passengers there were Capt. Charles B. Richards, a long time resident of Ft. Dodge, with his wife and little son, Charles, now a leading business man of San Diego, Cal. There was just one vacant seat, and when I looked to see who occupied it, I found that I was "booked" to sit beside A. S. White, editor and publisher of *The Sentinel* at Ft. Dodge. The preceding year had been one in which political feeling ran high. White and I had had some very forcible discussions, and were not indulging in the kindest feeling for each other. In fact, we had not spoken together for six months. But there was no alternative, I had to take my seat by his side. We each attempted to say "good morning," but I am of the opinion that it was a mumble, rather than any distinct enunciation. For many a mile we were simply coldly respectful towards each other. But happily we both thawed out by degrees, and entirely forgot our political troubles. East of Webster City about a dozen miles was the first stage




both difficult and dangerous. We had no choice but to remain there the next two days. We amused ourselves by playing euchre, parching corn by the open fireplace, and reading such antiquated literature as we found lying about the house. I think it was the third morning that we were able to leave, and slowly make our way through the snow-drifts to Cedar Falls. From there to the end of the railroad, which I believe was at Manchester, the roads were well broken, and we glided along in very satisfactory style. I give my own recollection, but on recently meeting Captain Richards, at San Diego, Cal., he insisted that owing to the snowed-up condition of the railroad, we continued by stage to Dubuque. But recollections will vary, like our watches, after the lapse of nearly fifty years. The only incident, however, that I recall was the upsetting of the sleigh and the dumping of all the passengers in a heap together. No one sustained any injuries, for we alighted in a snowbank, from which we soon extracted ourselves and went ahead.

From the time we reached the railroad until we arrived at Washington City I have little recollection of the remainder of the journey. I think it must have been pleasant, for we had a jolly company, and we were full of ambition to witness the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, which was to take place on the 4th of March. I cannot now recall the number of days we were in Washington preceding the inauguration, but probably five or six. I remember that I experienced a profound feeling of disgust when I contemplated the great number of office-seekers who had crowded into Washington at this time. It was doubtful whether we had a country or not, but that seemed to make no difference with men who wanted consulships, Indian agencies, postmasterships, and almost anything else in the gift of the appointing power. A friend of mine at Ft. Dodge was very anxious to secure an Indian agency, and begged me to say some good words for him to our delegation in Congress. I carried out my promise to him, but he failed in securing the appointment.

The days dragged along slowly, but finally the 4th of March dawned upon the Federal City, and everyone was bestirring himself in preparation for the great event of the century. I had secured a ticket with which I could obtain admission to

the Capitol building and possibly a seat in the gallery of the United States Senate Chamber, where some of the proceedings were to take place. I preferred, however, to join the crowd outside, in the hope that I could get close enough to the stand to hear the great Inaugural Address. At that time very little had been done in the way of decorating the grounds on the east front of the Capitol. Across the street from the northeast entrance there still stood a high board fence. These boards were set up on end, and were far from being a graceful addendum to the landscape. The platform had been erected about half way up the northeast steps, and extended in the direction of the street. There was a multiplicity of seats provided for such people as could gain admittance. At the outer edge of the platform a wide board was set up on its edge, and formed the back of the seat from which the occupant could face the President while he was speaking. Stephen A. Douglas sat at the south end of this front row of seats, occupying a place in the corner. For myself I had heard him speak in the United States Senate and in Tammany Hall, New York City, and was quite familiar with his appearance. I went across the street a distance of ten or twelve rods and selected standing-room with my back against one of those tall boards. The area in front of this northeast corner of the Capitol was filled with spectators to the number of many thousands. It was described by the reporters as "a sea of upturned faces." Just before the appearance of Mr. Lincoln, a file of soldiers, doubtless regulars, came into the area, and

marched along in front of the platform, slowly making their

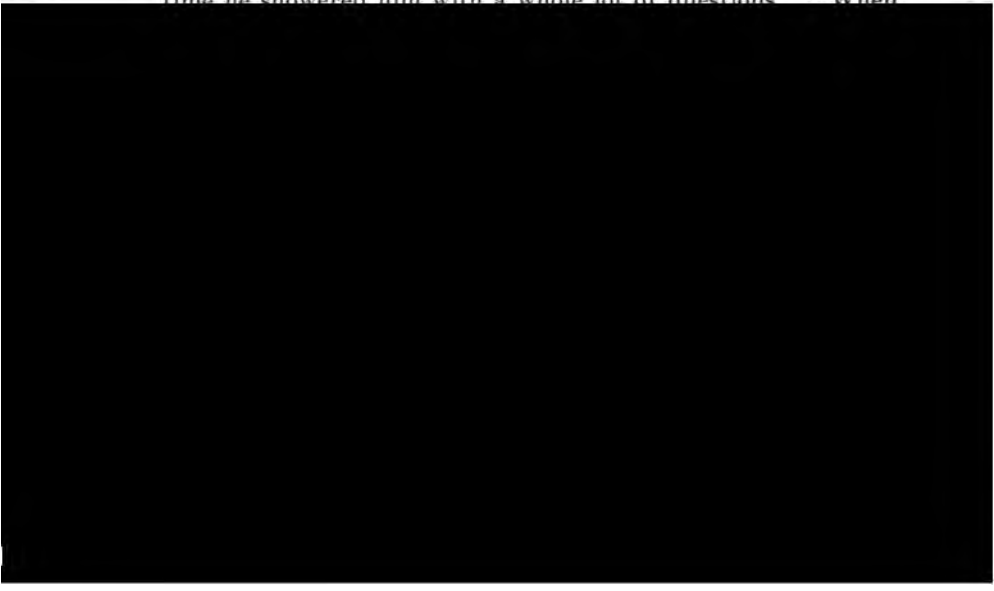


However, the assembled multitude had not long to wait before President Lincoln appeared, walking alone through the door that led to the portico outside of the Senate Chamber. He walked quickly down the steps to the front of the platform. Removing his hat he looked around for some place to dispose of it. From where I stood I plainly saw Stephen A. Douglas reach for the hat and the President yielded it to him. It was stated afterwards in the papers that Mr. Douglas quietly remarked: "Mr. President, I will take your hat." Some of the newspaper people who were sadly lacking in reverence stated that "Mr. Douglas could not be President himself, but that he held the hat of the man who was." The next movement on the part of Mr. Lincoln was thrusting his hand into his right breeches pocket and taking out a steel spectacle case. He opened this with a snap and drew out a pair of spectacles, which he instantly placed before his eyes. At that time he could not make a movement, however slight, which did not elicit rounds of applause. When he removed his hat, when he put on his glasses, and when he restored the steel case to his pocket, there were loud cheers. He took his place at a table which had been conveniently placed, and drew out the manuscript of his inaugural address. The first words he uttered were—"Fellow citizens of the United States!" It seemed to everybody who heard him that he dwelt upon and emphasized the word "united." At all events, his expression was greeted with loud cheers. From this time until the close of his address his auditors were loud in their applause. I never listened to a speaker whose enunciation was so clear and distinct as that of Mr. Lincoln. You not only heard every word that he uttered, but every sentence was most clearly expressed. I believe his voice was perfectly audible to every one of the people who occupied the acres before and around him. At the close of his address he was greeted with deafening cheers, which seemed to carry with them an expression of highest confidence in the President.

When he concluded he stepped to one side of the table upon which lay an apparently well-worn copy of the Bible. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney—the President kissing the Bible—after which the people who oc-

cupied the platform and steps arose and slowly filed into the Capitol. The address was already printed and was at once upon the streets. I know that it was as profoundly satisfying to the people present, as it was to the loyal people of the whole country.

During the remainder of that day it was quietly noised about among the Iowa politicians that the President would receive them in the East Room of the White House on the next afternoon. At that time there were sixty or seventy gentlemen from our State who had come to be present at the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. We were all introduced to the President by Hon. Josiah B. Grinnell, who seemed to know everybody from our State and was well acquainted with the President also. This presentation went off quite rapidly; in fact, it was very formal. The President pronounced our names as he took each by the hand and we speedily passed on with those who had gone before. Just ahead of me was a gentleman by the name of George May, who was a well-known pioneer of Marion county. In his boyhood he had known Mr. Lincoln, but he did not expect any recognition on that account. Mr. Lincoln, however, shook his hand and allowed him to pass along, when he turned around, and taking one of his long strides, put his hand upon Mr. May's shoulder and turned him about. "Are you George May, the son of my old friend, ——— May?" George merely bowed an affirmative assent to this inquiry, but Mr. Lincoln detained him a few seconds, during which time he showered him with a whole lot of questions. "When



A day or two after the events last recited the Iowa politicians were accorded a reception by Gen. Winfield Scott. Everybody who has read American history knows that he was the hero of the war in Canada during the last unpleasantness between this country and Great Britain. He was also sent to Mexico to supersede General Taylor, through some misapprehension in the politics of that period. Old Zach Taylor was doing well enough, and the American people requited his disappointment in being removed from command in Mexico by making him President of the United States. But all this did not detract from the great soldierly merits of General Scott. I cannot now recall the place where we found him. It seems to me, however, that it was at some point a block or two northeast of the Capitol grounds, but about this I am not certain. He had been apprised that we were coming and received us very cordially. The old man was dressed in a simple morning gown of some cheap material like quite ordinary calico. He bore the marks of extreme old age. His eye was bleared and the skin on his face and hands was much discolored, as we occasionally see it in aged people. He stood firmly on his feet as we were presented to him, and took each of us cordially by the hand. I had a great admiration for his past career as a soldier and was proud of the opportunity to meet him. He was then in chief command of the loyal armies of the country, and seemed to be our sole dependence so far as military ability was concerned. But as a support in such a time of need I could not repress the feeling that he was a very frail one. Not long after this, however, Congress passed a law which placed him on the retired list. He lived some years afterwards and took deep interest in the success of the northern armies. His occasional addresses were all on the side of loyalty and devotion to the Union.

It has always been a matter of great gratification to me that I was able to see the illustrious President, as I did on those two occasions, and the great General who had won undying fame upon bloody fields in Canada and Mexico.


I spent the evening of the third of March in the Gallery of the United States Senate. Seated at my left was Captain

Richards, and on my right Mr. Grinnell. We heard disloyal speeches by Wigfall of Texas, and Joseph Lane of Oregon, and a marvelous address by Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. It was this great address which commended Andrew Johnson so warmly to the people of the north, and four years later made him Vice-President of the United States.

FAST DAY IN IOWA.

Proclamation: Whereas, the past Winter has been one of special trial and destitution to many of our people, on account of which we should humble ourselves before Him who directs us in ways and to ends unseen by human wisdom, according to His own pleasure; and whereas abstinence from food, accompanied with religious humiliation and the prayer of faith, in seasons of public distress, are recorded among the general duties of all Christian communities, I, therefore, would respectfully recommend Friday, the 22d day of April next, to be observed by all the people of this State as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, that thereby we may propitiate a kindlier providence and "be fed once more with the heritage of Jacob."

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the State of Iowa. Done
L. S. at Des Moines this 28th day of March, A. D. 1859,
and of the Independence of the United States the



THE DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CASE.

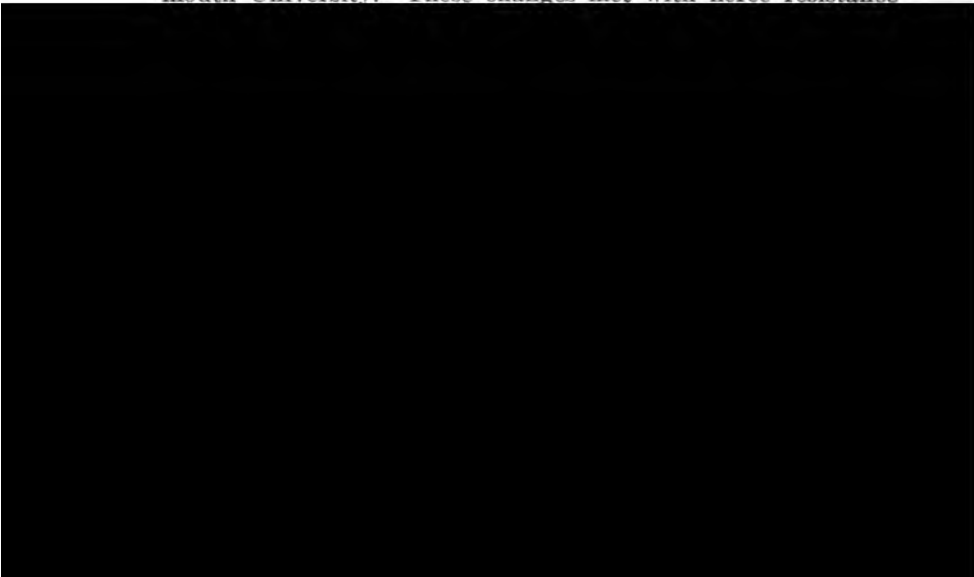
BY JUDGE W. F. BRANNAN.

William H. Woodward was the father of Judge William G. Woodward, and was, I am told, so highly esteemed by the community that at his untimely death a meeting of the citizens in commemoration of the public service he had rendered was held. He obtained historic fame by the firm attitude he maintained in the celebrated Dartmouth College case. He was made the sole defendant in that suit, but to understand how he happened to be so placed in that case it is necessary to set forth the facts that led to the controversy. The Rev. Dr. Eleazer Wheelock was the founder of that college under a royal charter granted by King George III. in December, 1769. The charter made the college a corporate body, and among other provisions it set forth the following: First, that it should be perpetual, and, secondly, that it should be governed by a board of trustees not to exceed twelve in number, and it named the institution, Dartmouth College. It may be added that it provided that any vacancy in the board of trustees should be supplied by the remaining trustees.

Doctor Wheelock had originally opened a school on his own premises and at his own expense for the education of Indian children. One of his pupils was a young Mohegan Indian named Samson Oocom, who became a remarkable Christian preacher among his race. Some years after Mr. Wheelock concluded to take into his school white as well as Indian children. Success attended his efforts when this addition was made to the school. He finally concluded to enlarge his field of education by establishing a college for the education of both white and Indian children. Dr. Wheelock was a man of great energy and perseverance, and he dispatched Rev. Mr. Whitaker, with full power of attorney to London, who took with him the Indian, Oocom, to solicit aid for the con-

templated college. They met with great success and ten thousand pounds were subscribed. The presence of Occom contributed not a little to the interest in promoting the purpose of their errand. He was at first an object of curiosity, but when he was found to be a young man of pleasant manners, well versed in the English language, and very intelligent, a high opinion was formed of his capacity.

The charter was the work of Mr. Wheelock and prepared by him with great care, and intended to be perpetual without change of any kind. The college was established from the aid furnished both at home and abroad, and was eventually put in a flourishing condition. Nearly fifty years had passed without a breath of discontentment at any provision in its charter. In 1816 the Legislature of New Hampshire commenced its work of altering the charter and passed several acts with that object in view. The changes that the Legislature undertook to make may be briefly summed up: First, it passed an act by which the number of trustees, which the charter had in express terms declared should never be more than twelve, was increased by adding nine new trustees, thus making the board of trustees to consist of twenty-one members. It next passed an act creating a board of twenty-five overseers, to act as a board of control, which could annul any proceeding undertaken by the board of trustees, thus making the trustees subject to the power of the overseers. It changed the name of the institution from Dartmouth College to Dartmouth University. These changes met with fierce resistance



as foul sacrilege to the memory of the great and good man, who had founded the college, and who, in the charter he had prepared, had so provided by restrictive measures that to go beyond would violate both its letter and spirit. He refused to recognize the authority assumed by the change made or surrender the trusts reposed in him.

The twelve trustees refused to co-operate with the nine new ones sought to be added to their number, or to yield obedience to, or respect for the supervisory powers, sought to be conferred on the board of overseers. The nine new trustees were appointed by the governor and council, and the board of overseers were also appointed by the same authority, except four, one of whom was the governor, and three others who held certain public offices, who were made members *ex officio*.


Public sentiment was so strong and so widely divided that it was resolved to settle the trouble by invoking judicial action. Suit was accordingly brought in the State Supreme Court, and the title given to it was as follows: "Trustees of Dartmouth College vs. William H. Woodward." This title apparently implied that Mr. Woodward was favorable to the legislative action which, as I have understood, was not the truth. He was holding certain offices under the college which have been mentioned and to hasten and simplify the suit it was agreed that Mr. Woodward should be made the defendant, free from the payment of costs, attorney's fees, and any other expenses. The record does not say this, but that was the agreement between the parties, as I have understood. The case was first tried in the State Court, the judges of the Supreme Court presiding, and a judgment returned holding that the legislation complained of was within the constitutional powers of the Legislature and valid. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Federal constitution contains this clause, adopted at the time the constitution was originally framed, viz.: "No State shall pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts." The contest in the case grew out of the portion which prohibits any State from passing any law impairing the obligations of contracts. It was claimed by those supporting the legislation in question

that the prohibition referred to was one that had a pecuniary basis, and could only apply and was intended to apply to transactions arising out of business dealings, and hence did not include charters of an eleemosynary character, or a charity, or the like. They further argued that the charter in question was a grant from a British king while New Hampshire was a British dominion and part of the British Empire, and when the United States secured its independence and became an independent nation, the State of New Hampshire acquired sovereignty over Dartmouth College. The constitution of that State manifested its desire to promote literature, learning and education, and it therefore had power to pass the amendments to the charter of Dartmouth College, which in no manner interfered with its educational objects and duties, or lessened its interest in promoting scholarship.

Daniel Webster and his colleague took the ground that the charter of Dartmouth College was in law a contract, and that the changes made by legislation impaired the obligations of the contract, and that such legislation violated the national constitution, and was consequently void and of no effect.

The case came up for argument in the Supreme Court of the United States on the 10th day of March, 1818. It was a new question and excited much interest in the eastern states. Mr. Webster and Mr. Hopkinson appeared for the appellant and Mr. Holmes and William Wirt, attorney-general for the United States, appeared for the other side. The



been touched before this suit was brought. A legislative body composed, it must be assumed, of fair-minded men, after strong debate, had sanctioned by their votes the passage of the acts in question, the highest tribunal of the State, after argument before it, had declared their legislative acts to be in accord with the existing law. These circumstances, as the Chief Justice substantially said, all had their influence in requiring the whole court to give grave study and deep thought to the questions involved before reaching a conclusion. The opinion he prepared had all the marks of great care and anxious consideration, since every point in the case is shown to have been earnestly examined and critically weighed.

The opinion commences by a reference to the amendments made to the charter of the college by the Legislature of New Hampshire, and the refusal of the majority of the trustees to accept these amendments, which gave rise to the suit brought by and in the name of the college. It then says that it requires no arguments to prove that the circumstances of the case constituted a contract, and that in this transaction every ingredient of a legitimate and complete contract is to be found. It next says the points for consideration are:

1. Is this contract protected by the constitution of the United States?
2. Is it impaired by the acts under which the defendant holds?

The opinion answers both these questions in the affirmative, and held the legislation in dispute void and of no effect.


This decision has admonished State legislatures to keep within the bounds prescribed by the Federal constitution, and to tear down the veil behind which the obligations impairing the sanctity of contracts are sought to be hidden by crafty individuals.

Justices Bushrod Washington and Joseph Story both drew up separate opinions in the case, which were filed and read by them after the Chief Justice concluded. There was no conflict between them and the Chief Justice. Bushrod Washington was a nephew of George Washington, and had the clear mind and sound judgment that distinguished his revered uncle.

Timothy Farrar was one of the twelve trustees, and when the litigation had come to a final end, he published a book in which was narrated the proceedings in both the State and Federal courts, together with full arguments of counsel in both courts, and the full findings of the judges in both of the courts. The book met with a great sale, for the case had attracted much attention among the lawyers and the library of nearly every attorney, except those south of Virginia, had a copy of it.

Muscatine, Iowa.

MORMONS COMING: We are informed that a Mormon Elder has been in this city, and made arrangements with H. W. Love to have between 50 and 100 hand-carts made as soon as possible, to be used in crossing the plains the coming summer. Between three and four thousand of the faithful followers of Prince Brigham are expected here between the 1st and 10th of next month. They purchase their wagons in Chicago, but they are to come here and lay in a stock of provisions, and the necessary outfit for the trip. The Mormons are mostly English, Welsh and Danes, and will most probably go better prepared to endure the hardships of the journey than did those who went out in the summer of 1856.—*Iowa City Republican*. From *St. Charles City Intelligencer*, May 19, 1859.



THE BLOTTING OUT OF AN IOWA TOWN.


BY THE LATE CAPT. S. R. EVANS.

"*Aqui fue Grenada!*" This was the terribly suggestive legend inscribed on bulls' hides and erected on the ruins of the city destroyed by the rough riders of William Walker, the gray-eyed man of destiny, during the invasion of Nicaragua by the filibusters. Yet there were ruins of Grenada to mark the spot and to invite the rebuilding of another city greater than the one that had perished through the calamities of war. There was an Iowa town, however, that at one time was of considerable importance and now there is not a vestige of it remaining. There is nothing to identify the site except tradition and the records that confine its limits within certain boundaries. There are no remains: no foundation walls; no more to mark the site than if it had been but an Indian village of wickiups. The town was known as Iowaville, situated on the borders of Van Buren and Davis counties. If its location is to be preserved it is well that its site be recorded in *The Annals*, and that there be set up a tablet of stone on which may be inscribed, "Here was Iowaville!"

The village of Iowaville was laid out by a company in 1838. The Sac and Fox Indians had sold 1,250,000 acres of land in this vicinity and reserved two years' time on the land, after which James Jordan, William Phelps and John Tolman bought the Indians' time for \$3,000. The sale of time was made in the fall of 1837; in 1838 the Indians vacated and in the spring of that year the place known as Iowaville was laid off. Black Hawk and a few Indians remained. Phelps and Jordan were the earliest settlers, they having come in the fall of 1837. Jordan had the first trading-post. The next settlers to arrive were Joel T. Avery, John Newport, Job Carter and Crittenden Forquaraen, and their families, and Peter Avery, William Avery and William McMullen, unmarried.

William Avery was the first postmaster, the mail being brought in on horseback. Lanson Smith, who came later, was the first physician. The first blacksmith was Robert Rathbun. The first boat up the river as far as this point was the "Pavilion," belonging to the American Fur Company. This boat arrived in 1838. The death of Daniel McMullen was the first in the place. Minerva Forquraen was the first child born. Thomas Gardner and Sevilda Moody were the first couple married. William Avery was the first justice and William Kirkman the first constable. Missionaries preached here, but there was never a church building erected. A schoolhouse was built in 1843 and a Mr. Clark was the first teacher. From Hon. Robert Sloan, who in his early years was a school-teacher in Iowaville, I get the following: William and Peter Avery made their first appearance in the region in 1832; they were agents of the American Fur Company and established a trading-post on the river opposite the site of Iowaville; building a blockhouse there for protection. They continued this trading-post until the year 1842, when the new purchase was open. The Indians removed as far away as Monroe county and spent a winter there, on a creek that has since been known as Avery Creek. The Avery brothers removed with the Indians that winter and went with them to Indian Territory. James Jordan, who is so prominently identified with Iowaville, came to Iowa or Wisconsin Territory in 1819, first stopping at St. Francisville, Missouri.

Black Hawk's residence was on the Des Moines river and



ville, about three blocks from the river. The diameter was 40x70 feet, egg or oval shape, thrown up on the outer diameter about one foot. There were two entrances; one was the head of the council ring, where sat the chief.


Iowaville was situated on that part of the west side of section 7 lying north of the river—a small part of section 7 is south of the river on which the town of Black Hawk was located. The western line of Black Hawk and Iowaville is the western line of that section. The old ferry was immediately across the line and in Davis county.

The decadence of Iowaville was gradual; it never numbered more than 200 population, yet there were men of mark connected with its history. Among these ought to be numbered Hon. Henry Clay Caldwell, the distinguished federal jurist; Hon. Robert Sloan, the honest and able Iowa jurist; James Jordan, the Indian trader, and A. J. Davis.

Iowaville is blotted out entirely; the site is occupied by the corn fields of Capt. Abraham Hinkle, who married one of the daughters of James Jordan. It would be a gracious act on the part of the State to secure a few feet of ground in the center of the old site and erect there an enduring monument on which should be inscribed: "Here was Iowaville."

OTTUMWA, IOWA.

THE MORMON DELUSION: The Fort Desmoines (Iowa) papers give some details of the passage of a band of Mormon emigrants through that place a few days since. In the broiling sun, these poor creatures, the majority of whom are women, moved along slowly in Indian file, dragging behind them in little carts the necessities for the journey, sometimes two women dragging the cart, at other times a man and a woman together. The company was from Europe, and mostly consisted of English people, who had left their comfortable homes, their early associations, and all the attachments which render the English people such unwilling emigrants, and here, with a journey of more than a thousand miles before them, of which 200 would be through a perfect desert, without shade or water, these miserably-deluded people were trudging forward.—*St. Charles City Intelligencer*, Sept. 18, 1856.

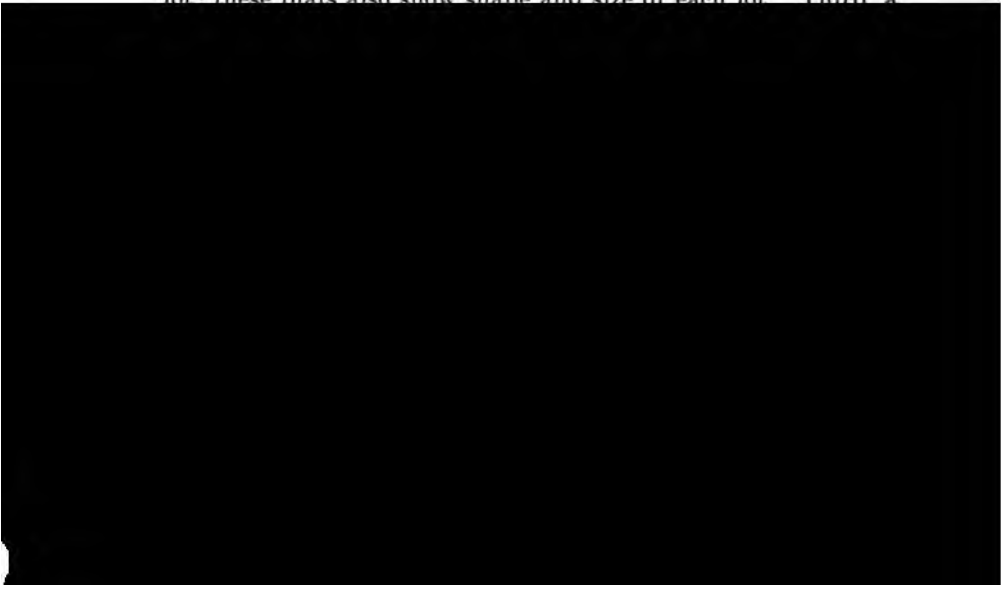


GENEALOGY IN THE CEMETERIES.

BY COL. G. W. CROSLLEY.

Among the many beautiful cemeteries in Iowa there are few that for beauty of location will surpass or equal the one so appropriately named Graceland at Webster City. The grounds, streets, alleys and lots are well cared for and it contains many beautiful and some costly monuments. In this respect, however, it does not differ much from a great many others, but it has occurred to the writer that in so far as the keeping of its records is concerned it deserves to be mentioned as an example to others that have not been so careful in this regard.

The cemetery is the property of the city. The records are kept at the City Hall in a large leather bound book entitled "Cemetery Lot and Grave Record, City of Webster City." This book contains: First, names indexed in alphabetical order of all persons buried in this cemetery, giving lot, division and block and location on lot. Second, plats of all blocks and lots in each section of the cemetery, showing names of persons buried, and the location of each grave upon lot: these plats also show shape and size of each lot. Third, a



cises, and each year the members of the local Grand Army Post and other old soldiers and the members of the Woman's Relief Corps are the honored guests of the city, the Grand Army Post conducting the services at the cemetery according to their ritual, but being relieved of all care as to looking after the details for the observance of the day, and all expense connected therewith. The local military company and the children of the public schools always participate in these exercises, and the business houses are closed.

The records above referred to were compiled by Levi Cottington, an old soldier, and the work of getting all the names and locating them involved long and patient effort and took over one year for its completion. The indexing, platting and drafting was done by Capt. Frank E. Landers, another old soldier, who has for long years been the voluntary keeper of the death record of old soldiers in Webster City and Hamilton county. To these two men is due the whole credit of making up and providing for the perpetual keeping up of these invaluable records. Each burial is promptly reported to the city clerk by the sexton and at once added to the record, so for all time it will be kept complete if faithful and capable men like those now occupying these positions succeed them.

Such a record will prove of value to collectors of genealogical facts and compilers of local history, necrology and biography, and to throw light on the general history of the town, county and State. It also appeals to the best and holiest sentiment of the human heart in keeping the dead in memory and is evidence of a high state of civilization in the community.

A TEN DOLLAR BILL on the State Bank of Iowa has just come into our hands for the first time. It is beautifully executed, and contains a good likeness of Gov. Lowe, a view of the State House at Des Moines, a map of Iowa with all the counties distinctly marked, a Train of Cars, Steamer, Agricultural Implements and Products, a Factory, picture of a pretty woman, and, better than all, it promises to be good for ten dollars.—*St. Charles City Intelligencer*, March 17, 1859.


ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

THE CELEBRATION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF IOWA.

At Iowa City, the old capital of the State of Iowa, there was held from March 19 to March 22, 1907, a celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the State. The Thirty-first General Assembly made such a commemoration possible by appropriating \$750 for the purpose and placing the exercises under the auspices of The State Historical Society of Iowa. The event became a double celebration, for it marked also the fiftieth year of existence of The State Historical Society. At the same time and in the same historic building, the old stone Capitol at Iowa City, both the Society and the State Constitution came into existence, the one by act of the Sixth General Assembly meeting in the legislative halls upstairs, the other by the deliberations of the Convention of 1857, meeting in the Supreme Court room on the lower floor.

The committee of arrangements planned for a program of four days, consisting of addresses and conferences, in which not only men of prominence from Iowa but men of




struggle between the Common Law of England and the Civil Law of Rome for supremacy, and paying tribute in closing to the Constitution of Iowa as an example of American efforts to put into written and permanent form the fundamental principles of right and just government.

Thursday was a day of conferences. In the morning was held a conference on the teaching of history. Members of the faculties of a number of the colleges of the State were present and read papers or took part in the discussions. Some of the subjects dealt with were the relation of history to economics, the best methods of teaching history, and the history of local institutions. A conference of historical societies was held in the afternoon, presided over by Dr. F. E. Horack of the State Historical Society of Iowa. The program was opened by the reading of a communication from Mr. Charles Aldrich of the Historical Department at Des Moines, who was unable to be present at the celebration. Then followed reports and discussions by delegates from nearly all of the local historical societies in the State. They showed enthusiastic work in all sections and indicated a growing appreciation of the valuable work that can be done by localities in preserving the sources of history. The number of such societies is yearly increasing, and their efficiency is growing in like degree. A short discussion by M. G. Wyer, librarian of the State University Library, on methods of preserving material closed the program for the afternoon. Thursday evening was given over to Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, superintendent of the greatest historical society in the west, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Dr. Thwaites' subject was *The Romance of Mississippi Valley History*. It was a topic of great interest and one with which the speaker was very familiar. He took the hearer back to the days when French explorers first appeared upon the waters of the great river. He pictured vividly the voyagers and trappers, the fur traders and adventurers whose songs were heard upon the rivers and streams as they came and went in the great valley. He showed how the settlers began to come in and cleared the

timber and set up their log cabins as forerunners of a future civilization. Scarcely can there be found in the extent of the continent a locality full of such romantic interest as the Valley of the Mississippi River.

On Friday morning Governor Cummins was present and introduced Judge Emlin McClain of the Supreme Court of Iowa, who delivered an address upon *The Constitutional Convention and the Issues Before It*. He told the story of the gathering of the thirty-six men at the old stone Capitol fifty years ago, and outlined their discussions of the provisions of the fundamental law. He showed that although elected on a party basis, the delegates did not conduct their proceedings in a partisan spirit, but met every issue in a spirit of fairness and decided it according to its merits. History has shown that they did their work well. Only four times has the Constitution been amended, and these changes have been in matters of detail rather than in principles of a general nature.

Friday's program closed the celebration. Perhaps the most unique feature of the exercises was the presence of three aged pioneers of the State, survivors from each of the three Constitutional Conventions. Three times in Iowa have delegates gathered together to frame a Constitution for the State. The first was in 1844, the second in 1846, and the third in 1857. All of these conventions met in the old stone Capitol in Iowa City. The members of the Convention of 1857 at the end of twenty-five years held a reunion in Des



had served as a member of the Convention of 1846 which drafted the Constitution under which Iowa was admitted into the Union. The other was Samuel W. Durham, the only survivor of that oldest of all the conventions of Iowa, the Constitutional Convention of 1844. Tall in figure and clear of memory in spite of his ninety years, this pioneer settler told of the early days of the commonwealth. He said of J. Scott Richman, his colleague, as he called him, that in all his life, from the time he first knew him in 1840 down to the present time, he never made an enemy. All three men spoke at the luncheon Friday noon. They talked modestly of the conventions in which they had served, and told of men who have long since passed away—of Judge Charles Mason, and Joseph Williams and Thomas Wilson, the Judges who were appointed at the organization of the Territory of Iowa. It was J. Scott Richman in particular who remembered these men, for he had come to Iowa in 1839. The next year Samuel Durham reached the Territory, in the days when the first Governor was administering the government.

No one who attended the celebration will soon forget these three venerable figures. They came together, each one as the last of his group. It is perhaps safe to say that never again will the three gather together at a celebration, but though these pioneer constitution-makers must soon be beyond our ken, they have written their services into the enduring form of the fundamental law of the State of Iowa.

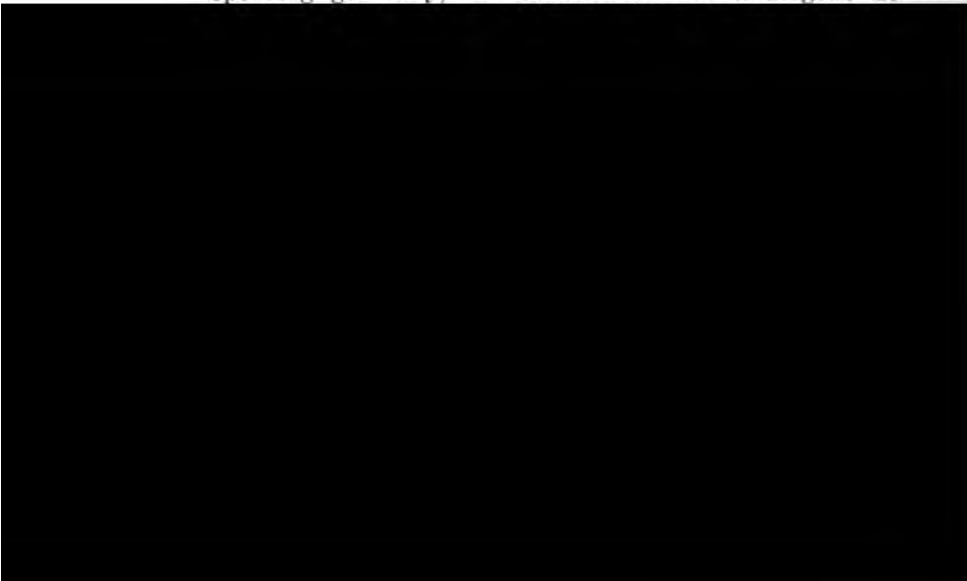
J. C. P.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1857 AND THE PEOPLE.

The efficiency of laws or institutions, as of houses or shoes, is found largely, if not wholly, in the answers to the prosaic questions, "Are they comfortable and fit? Do they endure the wear and tear of life, and suffice?" If the people abide therewith contentedly, they then satisfy: at least the people so seem to think, and this is the important fact in an orderly society and a stable State.

On September 6, 1907, fifty years will have passed since Gov. James W. Grimes by proclamation declared the present Constitution of Iowa the supreme statute of this midland commonwealth. The instrument was drafted by thirty-six delegates who sat in convention in the old stone Capitol at Iowa City from January 19 to March 5, 1857. Excepting the subject of banks and corporations, the draft submitted to the suffrage of the people was chiefly a revision and enlargement of the Constitution adopted in 1846 upon the admission of Iowa to statehood, an instrument that was mainly agreed upon in 1844. The first Constitution was adopted under protest—the majority for it being only 456 out of a total of 18,528 votes. The keen popular desire to secure statehood was probably the chief fact that prevented its rejection. The absolute prohibition of banks of note issue and sundry limitations upon corporate enterprises, then matters of transcendental local interest in the rapid commercial expansion of the ambitious cities and counties of the State, caused immediate and continuously increasing agitation for revision that should strike “the fetters from the limbs of the young giant.” The opposition to the Constitution submitted to the people in 1857 and voted on August 3d was nevertheless decided and vigorous: out of a vote of 78,992 the majority for it was only 1,631. Few of the anticipations of the critics and opponents have been realized, while the predictions of its advocates have been largely fulfilled.

Speaking generally, the Constitution has undergone no



as a beverage of "any intoxicating liquors whatever, including ale, wine and beer," and the proposal for biennial elections submitted to the people in 1900, were declared invalid by the Supreme Court on account of serious disregard of mandatory provisions in the Constitution prescribing the method of procedure in the submission of such amendments.

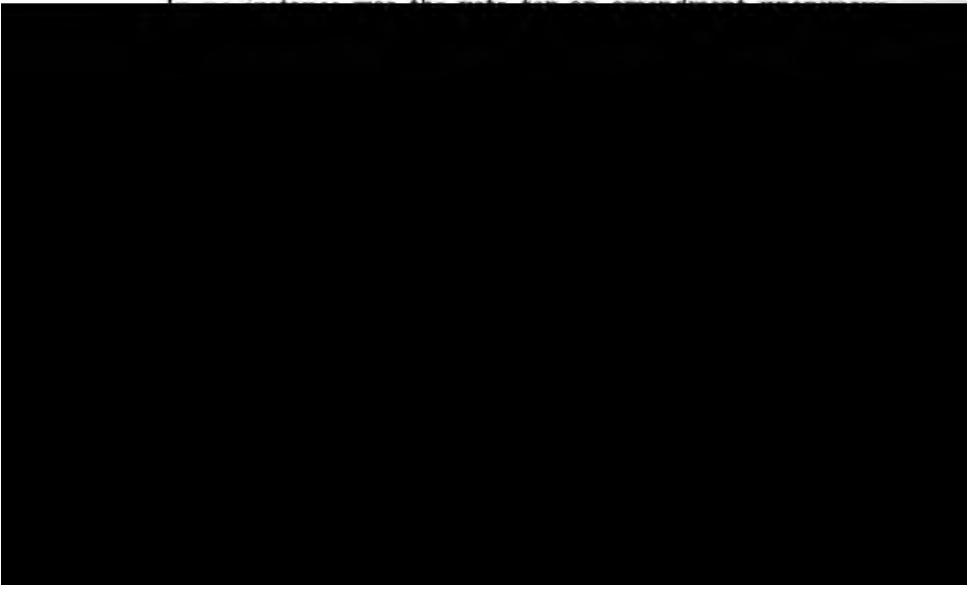
All of the amendments enacted relate to executory or administrative matters, the first two being made necessary by reason of national legislation, and those of 1884 and 1904 being alterations in local administration and the method of conducting elections. In one instance only was a radical change in the policy of the State proposed, viz., in the amendment supposed to have been adopted in 1882 prohibiting the manufacture and use of alcoholic liquors as beverages.

The provisions of Article IX, providing for the establishment of a central Board of Education that should exercise both legislative and executive powers with respect to all of the educational agencies of the State, were eliminated or rendered inoperative by legislative act in 1864, the article itself making the General Assembly competent to abandon the plan authorized. While the act discontinuing the Board was not, strictly speaking, an amendment of the Constitution, it was a quasi amendment that materially modified the administrative machinery of the State government prescribed and provided for in that instrument.

The number and character of the amendments actually adopted indicate very decidedly that notwithstanding the evident doubt and distrust as to the wisdom of ratifying the draft submitted in 1857 as indicated by the narrow majority in its favor, the people have lived contentedly under the provisions of the present Constitution. Another fact enforces this conclusion. By the provisions of Section 3 of Article X, the General Assembly *may at any time* and in the last year of each decennial period *shall* submit to the people the proposition of calling a Constitutional Convention for the purpose of amending and revising the Constitution. Four times, viz., 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900, the people have voted upon the matter, and on each occasion the re-

turns have shown an adverse public opinion. The result in 1900 was exceedingly interesting and instructive. The first amendment providing for biennial elections was submitted to the people that year—a subject that aroused an ardent discussion pro and con. The simultaneous submission of that amendment and the call for a Constitutional Convention produced not a little confusion in the minds of voters. Friends of the amendment to establish biennial elections in great numbers labored under the notion that it was necessary to vote for a convention in order to insure the success of the electoral reform. The result was that the proposal for calling a convention was negatived by only 555 votes out of a total vote of 353,229. Owing to some errors in the footings of the returns it was first given out unofficially that the call for a convention had carried. When later corrections reversed the majority there was manifest relief throughout the State—as the people seemed to be of the opinion that the returns were the result of confusion and not indicative of a positive demand for serious changes in the constitution of the State.

This acquiescence of the people under their constitution adopted so hesitatingly fifty years ago is strikingly shown if we examine the ratios of votes for and against change and the aggregate thereof compared with the total vote cast by the people in selecting officers for their national or State government at the general election of the same year.



was 186,562 ballots, or 95 per cent. of the votes cast at the general election; the prohibitory amendment received, pro and con, 281,149 votes, or 96 per cent. The proposals for biennial elections induced a vote of 64 and 45 per cent. in the respective years of 1900 and 1904. The total votes cast upon the proposal to call a convention was but 64 per cent. in 1870, only 47 per cent. in 1880 and 1890, and 66 per cent. in 1900.

The total votes in the general election, the votes for and against amendments and calls for conventions and ratios, are summarily presented in the following table.

VOTES ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS PROPOSED AND CALLS FOR CONVENTION SINCE 1857.

I. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

Year	General Election	For		Against		Total on Am'ndment	Per Cent. of General	Subject
		Vote	Per Cent.	Vote	Per Cent.			
1860.....	194,730	105,524	56	91,686	44	*196,582	95	Whites
1860.....	322,680	99,237	62	51,943	38	142,180	44	Whites
1862.....	282,308	155,438	55	125,677	45	*281,149	96	Prohibition
1864.....	377,235	69,342	85	14,949	15	*184,192	27	Elec. jud. dist. etc.
1880.....	528,225	196,105	54	155,586	46	341,611	64	Biennial election
1890.....	682,337	199,974	53	176,251	47	375,225	45	Biennial election
1900.....	682,337	171,285	51	145,676	49	336,961	35	Repre'tion H. of R.

II. CALLS FOR CONVENTION.

Year	General Election	For	Per Cent.	Against	Per Cent.	Total	Per Cent.
1870.....	165,823	24,946	23	92,639	77	166,955	64
1880.....	322,700	69,762	45	89,794	55	152,546	47
1890.....	391,253	27,686	14	159,264	96	197,390	47
1900.....	628,225	176,337	49	176,982	51	353,229	66

*The proposition submitted to the people contained amendments to various sections, and here the vote cast for the amendment having the highest affirmative vote is taken.


†Contains thirty-six scattered votes.

The disinclination of the people of Iowa either to amend or to overhaul the provisions of their supreme statute may, of course, indicate a state of mind other than that of contentment or satisfaction. It may signify indifference to or disregard of its injunctions and specifications. The latter supposition, however, would seem to be untenable. Numerous decisions and elaborate opinions of the Supreme Court enjoining injurious actions or invalidating statutes because obnoxious to constitutional guarantees indicate decisively that citizens look upon the Constitution as a certain defense, and

courts scrupulously enforce its mandates. In the recent session of the Thirty-second General Assembly, Governor Cummins refused his signature to a bill because he believed that its enactment would violate the Constitution. So far there has not developed in our political life and practices any custom adverse to its express provisions, such as, e.g., the practice in our national politics of selecting our President by mass conventions and popular elections instead of through and by the Electoral College.

With respect to three articles only has there been much popular discontent; namely, the provisions establishing the Central Board with legislative and executive powers in the control and management of the school system of the State; the requirement (Art. VIII, Sec. 2) that corporations organized for pecuniary profit should be "subject to taxation the same as that of individuals;" and the limitations (Art. XI, Sec. 3) upon the fiscal powers of municipal corporations respecting debts. As to the first mentioned, it was abolished. The second, while vigorously deplored by sundry tax reformers who would radically reform the methods of taxation, has never aroused sufficient opposition to secure the submission of an amendment to popular vote. The limitation imposed upon the debt-making power, although it irritates the city and county authorities thwarted in their patriotic efforts to swell local budgets, at the same time rejoices the heart of the taxpayer.

The success of the present Constitution is due to its essential merits. It prescribes a scheme of government that coin-



ods of control and procedure. Legislatures were generally restricted in the range of their powers; executives were curbed, their legislative veto in some cases being narrowly limited or denied, their appointive and supervisory powers sharply limited and dissipated by the requirement of popular election of purely administrative officials and short tenure; judges were elected and for short terms. As is usual with political and social agitation the reaction against the manifest evils of the first decades of the century was excessive. It went too far. Constitution makers injected into their State charters many administrative provisions not appropriate. The convention at Iowa City, although ardently democratic, in the sense that its delegates insisted upon the supremacy of the people over all departments of the State government, did not go so far as to eliminate central executive control by denying the Governor the veto or general appointive powers and authoritative supervision.

Iowa's Constitution contains more specifications as to what officers shall be elected and for how long than good constitutional law calls for. But in the large, the convention at Iowa City realized that there are two great functions in government—that of legislation and that of execution. In legislation a democracy should and must control through their representatives in a General Assembly, who express and formulate the wishes or the will of the citizens. In the execution of their will, however, the people attain the economy and efficiency in government they desire by concentrating control in the head of the administration, thereby insuring both accountability and responsibility. F. I. H.


DEDICATION OF THE IOWA MONUMENTS.

The recent visit of the Iowa Monument Commission to southern battle-fields was a trip of historical interest to the State. The government has established national military parks on three of the greatest battle-fields of the west; at Pittsburg Landing, where the battle of Shiloh was fought April 6 and 7, 1862; at Vicksburg, the scene of the mem-

orable siege of May and June, 1863; and at Chattanooga, November 24th and 25th, the same year. At Shiloh and Vicksburg nearly half of all the Iowa troops in the service at those dates were engaged and held everywhere prominent and critical positions.

The itinerary for the several dedications left Des Moines November 12th and returned the morning of the 26th. Vicksburg was first visited, where two days were spent reviewing the old Union and Confederate lines and earthworks, many of them still intact and others restored, inspecting the Iowa brigade and regimental monuments and tablets, and making formal dedication of all of the sites of the imposing and beautiful State memorial. Historical and patriotic reports were made by Chairman J. F. Merry and Secy. H. H. Rood, after which Gov. Cummins gave one of his inimitable addresses, replete in every part with historic and eloquent tributes to the gallant men who had there made glorious American history.

Governor Vardaman of Mississippi was on the platform and on the program to follow. The Iowa people were wondering if he would devote his address to a fervid defense of the Southern Confederacy, as on previous occasions when the Illinois Commission had visited the city, but on this occasion he showed that he could be as courteous to Iowa as Iowa had been to Mississippi. His eloquent and poetic address was in the happiest mood and added much to the enjoyment of the occasion.



tively few men were found able and willing to undertake the trip. The State should honor itself and these remaining veterans and families as far as practicable by publishing and distributing copies of the final report of the Commission's work to all who would prize the volumes. The next place visited was the Andersonville National Cemetery, established many years ago beside the old Andersonville prison stockade in southern Georgia. It would be impossible to describe the scenes, the proceedings and the emotions of this most pathetic gathering. Every place visited and each address was intensely interesting. When the Governor arose to speak, he was so overcome by the flood of surrounding memories that he stood speechless, until his feelings gave utterance to what seemed to those about him, an address marvelous in its appropriateness and completeness.

Another night's ride brought the train to Atlanta Sunday morning in the rain, and to Chattanooga the next morning again in the rain. Nevertheless the whole party took the Incline to the top of Lookout Mountain, on the summit of which New York has recently erected a \$75,000 monument to "The Blue and the Gray." Clambering down the eight hundred steps, the Lookout Mountain battle-field and Iowa monument were reached. After the invocation, brief addresses were made by Colonel Abernethy, General Weaver, H. A. Chambers, a Confederate veteran, and Governor Cummins. In the afternoon the same party ascended, in carriages, the north end of Missionary Ridge, the scene of General Sherman's fierce assault on the Confederate right, Nov. 25, 1863, where the brief exercises were held around the Iowa monument. Capt. Mahlon Head, Hon. Nate Kendall, Capt. J. P. Smartt of Chattanooga, and Governor Cummins being the speakers.

The third and larger Iowa monument at Rossville Gap was dedicated Tuesday afternoon in the presence of a large audience. The Mayor of Chattanooga gave the welcoming address. The other speakers besides the Governor were Capt. John A. Young, chairman of the Commission, Maj. R. D. Cramer, of the old Thirtieth Iowa, Mr. Caldwell, of Chattanooga, and Gen. E. A. Carmon, of the National Park Com-

mission. Leaving Chattanooga the same night, the party reached Johnsonville, on the Tennessee river, next morning, where boats were taken for Pittsburg Landing. Two days were spent here on the interesting fields of Shiloh, the scene of General Grant's first great battle. One day was given to brief but intensely interesting memorial exercises at the eleven regimental monuments erected where the Iowa men were chiefly engaged.

The forenoon of the final day was given to sightseeing and revisiting the old Shiloh church, the Hornet's Nest, the Bloody Pond, the National Cemetery and other points of interest, and at 1:30 the whole surrounding country came to see and hear the final ceremony in front of the beautiful Iowa Memorial. The venerable Dr. A. L. Frisbie of Des Moines had served by invitation at the various dedications. He offered the invocation here in his beautiful spirit. Then followed an array of as brilliant addresses as ever graced any platform by Colonels Bell and Crosley, Governor Cummins, General Weaver and Speaker Kendall of Iowa, Gen. Basil Duke and Major Asquith of Kentucky and Hon. A. K. Abernethy, ex-Speaker of the Tennessee General Assembly.

This exercise completed the mission of the Governor and the Commissions in dedicating Iowa's Memorials on these historic grounds and transferring them to the final care of the general government. Iowa's work on these fields is of the noblest order throughout, and will for all time honor the State.

A. A.



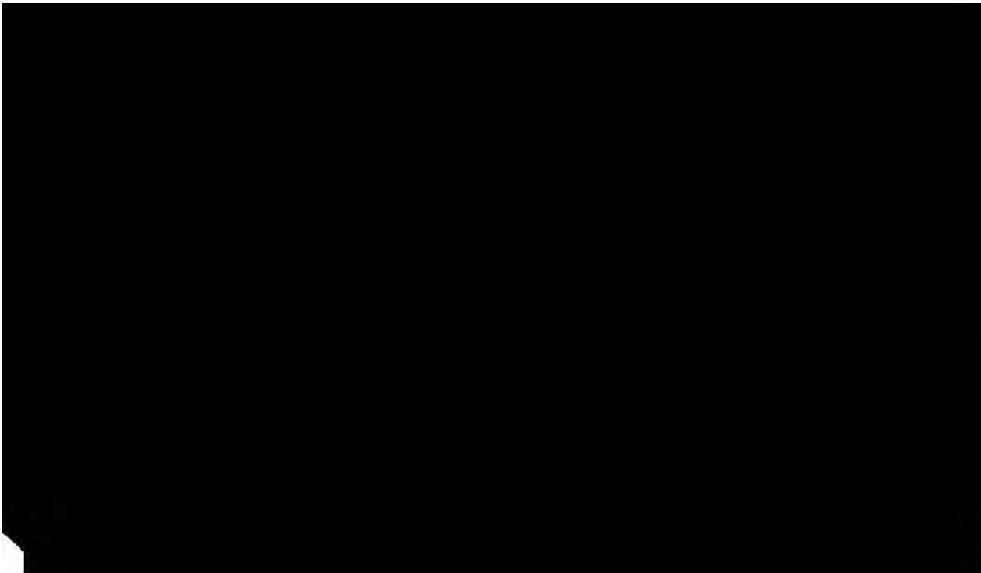
at that time there was much excitement in the public mind in regard to slavery extension. This found in him a sturdy and eloquent opponent. His term began January 6, 1855, and ended January 17, 1857. Mr. Thorington became unusually influential in the House of Representatives, although it was his first and only legislative service. This was out of the usual order, for young members are expected to keep still for a year or two and let older heads do the talking and managing. Hon. James Harlan and Gen. George W. Jones were the United States Senators. It was at that session that the land grants for the four parallel roads across the State of Iowa became laws. The contest was a severe one. Jones and Harlan co-operated freely in the Senate, and Thorington was as earnestly supported in the House by Augustus Hall of Keosauqua. There seems to be little on record in regard to the activity and influence of Mr. Hall, but Thorington won great credit. Senator Harlan declared in a public speech in Davenport, long after Thorington had retired from Congress, that, "of the men who had anything to do with the passage of the Iowa land grant bill, Mr. Thorington was of all others entitled to the credit." He was defeated for renomination by Hon. Timothy Davis of Dubuque, on the plea that the State needed a northern man. Davis bore an excellent reputation, but he also was retired at the end of his first term. He was succeeded by William Vandever of Dubuque. Mr. Thorington certainly deserved a re-election as an endorsement of his active and useful labors.

Thorington was of Protestant Irish descent, keen and quick-witted in repartee. Some time after his retirement from Congress he was appointed U. S. consul at Aspinwall, in the States of Colombia. The law at that time required him to be examined by the Civil Service Commission at Washington. Among the questions propounded to him was this: "How many Hessians did Great Britain send over here to subdue us during the revolution?" This would not seem to have been a very pertinent question, because few men remember figures. Mr. Thorington instantly remarked that he "had never been a good hand to recall figures, but one thing he knew concerning those Hessians, which was that a blank sight

more of them came over here than went back!" The examiner declared this answer sufficient and the supposition is that the remainder of the examination was not severe. He remained at Aspinwall eleven years and while he was there interfered to protect the steamship *Virginus*, which came into the bay of Aspinwall flying the U. S. flag. A Spanish gunboat steamed into the harbor and purposed to capture the *Virginus*, its captain demanding that the protection of the U. S. be withdrawn. This Mr. Thorington refused to do, and he gave the *Virginus* every protection in his power until she was able to steam out of the harbor and go her way. Mr. Thorington's action in this affair was heartily commended by the State Department, and elicited most favorable comment throughout the United States. It made him one of the best known consuls in the service. After he was relieved from duty at Aspinwall in 1882 he returned to Davenport, where he lived in retirement until the time of his death, which occurred in 1887.

Some of the newspapers have stated that the reply concerning the Hessians was made by a certain Missouri member of Congress who has been much before the public during the past few years. If the incident is worth relating, it should be given correctly. The prompt and witty reply was due to James Thorington.


A USEFUL PAPER.



as the most helpful work with which we are acquainted. It is the organ of the great booksellers and publishers of London, and of some in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, and always contains the latest announcements in the direction of literature. Forthcoming books find a chronicler in *The Athenaeum*. It also makes a record of all book sales by auction, and private sales, when they are of sufficient importance. As a source of general literary information we consider it without a rival in periodical literature. Many a hint which we have derived from its columns has been in a way crystallized in the Historical Department of Iowa, and the end of its usefulness is not yet. For the benefit of people who would satisfy themselves in regard to its merits, we would say that the Iowa State Library has a complete set of this periodical from the first issue, January 1, 1828, until the present time. It has not changed its form nor the style of its type. It started as the same substantial weekly which appears to-day. The binding of the set in the State Library is not uniform, but is very excellent, a large portion of it being full calf. If we were managing one of the younger libraries of the State which have sprung into existence during the past ten years, there is no publication that we would consider of as much practical utility as the weekly visits of this excellent journal. By a curious state of things, it seems to have been kept in one family during most of the period of its existence. It is now edited by a son of one of the founders, who has also published an elaborate life of his father. Its reviews, while not as extended as those in some of the great monthlies or quarterlies, are very terse, vigorous and comprehensive. It has no mercy upon any man who issues a book of historical importance without an index, and its severe criticisms in this direction should be read and heeded in this country. Its work in the direction of natural science is of the utmost value, as also are its criticisms upon art, music and the drama. We recommend it to all librarians without limitations upon our idea of its excellence and usefulness, as well as to others who would keep in touch with the best information of the day in any of the directions we have enumerated.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

FRANK T. CAMPBELL was born in Ohio, May 8, 1836; he died in Lima, Ohio, March 6, 1907. On the completion of his education at the age of twenty years, he came to Iowa and settled at Newton, Jasper county, where he soon after engaged with his brother, A. K. Campbell, in the publication of *The Newton Journal*. He was active in promoting enlistments in the Union army during the civil war and served a short time as captain of Company B, 40th Iowa Infantry. He was elected in 1873 for the regular term of four years to the State Senate. The question of regulating the tariffs for freight charges by railroads was just then coming into serious agitation. In this legislation he took a prominent part during the ensuing eight years, as he was returned to the Senate for a second term. He is understood to have been the author of the famous "Granger Law." In 1877 the Republicans nominated him for Lieutenant-Governor. He was duly elected with Gov. John H. Gear, and re-elected two years later. He became an efficient and decidedly popular presiding officer. He served in this capacity during the sessions of 1878 and 1880. Governor William Larrabee in 1888 appointed him Railroad Commissioner for the term of three years. In 1889 the Legislature having provided for the election of Railroad Commissioners by the people, Mr. Campbell was elected to serve three years from January, 1889. At the end of this term he was defeated at the polls and retired to private life. After he left the office of Railroad Commissioner he entered into mercantile business in Des Moines, but some two years ago removed to Lima, Ohio, where he and his son, Bert, published a daily newspaper. This enterprise was understood by his friends to have become fairly prosperous until failing health compelled his retirement. In each of the varied positions he had occupied Mr. Campbell had not only shown that he possessed marked ability and high courage, but that he was thoroughly devoted to what he deemed the best interests of the people and the State. The Senate has not had a better presiding officer. No situation arose in that body during the period of his service to which he was not equal. He was well versed in the laws and rules which govern deliberative bodies, cool and collected, clear in his decisions and actuated by a spirit of candor and honesty. Those who had won his confidence ever found him an abiding friend. It is a loss to the State when that type of man is driven by the exigencies of politics into private life.





E. C. Campbell

PROF. OF NATURAL HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA




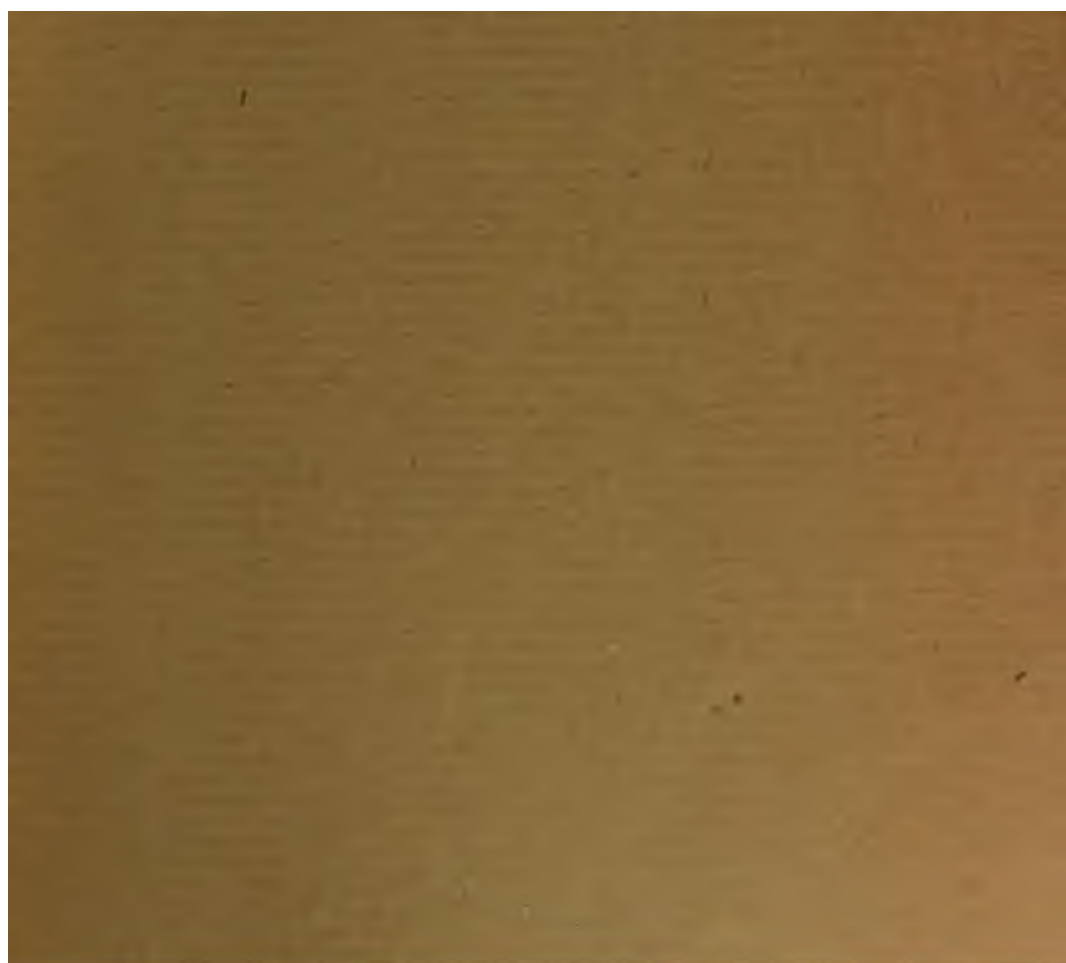
of 1856 he removed to Iowa, crossing the Mississippi river at Des Moines on the 9th of October. For two months he was employed on *The Marion Register*, of which paper N. W. Hindsboro, then a young lawyer, was editor. In December of the same year he arrived in Clinton and began work on *The Hardin County Record*, whose editor was Hon. J. D. Thompson, afterwards judge of the District Court. The following winter he spent in Ohio and then returned permanently to Iowa. He purchased first a half interest in *The Record*, later became sole proprietor, continuing the publication until 1862. In 1861 he was appointed postmaster of Clinton by President Lincoln. In the fall of 1862 he was elected treasurer and secretary of Hardin county, but resigned to accept a position in the military service. After the war he, for a time, engaged in the grocery business in Iowa Falls. In 1866 he purchased *The Hamilton Freeman* in Webster City, which place had since been his home. He served in the Iowa House of Representatives during the 12th and 13th General Assemblies. In 1872 he was appointed a member of the Board of Trustees of the Iowa Reform School. In 1873 he was appointed by President Grant postmaster at Webster City, and held the office until he was removed by President Cleveland in 1885. Through one of the most earnest and most unobtrusive members of the Iowa House of Representatives, yet as a legislator, Mr. Hunter was a distinguished success. He made a record which met with the earnest approval of his constituents and to which his posterity may always point with pride. It is certain that he took the first step looking to the reorganization of the present Board of Control, which is now in charge of our charitable and penal institutions, and which will doubtless be the forerunner of the control which will one of these days be exercised over the educational institutions. This matter is fully set forth in Vol. V, p. 291 of this publication, to which the reader is respectfully referred. Through the columns of his paper he was always ready to advance to the best of his ability the interests of his city and county, and of the political party with which he was affiliated throughout his life. His paper was a clear and well-edited sheet, and had achieved an enviable reputation throughout the State. He was in all respects a useful citizen, an abiding friend, where his friendship was bestowed, and an upright Christian gentleman. He left his mark especially upon the history of that section of the State, where it will long remain.

RT. REV. HENRY COSGROVE, Bishop of the Diocese of Davenport, was born in Williamsport, Pa., Dec. 12, 1836; he died in Davenport, Iowa, Dec. 22, 1906. His father, John Cosgrove, was a native of Ireland, and migrated to this country with his family in 1833. In 1845 the family removed to Dubuque, Iowa, where the son received his early education. It is stated that he was one of the scholars of altar boys with Bishop Loras, who was at that time at the head of the diocese, and that he was early inclined toward the priesthood. He began a course of study which was to fit him for holy orders under the tutelage of Rev. Joseph Cretin, Vice-General of the Diocese of Dubuque, and at a later day, Bishop of St. Paul, Minn. After a course of study under Father Cretin, he went to St. Mary's Seminary in Missouri, where he completed a three years' classical course, and then entered the noted seminary at Carondelet, in the same State, where he took a full course in theology. Returning to Dubuque, after graduating, he was ordained priest by Bishop Smyth, who had been coadjutor of Bishop Loras, on the 27th day of August, 1857. Shortly after this he became the assistant pastor of St. Marguerite's at Davenport. The

pastor of the church, Rev. A. Trevis, asked and obtained a long leave of absence to visit Europe, and Father Cosgrove remained in charge of the church. Several years later he succeeded to the full pastorate, which he held for the next twenty-five years. Bishop McMullen, who was Bishop of Davenport prior to the elevation of Father Cosgrove, died after two or three years' service in that capacity. The priests of the diocese then almost unanimously petitioned Leo XIII. to appoint Father Cosgrove in his stead. This petition was granted and Father Cosgrove became the bishop of that diocese, in which position he remained until his death, as given above. In the course of an appreciative biographical sketch of Bishop Cosgrove, which extends to several columns, *The Davenport Democrat* gives the following as among his other labors: He entered upon the pastorate of St. Marguerite's church, November, 1861, enlarging the edifice and rededicating it on the 9th of December, 1866. He completed the school building for St. Marguerite's parish in 1871. He was an important factor in the organization of the Roman Catholic Mutual Protective Association in Dubuque in 1879. He celebrated his silver jubilee August 28, 1882, and took the necessary steps to found St. Ambrose College in September, 1882. He was appointed Vicar-General of the Diocese of Davenport in July, 1881, and became the Administrator of the Diocese on the death of Bishop McMullen, July 4, 1883. He was appointed Bishop of the Diocese and consecrated Sept. 14, 1884. He laid the cornerstone of the Sacred Heart Cathedral, April 27, 1890, which he dedicated on the 15th of November, 1891. He established St. Vincent's Orphanage, April 9, 1895. The present Bishop, Rt. Rev. James Davis, was appointed his coadjutor and consecrated Nov. 13, 1904. Bishop Cosgrove was one of the most useful men of his church who has resided within this State during the past fifty years. He erected many churches, founded many schools, and in all legitimate ways promoted the interests of the Catholic church. Not only was he beloved by his own people, but he was exceedingly popular with the Protestants as well.

ROLLIN C. HUBBARD was born in Ogden, Mich., June 26, 1842; he died in Des Moines, March 16, 1907. When the war broke out he was attending college in Adrian, Mich. He at once enlisted and served throughout the war, first in Co. D, 2d Michigan Infantry, later in Co. A, 116th New York. He was promoted to Sergeant and discharged







THIRD SERIES.

VOL. VIII. NO. 2.

JULY, 1907.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

CHARLES ALDRICH, Curator.

PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR. SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS.

DES MOINES, IOWA.

*Application made at the Des Moines, Iowa, Post Office, for entry to the mails
as second class matter.*



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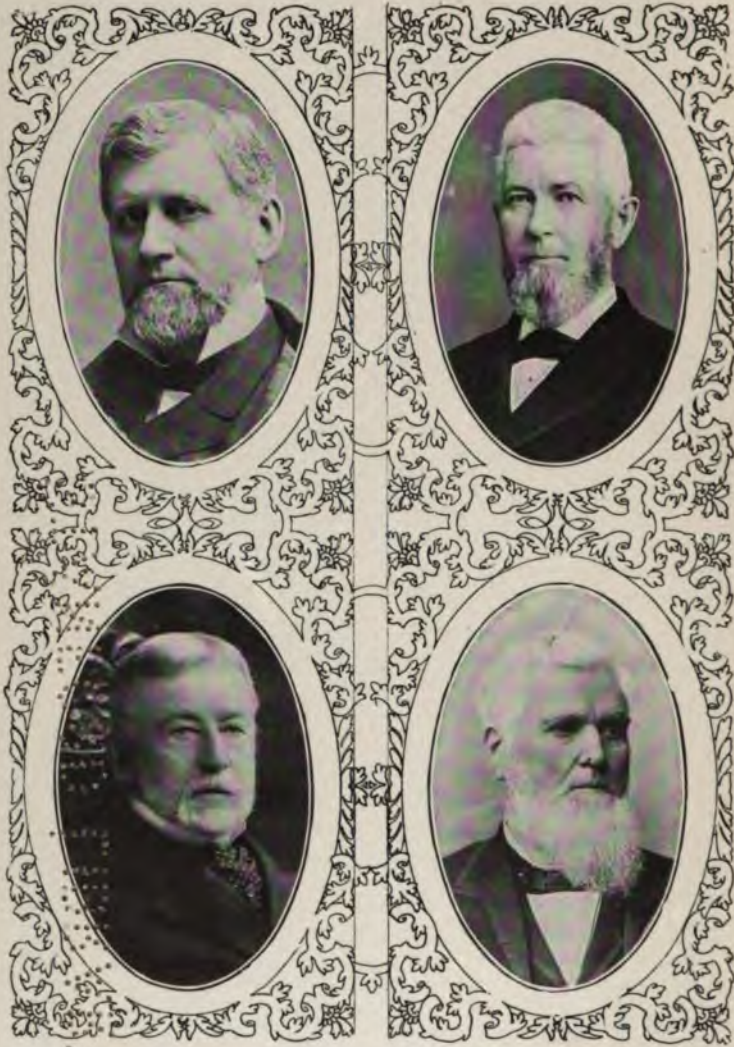
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U. S. SENATOR.

JAMES F. WILSON,
U. S. SENATOR.



JOHN A. KASSON,
U. S. DIPLOMAT.

ALVIN SAUNDERS,
U. S. SENATOR.

CHICAGO CONVENTION, MAY 16-18, 1860.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VIII, No. 2. DES MOINES, IOWA, JULY, 1907.

3D SERIES.

IOWA AND THE FIRST NOMINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

BY F. I. HERRIOTT.

Professor of Economics, Political and Social Science,
Drake University.

The delegates from Iowa will go to Chicago to nominate a Presidential ticket—the strongest ticket possible—and to this end will be glad to listen to the suggestions of well informed friends at Washington or elsewhere, but they go unpledged, uncommitted, and fully at liberty to hear all suggestions and then to do what shall commend itself to their unfettered judgment as best for the cause. As it is in Iowa, so it will be elsewhere. —Horace Greeley (Feb. 8, 1860).¹

. . . the blot does not rest upon the history of the Union, that this [Lincoln's nomination] the most fate-pregnant decision which an American convention had ever to make, was brought about by blind chance in combination with base intriguers. Far from it. It was the conscious act of clear-sighted and self-sacrificing patriots to whom honor and gratitude in the fullest measure are due.—Von Holst (1892).²

I.

EXPECTATIONS AND THE MEAGRE MINUTES.

The average Iowan is wont to indulge in the presumption that Iowa's politicians and statesmen have always played prominent parts in our national affairs. While often expressed in language more exuberant and vasty than modesty or truth sanctions, the assumption is fairly well founded. In recent years no one will gainsay this State's prominence in our Federal councils. Fifty and sixty years ago the case was likewise. Iowa's chiefs commanded attention and exacted consideration in the conduct of the national government.


Mr. James G. Blaine in closing his characterization of the leaders of the Senate at Washington in the momentous session of 1850, says: "Dodge of Wisconsin and Dodge of Iowa, father and son, represented the Democracy of the remotest

(1) *New York Tribune*, Feb. 17, 1860.—Extract from letter dated at Mansfield, Ohio, written after making circuit of the Northwestern States.

(2) *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, Vol. VII, p. 172.

outposts of the North-West. . . . At no time, before or since in the history of the Senate has its membership been so illustrious, its weight of character and ability so great."¹ Henry Dodge, father, was Iowa's first Governor *de facto* when the State was a part of Wisconsin (1836-38).² In the country at large Iowa was regarded as a stronghold of the democracy and her first Senators, A. C. Dodge and Geo. W. Jones, were considerable factors in the party councils of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan. Both men were given important diplomatic posts when the political revolution in Iowa enforced their retirement from the Senate, the former at Madrid and the latter at Bogota. At the National Democratic Convention in Charleston in 1860, the Douglas forces triumphed in the struggle over the platform and we are told that it was "skillfully accomplished under the lead of Henry B. Payne of Ohio and Benjamin Samuels of Iowa."³

In President Taylor's short-lived administration, an Iowan, Fitz Henry Warren of Burlington, acquired fame as Assistant Postmaster-General by his swift elimination of Democratic office-holders,⁴ and his resignation because of indignation over Fillmore's apostasy on the subject of slavery. Afterwards, in 1852, he became the Secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Whig party in the Pierce-Scott canvass.⁵ Later the pages of J. S. Pike show us that the brilliant flashes of Warren's pen made him a forceful factor in the determination of anti-slavery opinion and procedure.⁶ It was his clarion calls in 1861 that aroused the furore




The triumph of James W. Grimes in 1854 made him a national figure. His election as Governor was a surprise to the entire country. This was not strange for Iowa was looked upon as a "hot-bed of dough faces,"¹ and the annals of the *ante bellum* period contain no clearer, stronger, or more courageous pronouncement against the aggressions of the Slavocrats than his address "To the People of Iowa" when he accepted the nomination for Governor.² His election was mostly his personal achievement and not the result, as it would be nowadays, of organization and widely concerted effort. Senator Chase of Ohio wrote the new champion that he had waged "the best battle for freedom yet fought."³ Giddings declared that he had made "the true issue" on which the battle had to be fought in the northern States.⁴ In the Senate from 1859 to 1869 he was distinguished "for iron will and sound judgment"⁵ and became, says Perley Poore "a tower of strength for the administration" in the crises of the war.⁶

Grimes's victory in 1854 sent James Harlan to the Senate in 1856. He, too, says a distinguished historian, immediately made his "mark."⁷ His speech on the Leecompton Constitution won Seward's admiration.⁸ The Republican Association at Washington printed and sold at a low price Senator Harlan's speeches along with those of Collamer, Hale, Seward and Henry Wilson.⁹ Harlan was a statesman the country reckoned with, Mr. Blaine telling us that he later became "one of Mr. Lincoln's most valued and most confidential friends and subsequently a member of his cabinet."¹⁰

No fact, in the writer's judgment, indicates more strikingly the potency of Iowa's influence at Washington fifty years ago than President Lincoln's appointment in the forepart of his first term of Samuel F. Miller as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. He was endorsed strongly by Iowa's bench and bar and by others in States adjacent. The President, however, delayed making the appointment. Upon per-

(1) Von Holst, Vol. V, p. 78. (2) Salter's *Life of Grimes*, pp. 34-50. (3) *Ib.*, p. 54. (4) *Ib.*, p. 63. (5) Blaine, *Ib.*, p. 321. (6) Poore, *Ib.*, Vol. II, p. 100. (7) Rhodes' *History of U. S.*, Vol. II, p. 130. (8) Pike's *First Blows*, etc., p. 417. (9) Rhodes, *Ib.*, p. 131. (10) Blaine, *Ib.*, p. 321.

sonal inquiry, Mr. John A. Kasson, then Assistant Postmaster-General, learned that the reputation of the Keokuk lawyer "had not then even extended so far as to Springfield, Illinois" (a distance but little over one hundred miles).¹ Nevertheless the appointment was made and Justice Miller became almost immediately the "dominant personality" of our great court.² The significance of his elevation is this—President Lincoln was not a petty spoilsman and he had no special fondness for the office monger; but he was a politician *par excellence*. He made appointments with an eye single to the public good, which was then the preservation of the Union, yet he always gave close attention to the influence of the Potentialities back of the aspirants for office who pressed their claims upon him.³ Government is not a philosophical abstraction or an academic thesis. It is a constantly shifting balance of contrary and divergent forces and interests. It was essential to success in combating the nation's enemies at the front for the President so to co-ordinate factors and control conditions behind him as to assure him at once non-interference and efficient support. Justice Miller's appointment must have appeared to President Lincoln not only creditable and safe, but eminently worth while, insuring strength upon the bench and influential support for his administration, both in Congress and in Iowa. Besides consideration of the influence of Iowa's leaders we should naturally presume that recollections of the prominent part taken by Iowans on his behalf in the Convention that first nominated him for



tation to an excursion on Lake Michigan.¹ Another delegate secured an amendment allowing each State to choose its member of the National Committee as it pleased.² When the Committee on Credentials reported that Iowa had "appointed eight delegates from each Congressional district [Iowa had only two] and sixteen Senatorial delegates," when entitled to but eight votes, the minutes record "[laughter]."³ In the entire proceedings of the Convention, Iowa is credited with but one significant performance and that was manifestly either a blunder due to excitement or a play to the galleries—A delegate elicited "great applause" by seconding the nomination of Abraham Lincoln "in the name of two-thirds of the delegation of Iowa."⁴ Yet, on the first ballot immediately following, Iowa gave Lincoln only two votes, or one-fourth of her quota; and on the third ballot even when it was clear that the candidate of Illinois was almost certain to be nominated Iowa gave over a third of her vote to other candidates.⁵ After Mr. Cartter of Ohio changed four of Chase's votes to Lincoln and decided the result then a delegate from Iowa joined the chorus and on behalf of the delegation moved to make it unanimous.⁶ But there is nothing in all this that denotes conspicuous achievement or influence, neither staunch service nor effective generalship such as politicians exact.

If we turn to formal histories or accounts of national currency or general use our presumption is further seriously disturbed. Iowa's influence in the nomination seems to have been conspicuous chiefly by its absence. There are no references to Iowans whatever in scores of volumes relating the events of the convention week. One would almost imagine that Iowa's men were not present at all. In practically but one case has the writer found mention of Iowa's influence in a favorable connection and even here the assertion is disproved. In two other instances distinguished national historians refer to her representatives in Chicago in derogatory terms that

(1) *Proceedings of the First Three Republican National Conventions of 1856, 1860, 1864*, published by Charles W. Johnson, p. 21. (2) *Ib.*, p. 197. (3) *Ib.*, p. 110. (4) *Ib.*, p. 149. (5) *Ib.*, pp. 149, 153. (6) *Ib.*, p. 154.


seem to imply conduct not worthy of commendation or respect.

In spite of appearances thus to the contrary there are substantial reasons for thinking that men from Iowa played an influential part in bringing the Convention to what Von Holst declares was "the most fate-pregnant decision which an American Convention ever had to make," verifying precisely Horace Greeley's prediction three months before, to-wit, "As it is in Iowa, so it will be elsewhere." In what follows I shall deal with the animadversions referred to and then exhibit the growth of Republican sentiment in Iowa regarding the Presidential nomination, the character of Iowa's delegates, and the nature of their work in the Convention.

II.

DID CLANS OR CHIEFS CONTROL THE CONVENTION?

Notwithstanding Professor Von Holst's conclusive demonstration to the contrary¹ there still prevails a widespread notion that the first nomination of Abraham Lincoln was received by the country at large with surprise and shock, a consummation believed to be the issue of either cabals and machinations against New York's candidate or the irrational overwhelming influence of a shouting, surging mob round about the delegates, or of both combined. This notion is not a common popular prejudice merely, but the deliberate conclusion of academic chroniclers and savants.² In a general way Mr. James Ford Rhodes seems to agree with Von Holst's



ing the same or similar evidence. But the sweep and implications of his assertions give color and substance to the general opinion. In his account of the conditions precedent and determining the developments and results during the Convention week, May 14-18, 1860, Mr. Rhodes makes the following statements in his *History of the United States*, Vol. II:

Contrasting the Republican National Conventions of 1856 and 1860, he says: * * * then [1856] the wire pullers looked askance at a movement whose success was problematical, now [1860] they hastened to identify themselves with a party that apparently had the game in its own hands; then the delegates were liberty-loving enthusiasts and largely volunteers, now the delegates had been chosen by means of the organization peculiar to a powerful party, and in political wisdom were the pick of the Republicans (p. 457).

Seward's claim for the nomination was strong. * * * Intensely anxious for the nomination, and confidently expecting it, he was alike the choice of the politicians and the people. Could a popular vote on the subject have been taken, the majority in the Republican States would have been overwhelmingly in his favor. One day at Chicago sufficed to demonstrate that he had the support of the machine politicians (p. 460).

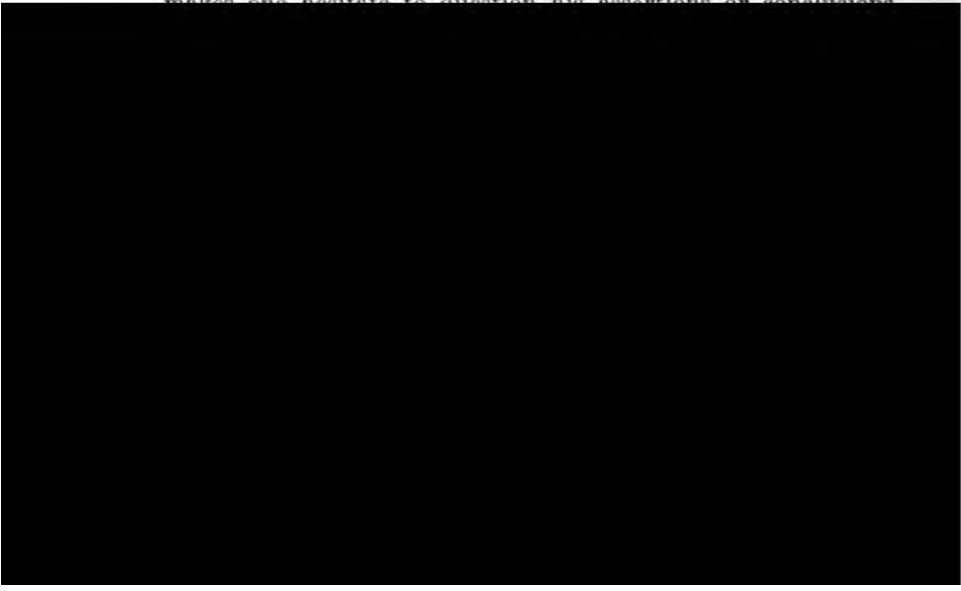
While much of the outside volunteer attendance from New York and Michigan favoring Seward was weighty in character as well as imposing in number, the organized body of rough fellows from New York City, under the lead of Tom Hyer, a noted bruiser, made a great deal of noise without helping his cause. * * * All the outside pressure was for Seward or Lincoln, there being practically none for the other candidates. While many of Seward's followers were disinterested and sincere, others betrayed unmistakably the influence of the machine. *Lincoln's adherents were men from Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa, who had come to Chicago bent on having a good time and seeing the rail-splitter nominated, and while traces of organization might be detected among them, it was such organization as may be seen in a mob* (pp. 462-463). (Italics here.)

Several important facts are clearly asserted in the foregoing and some serious implications are no less apparent. First, politicians and wire pullers rather than earnest self-sacrificing patriots made up the dominant forces of the Chicago Convention of 1860. Second, Seward was the choice of the politicians and people alike. Third, honesty or sincerity was for the most part lacking among the rank and file of Seward's followers at Chicago; fourth, earnestness or serious purpose was notably absent from the followers of Mr.

Lincoln. By "adherents" he apparently refers chiefly to the "volunteer outside influence," namely, unofficial attendants, rather than to accredited delegates. Yet the comprehensiveness and variable sweep of portions of previous paragraphs suggest that a first impression that delegates were also included is not unwarranted. And, fifth, Mr. Rhodes would have us conclude, we may infer, that Lincoln's nomination was an amazing conclusion resulting from the variable but coercive suggestions of a dominant organized mob. It is but fair to say, however, that Mr. Rhodes seems to shrink from this last conclusion, for later he says: "One wonders if those wise and experienced delegates¹ interpreted this manipulated noise as the voice of the people" (p. 468).

Since Edmund Burke confessed his inability to discover "a method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people," scholars and scientists have not deemed it appropriate or safe to condemn institutions, parties or governments, let alone peoples *en bloc*. Mr. Rhodes is not a pseudo-historian who imagines that cynical contempt for the commonality is a solid basis for historical scholarship; and he does not proceed on the assumption that all men in politics are scamps or scoundrels, although he squints occasionally in that direction. He has deserved renown as a scientific historian who depends upon extensive and minute researches and basic facts, whose narrative is characterized by judicial balance and impartiality, by caution and sobriety of statement. Common prudence

makes one hesitate to question his assertions or conclusions.



We may take the statements involving the character and conduct of the Iowans in one of two ways. Either the writer meant all that the paragraph implies or he did not mean to be taken strictly. In either case we may ask if character and sincerity were confined conspicuously to the unofficial Seward supporters hailing from New York and Michigan and hence his discrimination of them in the forefront of the paragraph whence the quotation. There were ardent admirers of the statesman of Auburn from Iowa as well as from Massachusetts who mingled in the throngs that surged the lobbies of the Tremont and Richmond Hotels; such men as Fitz Henry Warren of Burlington and Samuel A. Bowles of *The Springfield Republican*. Men of like character and local fame by scores and hundreds were with them from the same States and from Wisconsin and Minnesota, and other States as well; men who worked just as earnestly for Senator Seward and felt the bitter disappointment of his defeat as keenly as did his followers from Michigan and New York. Seward sentiment in Iowa, as will be shown in some detail later, was intense, staunch and wide-spread and when the news of his non-success came his partisans in many a community almost wept in grief and vexation and gloom held them for awhile.¹

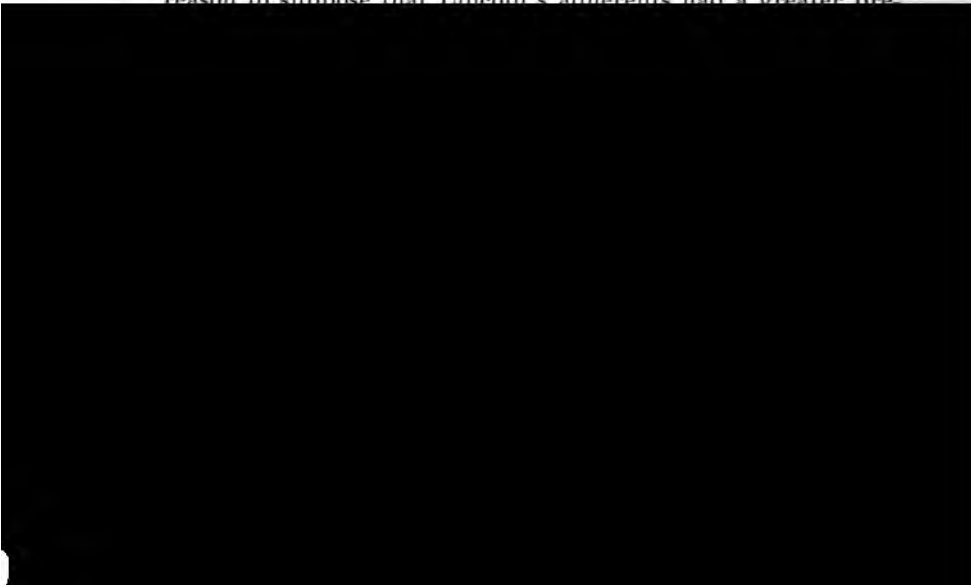
Another implication that seems to be necessarily involved in the discrimination made in the citation under review is that there was an utter absence of weighty character and sincerity among the "outside volunteer" followers of other candidates. Such a conclusion doubtless was not contemplated nor desired perhaps. If so, it may seem unkind to take the statement in all its rigor, but words are rather flinty substances and if thrown recklessly and they strike, hurt and mar. Such a construction is not a captious inference. The

(1) Hon. W. G. Donnan, a Representative of Iowa in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses (1871-75), was born and educated in New York. He came to Iowa in 1856. In 1869 (as now), he resided at Independence, and was a strong admirer of Seward. In a letter to the writer (February 4, 1907), he says: "Went over from Union College, where I was then a student, and heard Seward's great speech, organizing the Republican party. Could have wept when the Great New Yorker failed of the nomination. How fortunate for the country and the party that Lincoln was made the nominee."

uninformed or indiscriminating reader usually rests with first impressions and the impression made is not favorable to the people and representatives of other States. In these halcyon days we are used to wholesale indictments of public men and political conventions in our partisan press and periodicals that retail the "literature of exposure;" but we do not expect them from scholars who work in the clear, cool air and the dry, white light of a library.

But what is the significance and what is the justification of the assertion that "Lincoln's adherents were men from Illinois, Indiana and Iowa who had come to Chicago bent on having a good time?" Why such a discrimination? Were the admirers and promoters of the "Rail-Splitter" more inclined to that sort of thing than the crowds that shouted for "Old Irrepressible?" What is meant by a "good time," harmless diversion or reprehensible license?

With pious and proper persons a good time implies nothing more serious than an excursion or picnic with its mild ecstasies and hysterics. No doubt hundreds and thousands, when they joined the throngs bound for Chicago, thought only of the cheap rates and seeing the crowds and "the sights" of the city. Among gay lords and certain politicians, however, a good time signifies often, if not generally, fun and frolic that begins with huge fuss and noise and reckless abandon that, unless curbed, rapidly runs the leeways into riot and carousal. If the latter is meant is there any special reason to suppose that Lincoln's adherents had a greater pre-



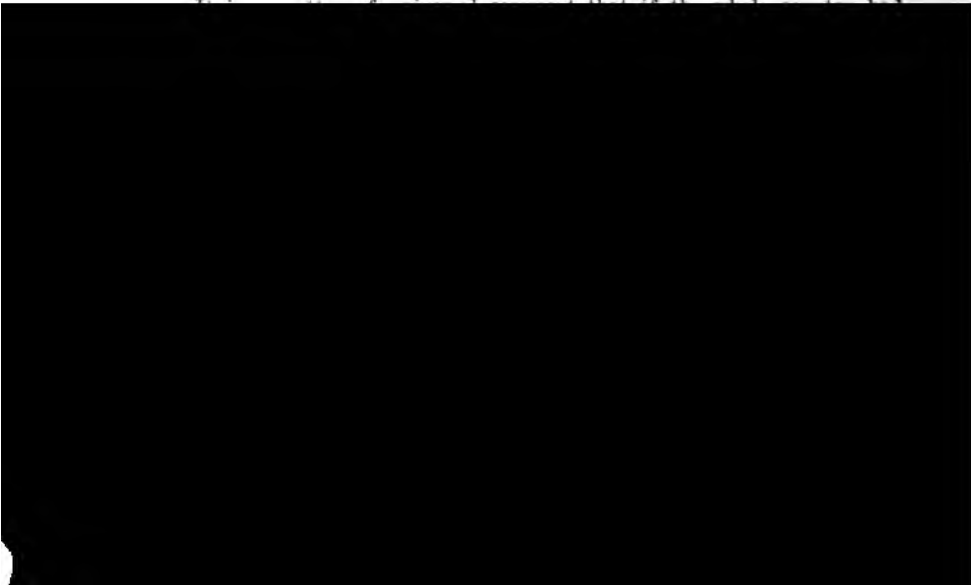
sorry pre-eminence in this respect it was New York and not any western State.¹

If the truth, and nothing but the truth, should be told in its painful particulars anent this common phase of political conventions some excerpts from Halstead's racy narrative should have been reproduced. On board the train carrying easterners to Chicago, including New Englanders probably, New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians and Ohioans certainly, he found a degree of intoxication that was "much greater" than that he witnessed on trains entering Charleston at the Democratic convention a few weeks before. The number of "private bottles" was "something surprising;" and "our Western Reserve was thrown into prayers and perspiration last night by some New Yorkers who were singing songs not found in hymn books." As to conditions in Chicago he avers: "I do not feel competent to state the precise proportions of those who are drunk and those who are sober. There are a large number of both classes; and the drunken are of course the most conspicuous and according to the principle of the numerical force of the black sheep in a flock the most multitudinous."² He was compelled to sleep in a room in his hotel that was full of revellers in a state of "glorious" exhilaration "o'er all the ills of life victorious;" and "irrepressible" until a late hour. In the morning he was aroused by the "vehement debate" of a galaxy of volunteers or delegates sitting up in bed "playing cards to see who would pay for gin cocktails all around, the cocktails being considered an indispensable preliminary to breakfast."³ He does not inform us whether those assiduous patriots were adherents of Bates or Chase, Seward or Lincoln. Another paragraph written later may indicate: "The New Yorkers here are of a class unknown to western Republican politicians. They can drink as much whisky, swear as loud and long, sing as bad songs and 'get up and howl' as ferociously as any crowd of Democrats you ever heard of."⁴

All of which, if true, only makes for tears. But the fact is

(1) Halstead's *Conventions of 1860*, p. 121: See also Carl Schurz's *Reminiscences of a Long Life*, McClure's Magazine, Vol. XXVIII, p. 413. (February, 1907). (2) Halstead, p. 121.
(3) *Ib.*, p. 122. (4) *Ib.*, p. 140.

utterly fallacious if it suggests the conclusion that such men numerically predominated in the Chicago Convention or that noise and the maudlin influence and inanities of hysterical and intoxicated men chiefly controlled the deliberations or decisions of the duly accredited representatives of the Republican party into whose hands the freemen of the north had committed a great cause. The people everywhere throughout the north were conscious that the Convention held the Nation's fate in its hands. Old party lines had fast disappeared. One common cause, one common fear lest slavery should engulf them, made partisans forget their differences and unite. They knew that fortune was with the Republicans if wisdom controlled their councils. Lincoln's searching questions at Freeport in 1858 and Douglas' fatal answer "no matter what may be the decision of the Supreme Court" had split the Democracy in twain at Charleston.¹ The people of the north with common impulse journeyed to Chicago because they were certain as were the yeoman and gentry journeying to Naseby that a spectacle was to be witnessed—their leaders and their cohorts in contention for championship and the right to lead the Lord's hosts against a common foe. As to the character and conduct of the throngs and contestants the reports of two eye-witnesses may suffice. Writing home to his paper *The Guardian* (May 16) Mr. Jacob Rich, then of Independence, one of Iowa's most forceful editors in those days and later a Warwick himself in our politics said:



Mr. Rich was young then and perhaps prejudiced as young men sometimes are, and he may not have estimated correctly, but the late Carl Schurz, who always saw clearly and spoke his mind, essentially agrees with his conclusions. Reviewing in the evening of his life the events of his great career Mr. Schurz says of that Convention in which he took no small part:

The members of the Convention and the thousands of spectators assembled in the great Wigwam presented a grand and inspiring sight. It was a free people met to consult upon their policy and to choose their chief. To me it was like the fulfillment of all the dreams of my youth.¹

There is another assumption or implication in the narrative quoted above that is common in the majority of accounts of the Chicago Convention, namely, that the crowds in the city at the time consisted chiefly of the friends of the "Rail-Splitter." New York's candidate had his workers to be sure, but they were, so to speak, mostly organized troops or regulars, bands and marching clubs, e. g., Gilmore's band from Massachusetts and Tom Hyer's contingent from New York, whereas the militia, the masses, the crowds, "the mob" that surged the hotel lobbies and the streets were the plain people who had come to Chicago to work for Honest Abe.


It is difficult to reconcile this common notion with ante-

(1) *McClure's Magazine*, Ib., p. 416.

Besides Fitz Henry Warren, Mr. Jacob Rich, and Governor S. J. Kirkwood mentioned above, Iowa's volunteer attendance at the Chicago convention included among others—Mr. James B. Howell, then editor of *The Gate City* of Keokuk and later U. S. Senator from Iowa; Mr. James B. Weaver of Bloomfield, soon afterward Brevetted Brig. General for distinguished gallantry at Ft. Donelson, Shiloh and Corinth, who represented Iowa several times in Congress, and in 1880 and 1896 was a nominee of a national party for the Presidency receiving, in 1896, 1,042,531 votes and 22 ballots in the Electoral College; Mr. James Thornton, of Davenport, a member of Congress from Iowa 1855-57; Mr. Hiram Price also of Davenport who represented Iowa for eight years in Congress; Judge John F. Dillon, likewise of Davenport, then a judge of the district court, afterwards Chief Justice of Iowa, U. S. Circuit Judge 1869-79, Professor in Columbia Law School, distinguished writer on legal subjects—the author of a classic on *Municipal Corporations* and an inspiring treatise on the *Laws and Jurisprudence of England and the United States*; Mr. Amos N. Currier, then instructor in Central University of Pella, who a few days since retired from active service as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts of the State University of Iowa; Mr. F. W. Palmer then of Dubuque, who had served two terms in the legislature of New York and who later represented Iowa for two sessions in Congress 1869-1873, and later, editor of *The Inter Ocean* of Chicago.

cedent probabilities resting on sundry facts that were notorious at the time and that are obvious in nearly every account of the Convention extant. Historians and biographers of the chief candidates all declare with little or no qualification that the country at large expected Mr. Seward's nomination. Most of them assert that the country was "shocked" at least "surprised" at his defeat. Col. A. K. McClure has always maintained that "two-thirds of the delegates" wanted to vote for Seward.¹ Being in a large sense direct representatives of local sentiment in their several States is it probable that the crowds which poured into Chicago along with them from all points of the compass to cheer and support their delegates were contrary minded! Lawyers would pronounce this notion a violent presumption.

Outside of the delegates who finally voted for Lincoln all the visitors from New England, excepting probably Connecticut, were almost certainly friends of Seward. New York's contingent, excepting the few following the lead of Greeley and Dudley Field, was all for Weed and Seward. So it must have been with the crowds that poured in from Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. "Bleeding Kansas" was staunch for their champion in the Senate. Northern Indiana and Illinois were both strongly tinctured with Sewardism, those sections having been settled largely by New Englanders and New Yorkers, the leaders of both delegations from those States having hard work to hold some of the delegates from breaking away.²



prairies on fire with Republican enthusiasm for him and his teachings."¹ Writing Governor Kirkwood May 13, three days before the delegates convened in Chicago, Eliphalet Price, of Elkader, in northeast Iowa, a keen and earnest Republican, declared "that nine-tenths of the Republicans north prefer Seward there can be no doubt." Out in then remote Sioux City the Republicans "expected" Seward's nomination at Chicago.² When the news reached Sioux City "a feeling of incredulity and disappointment," says *The Times*, May 25, "prevailed at first. Here where party ties are weak and party lines loose most Republicans favored the nomination of Bates and Hickman. Seward had some admirers."


New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio, Maryland and Missouri, certainly did not send Lincoln delegations or crowds to Chicago. Connecticut sent a Bates delegation. So did Indiana. Although neighbors it took three days' hard work on the part of Messrs. Davis, Judd, Logan, Palmer and Swett to persuade Indiana's delegates to abandon Bates and go to Lincoln. It is true that all of the delegates of the States mentioned turned to Lincoln eventually, but that is another matter.

Reason and rhyme alike require us to expect that the crowds which played such a conspicuous role at the Convention were either predominantly for Seward or not *prima facie* for Lincoln. One fact makes it almost necessary to think so. Abraham Lincoln was not formally put in nomination for the Presidency by the Illinois Republicans until May 10, six days before the Convention was to assemble. His managers, as Mr. Blaine long ago observed, had "with sound discretion" kept his name back.³ A few papers of Illinois had advocated his nomination, but not with such vigor as to prevent the resolution instructing the delegates to work for his nomination being declared a "surprise" to the Decatur Convention itself.⁴ "Lincoln's own delegation from Illinois," says Colonel McClure, "embraced one-third of positive Seward men. They were instructed for Lincoln with no hope of his nomina-

¹ *New York Tribune* (semi-w.) March 30. ² Hon. E. H. Hubbard to writer, April 22, 1907. The writer is indebted to Mr. J. C. C. Hoskins of Sioux City for the extract from the *Sioux City Times*. ³ Blaine's *Twenty Years*, p. 167. ⁴ *Ib.*, 168.

tion at the time.”¹ The mass of the people in northern Illinois and through the north—the general promiscuous population we call the “public”—who swarmed to Chicago were hardly alive to the fact that Abraham Lincoln was a candidate of high potential. Even after reaching the city the crowds could at first see few or no signs that would normally impel the miscellaneous and irresponsible elements that make up a convention crowd to join Lincoln’s cohorts with enthusiasm. Up until midnight preceding the nominations the chances were clearly in favor of Seward. Thursday midnight says Mr. Halstead “Greeley was terrified” and sent his celebrated dispatch conceding Seward’s victory and Mr. Halstead telegraphed *The Cincinnati Commercial* likewise.²

This discouragement of the anti-Seward men was no less decided among Lincoln’s adherents. Anxiety and depression among them were general and obvious. They slept scarcely at all, they were so fearful and active. Col. Alvin Saunders, Mr. Chas. C. Nourse and Gov. S. J. Kirkwood were probably the most influential Lincoln workers among the Iowans. “Early in the evening of the night before the nomination was to be made,” says Mr. Nourse, “I had gone up to my room to get some rest. I was fagged by the long strain of the day. The outlook for Lincoln was gloomy, indeed. I recall Saunders coming in. He was depressed and dubious about our chances of overcoming the New Yorkers. Kirkwood came in later. He was nervous and very uneasy and glum.”³ It was not until the small hours of the next morning that their



that "Illinois alone works hard for Lincoln."¹ Commenting in 1883 on his grandfather's defeat (*viz.* Weed's), Greeley's defection and the fast flying rumors of a "break" in the New York delegation in consequence, Mr. Barnes says: "But streets and hotels were crowded with enthusiastic friends of Seward and even his opponents did not appear to believe that he could be defeated."² Seward's latest biographer declares that "excepting the applause received from residents of Chicago all the other candidates together had not popular support enough to equal the enthusiasm of the 'irrepressibles.'"³


On Thursday the second day when the platform was adopted and the Seward men were confident and sought to secure a ballot before adjournment Mr. Halstead reported that "the cheering of the spectators during the day indicated that a very large share of the outside pressure was for Seward. There is something irresistible in the prestige of his name."⁴ And even on the third day when the crisis was culminating and all knew that the nominee was to be Lincoln or Seward, notwithstanding Lincoln's managers had shrewdly crowded the Wigwam with their shouters while Seward's phalanxes were parading the streets, the same authority, describing the scene following the mention of Seward's name says, "Above, all around the galleries, hats and handkerchiefs were flying in the tempest together. The wonder of the thing was that Seward outside pressure should, so far from New York be so powerful."⁵ One of Lincoln's chief field managers, Leonard Swett, says that Seward's nomination in the Wigwam "was greeted with a deafening shout which, I confess, appalled us a little."⁶

¹ *New York Times*, May 15: Some may suspect this assertion because of the known prejudice of the management of *The Times* for Mr. Seward, Mr. Henry J. Raymond being Weed's first or second lieutenant at Chicago, but the impartiality of subsequent dispatches disarms such doubt.
² Barnes' *Weed*, Vol. II, p. 269. ³ Bancroft's *Seward*, Vol. II, pp. 531-532.

⁴ Halstead, p. 140. ⁵ *Ib.*, 145. Colonel McClure, who took part in the Convention scenes, seems to contradict Mr. Halstead in his *Our Presidents*, etc. (1900); he says: "As the ballots were announced, every vote for Lincoln was cheered to the echo while there were but few cheers for Seward except from the delegates themselves," p. 158. The two accounts are not reconcilable. ⁶ Oldroyd, p. 72.

If we are not seriously in error the glamour surrounding the memory of President Lincoln has produced a notable confusion in the explanations of his astonishing success at Chicago. Logicians define it as reasoning *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Mr. Seward's nomination was expected; Mr. Lincoln's was not. Crowds were conspicuous at the Convention; nothing like their numbers or performances had ever before been witnessed. Popular feeling, excitement and uproar were phenomenal. But as one chronicler puts it, it was the unexpected that happened. When the clans and tribes assembled, keen-eyed chiefs soon perceived that the real contest lay between the candidates of Illinois and New York. The opponents of Seward in the doubtful States months previously had realized the necessity for his defeat. The chiefs of the clans had no sooner assembled than they discovered that Lincoln was the only man on whom all could concentrate. Later the crowds hailing from the States whence the leaders came began to respond to the appeals of their chiefs. Then the ground-swell of partisan enthusiasm began to run heavily in Lincoln's favor. By the time the balloting began the surge and the roar of the anti-Seward sentiment became portentous terrific, overwhelming. The result, however, was not *ergo propter hoc*. There was, of course, much of local fondness for Abraham Lincoln, there was perhaps somewhat (but little) of "the West versus the East." Engulfing and overmastering all was a Cause, its success and the Nation's safety.

Crowds and mobs, now and then, do exert a potent influ-



son of Iowa, and their favor turned. Convinced soon that the champion of their choice could not triumph such chiefs and captains as Mr. John A. Kasson and Judge Reuben Noble, Mr. John W. Rankin and Mr. Wm. P. Hepburn, Mr. Coker F. Clarkson and Mr. William B. Allison concurred.

Their concert was not the prejudice of the crowd nor the changeable opinion of a mob. It was the conviction of men trained in the tactics and strategy of party strife—of men who knew that the People's Cause was not to be won merely by the recognition of a theory or the exaltation of a favorite champion, of men who knew that the imperative condition of success was the conquest of stubborn adverse conditions. They were not idealists or prophets simply, but practical politicians. They knew that victory perches upon the banners of the best organized and best led battalions. Sanguine anticipations and zeal are needed but are not enough. A study of maps and regions in dispute, a specific knowledge of the battle-fields and a certain commissariat are also prerequisites.

Politicians in their hysterics and rhapsodies following success are wont to regard victory as *vox populi*. Thus Leonard Swett exclaimed a few days following the convention: "The nomination is from the people and not the politicians. No pledges have been made, no mortgages executed, but Lincoln enters the field a free man."¹ Enough has been exhibited to make one skeptical of his assertion. If ever politicians controlled, or rather directed, a convention, if ever leaders courageously resisted the emotional and erratic impulses of the mob or if you please "the people" the Chicago Convention was a case in point. We know now that Abraham Lincoln was of all the leaders in view the best that could have been chosen to guide our ship of State through the storms about to break. So much so that all will incline to agree with Admiral Chadwick that if an All-Wise Providence directs the destiny of these United States His favor was manifest indeed on May 18, 1860.² But the decision was not the voice of the people that spoke but the judgment of patriotic politicians who saw or felt the steady ingathering of black and fearful

¹ Oldroyd, p. 73.

² Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, p. 123.


forces whose terrific momentum was to wrench the very foundations of the Deep itself. In choosing their pilot some of the methods of politicians were exemplified. Abraham Lincoln sought the nomination but he wished it without lien or prejudice. But the prize was not so awarded. Leonard Swett either did not know or he forgot about the negotiations of Lincoln's field officer, Judge David Davis, with Indiana and Pennsylvania, whereby Caleb Smith and Simon Cameron were assured of position in the Cabinet if the Rail-Splitter was nominated and victory perched on the party standards on the Ides of November following. If he was not privy to them his Shade must have suffered distress on reading the revelations of Lamon and Herndon.¹

III.

WERE IOWA'S DELEGATES ON THE TRADE?

Addressing the Republican State Convention of Iowa at Des Moines in 1904 Senator William B. Allison said that of all the events in his long career as a public servant he was most proud of the fact that as a young man he enjoyed the confidence of his fellow republicans to such a degree that he was selected as one of Iowa's delegates to the convention that first put Abraham Lincoln in nomination for the Presidency.

Fame in the last analysis is chiefly the historian's favorable verdict. The patriot's ambition is the hope that he may serve his country in great affairs and be thought well of by



a man's eminence and the finer his type of character the more sensitive he is to charges or suggestions implying reprehensible conduct or petty behavior in matters of great concern. Irritation is not lessened when a reflection comes via a partial statement that discreetly hits no one in particular but in general each and all thereby involved. It mitigates the smart but little when it appears in the sober narrative of an erudite and distinguished historian, buttressed by the awesome authority of quotation marks. The greater the headway the greater is the leeway to twist a quip of Oliver Wendell Holmes. The situation is enhanced of course if perchance it turns out that no facts justify the allegation or give it even the color of justification. Resentment then becomes indignation.

In a biography of Salmon P. Chase, written by Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, professor of American History in Harvard University, a few years since for the well-known series of "American Statesmen," appears the following paragraph:

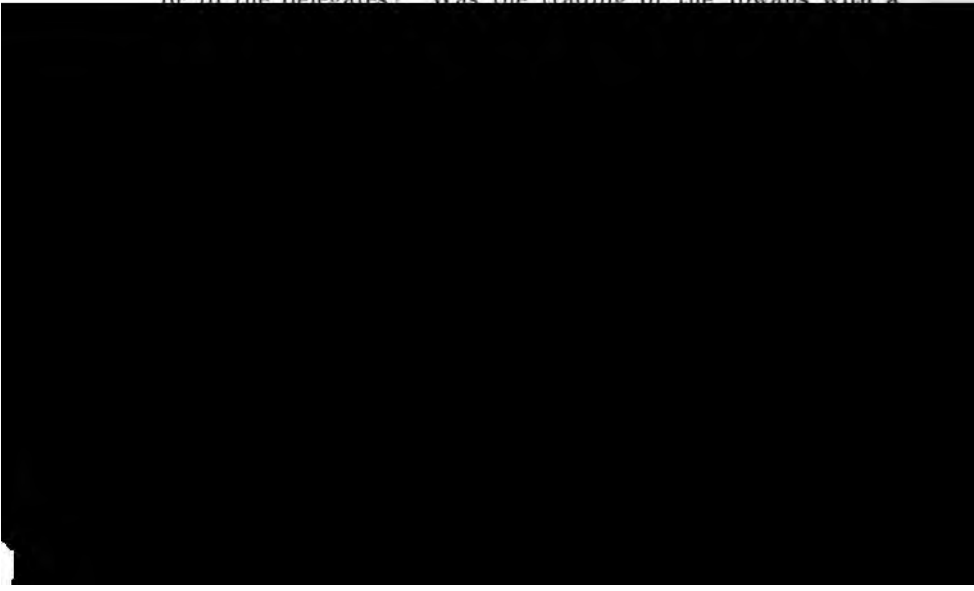
As the time for the Convention approached, Chase found a few friends and staunch delegates from other States; but he got glimpses also of a stratum of intrigue into which he could not descend. The Spragues were said to have bought the Rhode Island State election for \$100,000, and some of the Rhode Island delegates were "purchaseable;" *some delegates from Iowa were on the "trading tack,"* and in Indiana there was "a floating and marketable vote." A Philadelphia editor wrote to him with unblushing frankness that he had worked for Cameron but that "if any little subcontract could be given us which would enable us to realize a little profit, we would endeavor to serve Ohio to the full extent of our ability." But neither Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Iowa nor Indiana gave any votes for Chase at Chicago. (pp. 189-190. Italics here.)

One receives two decided impressions on reading the foregoing. First, there was an astounding amount of corruption prevalent in the preliminaries, if not in the proceedings, of the Republican National Convention of 1860. Second, the character or conduct of Iowa's delegates was smirched with the same pitch that soiled the delegates from other States. All of which, in the classic phrase of Horace Greeley, is "mighty interesting, if true."

The paragraph, however, is a sort of omnibus of damnable citations and sinister suggestions. As is usual with the

contents of such vehicles the assortment cannot with ease be precisely defined or interpreted for the reason that the statements are somewhat ill-conditioned and indefinite in their suggestiveness. A sharp scrutiny of the paragraph leaves one in some perplexity. It is not quite clear whether transactions prior to the assembly of the National Convention are referred to only or the proceedings during the Convention week are included. It is immaterial for the terms offered Chase by the thrifty patriots clearly contemplated specific performance in the Convention and thereafter delivery of the benefits or goods bargained for, whether cash, contracts, or patronage. There is perhaps a distinction but certainly not a difference between a delegate who impudently insists upon a *quid pro quo* in the form of an office before supporting a candidate or measure and a man who openly resorts to bargain and sale for cash on delivery. The unlikeness is scarcely important, it being merely a sugar-coating or veneer disguising a disagreeable thing.

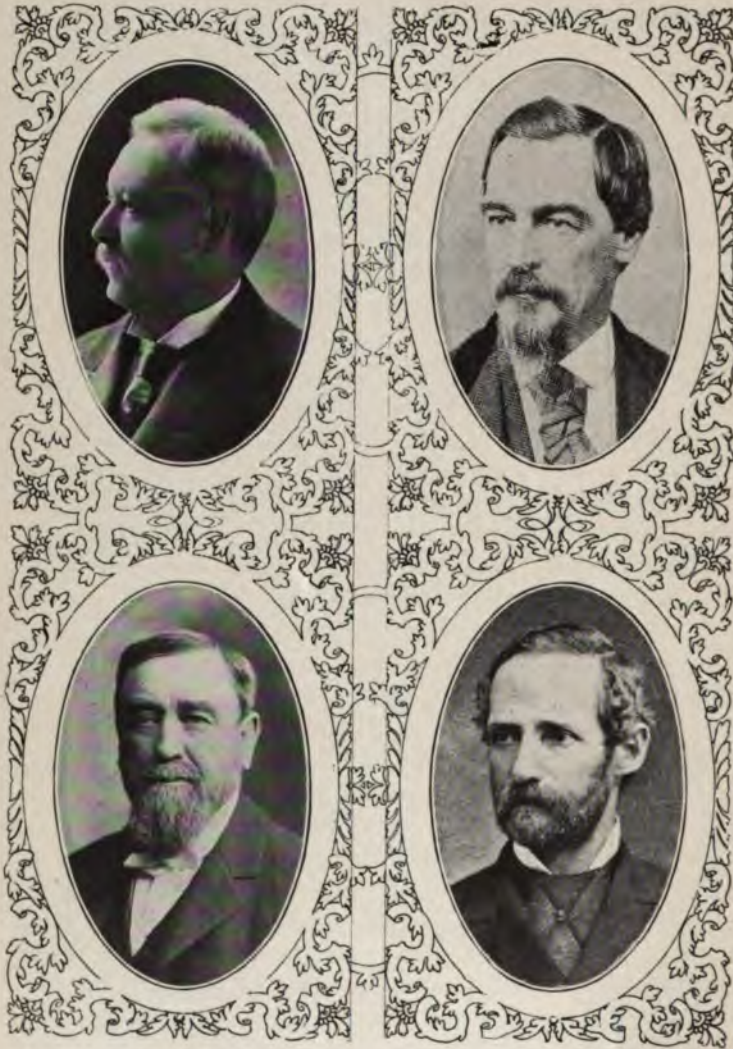
Although reprehensible conduct is plumply asserted none of the statements it is instructive to note are direct or positive so that an explicit charge is posited or particular individuals are pinioned or pilloried. The Spragues "were said." What Spragues! The family into which Miss Kate Chase married! "Some" of Rhode Island's delegates; "some of Iowa's delegates were on the trading tack;" and Indiana had "a floating and marketable vote." Does the latter relate to the electors or to the delegates? Was the trading of the Iowans with a



SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES.

WM. P. HEPBURN,
U. S. REPRESENTATIVE.

WM. PENN CLARKE,
SUPREME COURT REPORTER.



CHARLES C. NOURSE,
ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF IOWA.

HENRY O'CONNOR,
ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF IOWA.

CHICAGO CONVENTION, MAY 16-18, 1860.

ment, would promptly ensue, upon the submission of proofs. Disagreeable truth must now and then be told. If this is or may be necessary the particular persons chargeable with offensive conduct should be explicitly referred to.¹ Otherwise associates free from blame are equally involved, being besmudged or damned by implication. "Professor Hart should not make the charge against the honor of our State," says one of the delegates yet living who enjoys international fame in Diplomacy, Letters and Politics, "without producing some proof of its own verity. Indeed, his charge is made in the lowest terms. 'Some delegates from Iowa were on the trading tack.' Such indefinite charges it is difficult to answer."²

Who were the traders? The delegates who voted for Chase, e. g., Judge Wm. Smyth of Marion, and Mr. William B. Allison of Dubuque? Or the delegates who did not and would not vote for Chase, e. g., Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke, of Iowa City, or Col. Alvin Saunders of Mt. Pleasant, Mr. Jas. F. Wilson of Fairfield, or Mr. Henry O'Connor of Muscatine, Mr. Wm. P. Hepburn of Marshalltown, or the Rev. H. P. Scholte of Pella, Mr. Coker F. Clarkson of Metropolis or Lieut. Gov. Nicholas Rusch of Davenport, or Messrs. C. C. Nourse and John A. Kasson of Des Moines? Such inquiries are not idle or irrelevant but intrusive and inevitable; both on the part of the delegates living and the relatives and friends of the dead, and on the part of associates and citizens interested in the good name of the commonwealth; for as we shall see later few States sent delegations to the Chicago Convention having greater caliber and character than was found among the official representatives of the Hawkeyes.

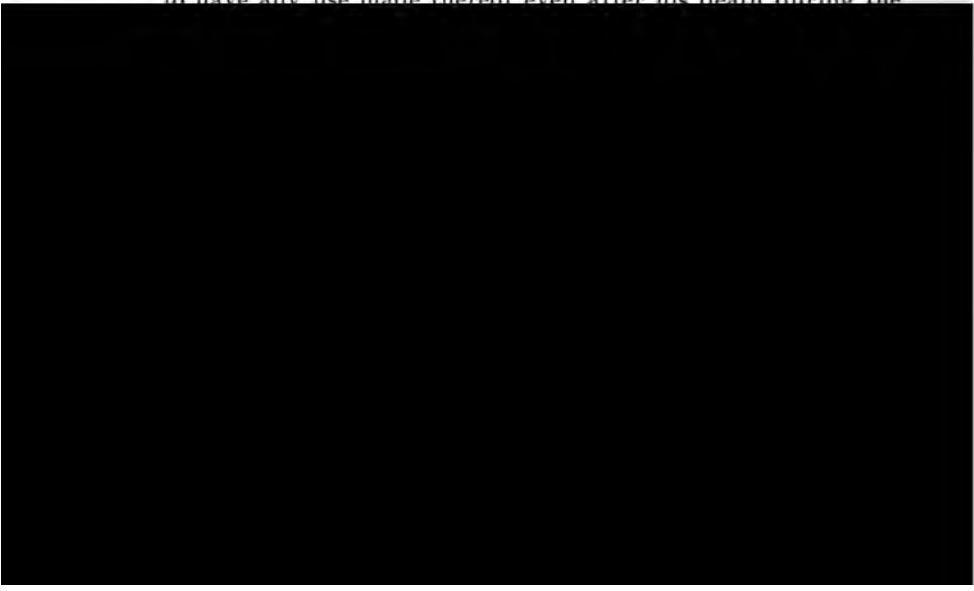
Professor Hart enjoys great fame as a historian. He is at once an indefatigable student and narrator and a leading au-

¹ If Professor Hart cares to examine an instructive illustration of the sort of direct and explicit charge that justice requires if wrongdoing is to be asserted, he will find it in the pages of Mr. Charles E. Hamlin's *Life and Times of Hannibal Hamlin*, where in the latter's defeat in the Baltimore convention in 1864 and the nomination of Andrew Johnson for the Vice-Presidency is specifically charged to the "unscrupulous action" of the then Governor of Iowa—the charge being accompanied by exhibits of very damaging evidence that seem to substantiate the accusation. (See pp. 477-479.)

² Mr. John A. Kasson, to the writer. Letter dated Nahant, Mass., August 28, 1906.

thority in historical criticism and scientific procedure. He is therefore entitled to the presumption that he means what he says or he does not; that he must have examined the official list of Iowa's delegates and realized that many of them afterwards acquired celebrity in our national history or he did not; that he must have carefully sifted the evidence for his statement or he did not. In all cases either alternative entitles us to call for specific references and proof, so that the innocent shall not suffer with the guilty or to insist upon retraction or modification, if his animadversion is unsupported.

The offense against good men is not lessened in these premises but increased by the fact that Professor Hart utilized and apparently wholly depended upon Salmon P. Chase's private correspondence. An eminent public man like Chase is daily in receipt of letters from scores of friends, admirers or strangers, freely relating their views of men and measures. Such epistolary declarations are usually colored greatly by the prejudice of the writer's personal or partizan friendships or desires; and are often heedless or reckless. As they are not intended for the public eye the indiscriminate statements matter but little as the recipient is seldom so heedless or reckless as to give them publicity. We certainly may presume that Chase did not give much currency to the revelations of his various correspondents. Certainly he did not expose them to the hurt of official and party contemporaries whom he held in great esteem or respect; and he no more would have desired to have any use made thereof even after his death during the



besmudge the good names of honorable delegates yet living in Indiana and Iowa, and perhaps Rhode Island.

Inquiry develops the fact that the whole basis for the statement affecting Iowa is the following letter!¹ Its contents are given entire. Their use or misuse in the foregoing is the only justification for their exhibition here. Only the initials of the subscriber are given although as will be apparent, there is really no particular reason for withholding his name:

Gate City Office, Keokuk, Feby. 24, '60.

Hon. S. P. Chase,

Dear Sir: Some time since I had your views on the Tariff published in the *Gate City*, and I have just republished the New Orleans Bulletin's notice of your election to the Senate.

I was at our State Convention, but I found the delegates, who were all aspiring politicians, very wary, & it was difficult to sound them, though I judged you had about as many friends as anybody.

We have just received *The Tribune* of the 20th, which comes out for Bates. We were not unprepared for such a move, & yet it rather strikes us with surprise. Our impression now is that it will not damage you or Seward in this State.

The Chicago delegates from this (Lee) county are Senator Rankin, of this place, & Dr. Walker of Ft. Madison,—both, no doubt, in favor of Cameron first & both of them rather on the trading tack.

I am sorry to say that, as a politician & with leading politicians of the State, our friend Ex-Governor Lowe has little influence.

Will you do me the favor to send, if convenient, a copy of your first inaugural—or the one which contained your argument on the Single District System.

Mr. Denison and family are well; Mrs. R. is not very well, but joins me in kind regards.

Respectfully,

W.— R.—

P. S. At present, I have no pecuniary interest in the *Gate City Office*. But as the Editor-in-Chief, Mr. Howell, broke his leg last November, & is still on his back, and his partner, Mr. Briggs, was gone to Washington to fill some place obtained for him by our Col. Curtis,—I am left here in full charge for present, but am not certain as to my future.

W. R.²


As a base for a serious reflection upon a body of delegates we are greatly mistaken if most persons will not regard the foregoing letter as utterly inadequate. It is a basis so narrow and thin that few persons even in the heat of bitter partizan debate would venture to make use of it adverse to any one. From beginning to end there is nothing whatever in it either directly or by fair inference warranting Professor Hart's use of the letter in the connection exhibited above. It relieves

¹ Professor Hart to writer, Aug. 29, 1906.

² From Papers of Salmon P. Chase in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

the two delegates actually mentioned, as well as all of the others from adverse criticism or judgment. The letter, together with a communication of a contemporary of W. R. yet living, gives us the following facts:

W. R. was a personal friend or old-time acquaintance of Salmon P. Chase. He came to Keokuk in 1854 and until 1861 was business manager of *The Gate City*. He admired Chase much, became a watcher and worker in behalf of the Ohioan's candidacy for the presidential nomination and promoted his interests so far as feasible. He attended as a delegate the Republican State Convention that met at Des Moines January 18, 1860, to select delegates to the Chicago Convention. He evidently found the delegates—it is not clear whether he refers to delegates to the State or to those to the national convention—chary of expression and wary of questions as to their preferences or probable course in regard to the national convention. He found, however, or felt, that Chase enjoyed about equal favor with the other candidates mentioned. Horace Greeley's advocacy of Edw. Bates he did not seem to regard very seriously, yet he confesses some surprise. Finally, he found the delegates to Chicago selected from his own district and county to be both favorably disposed towards Cameron of Pennsylvania but both of them *rather* on the trading tack. The next year (1861) W. R., it is interesting and instructive to note, secured a position in the Treasury Department at Washington under Secretary Chase, wherein he continued many years until his death a decade ago; an



bits of conversation he suspected that they were "rather" on the trading tack. He does not so much as intimate that they had broached or hinted at a trade or mercenary transaction. What W. R. refers to he *does not assert as a fact—he merely intimates a surmise* of his whereas Professor Hart omits the "rather" and absolutely asserts that "some of Iowa's delegates were on the 'trading tack.'" his assertion being a bold presumption wholly his own, with no substantial proof offered therefor.


In fine, Professor Hart apparently is clearly subject to criticism on several counts. First, he misuses Chase's correspondence while official colleagues and party associates are yet alive. Second, he has by a partial statement imputed reprehensible conduct to thirty-two prominent citizens of Iowa when only two, if any, were by any manner of means derelict. Third, he does gross injustice to the two delegates in question for he asserts as a fact what the authority on whom he depends, does not so assert and intimates nothing that gives even color to such a charge of misconduct. Fourth, by an important omission of a qualifying word he perverts the sense of W. R.'s statement and thus seriously misrepresents the authority he relies upon. Fifth, Professor Hart's language in the last sentence of the paragraph quoted above indicates that he did not scrutinize the tally sheets of the Convention very carefully.

Professor Hart says that "neither Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Iowa nor Indiana gave any votes to Chase at Chicago." The statement is correct as to Pennsylvania and Indiana, but it is grossly in error as to Rhode Island and impliedly so as to Iowa. On the first ballot Rhode Island gave Chase one vote, on the second three votes, and on the third one vote. Iowa gave Chase one of her eight votes on the first ballot and one-half a vote on the second and third ballots.¹ The vote of Iowa represented four Chase delegates on the first and two delegates on each of the other ballots. If Professor Hart means to be taken literally, Iowa, of course, gave Chase no "votes" because she cast but one for him, but Rhode Island certainly gave him votes.

¹ *Proceedings*, pp. 149, 152, 153.

Responding to the writer's inquiry as to the meaning of his statement and the authority therefor, Professor Hart in closing his letter says: "I did not suppose when I quoted the phrase that any one would take it to mean that the delegates were trading for money. They were probably trying to get some assurance as to cabinet appointments, a vice presidential candidate, or something of that kind." Professor Hart's disclaimer of harmful purpose in quoting W. R.'s harmless phrase must be accepted as complete and final. But the explanation, while it relieves the situation somewhat, does not restore the *status quo*. It does not abolish the paragraph with its positive declaration, with its ugly implication. There are few libraries in the country that lack the classic volumes of "American Statesmen," the series in which Professor Hart's Life of Chase appears. Thousands have read and thousands will yet read that, when patriots were called upon to make the "most fate-pregnant decision" a national convention ever had to make, Iowa's notables were mere hucksters and petty traders and they will conclude that they were worse.

In view of the exhibit and analysis of the evidence for the adverse charge under consideration a defense of the character or conduct of Senator J. W. Rankin of Keokuk, or of Dr. J. C. Walker, the former a delegate-at-large, and the latter a district delegate is superfluous. Senator Rankin was the law partner of Samuel F. Miller, whose elevation to the Supreme Bench has already been referred to. Tradition has it that he



Walker's preference may have been in February, in May and at Chicago his voice and votes were from first to last for Abraham Lincoln.¹ Senator Rankin, on the other hand, was a firm advocate of the nomination of Simon Cameron. One of Keokuk's noted lawyers labored for several days prior to the Convention to persuade him to vote for Lincoln but without effect.² At Chicago, however, Senator Rankin turned to Illinois' candidate as soon as he realized that Cameron's chances were nil.

Taking the phrase "trading tack" in a large and honorable sense, and a common sense, and it is not improbable that the two delegates mentioned did have certain ambitious plans in contemplation for securing vice presidential honors for Iowa. As will be shown in a subsequent section, there are reasons for thinking that friends of James Harlan, Iowa's distinguished senior senator at that time, were not unmindful of a political situation that contained many chances in favor of such a consummation. The matter was broached both privately and publicly and may have been in the minds of Senator Rankin and Dr. Walker.

IV.

MEN AND METHODS IN CONVENTION..

A political convention in a Democracy like ours is of necessity a fortuitous concourse. No one ordinarily expects to find such an assembly composed only of philosophers and scientists, saints and statesmen. On the other hand such conclaves are seldom made up of shysters, knaves or fools. For the reason, in both cases doubtless, that neither would be tolerated by the general public. If the area of interests involved is extended or the issues at stake vital and momentous, the confluence of forces at the common center, no matter how quietly they may originate or serenely they may flow in, must produce commotion. If the currents thus concenter with great momentum a convention in the nature of the case concludes in a maelstrom. To the unemotional onlooker in lobby or gallery and especially to the scholastic who coolly studies


¹ Mr. J. P. Cruikshank of Ft. Madison to the writer, April 26, 1907.

² Mr. Henry Strong, now of Chicago, to the writer, June 4, 1907.

the records, the din and noise, the excitement, tempests and uproar seem utterly absurd and dangerous. Nevertheless they are not unnatural. Wisdom does not always predominate in their proceedings but no more does irrationality, or stupid perversity always prevail.

Two classes of persons compose our political conventions be they state or national. One class consists of those who care only for issues or principles. The other class is principally concerned with individuals or personalities—namely champions, or themselves. Such gatherings if they are to prove efficient must be composed of both classes in about equal proportions; since cranks and visionaries are as certain to run amuck and make success impossible, as petty heelers and sordid spoilsmen are to offend the law and the prophets.

Each class divides into two groups. The first class consists of the extremists who insist strenuously upon explicit and heroic measures, and declarations of doctrine regardless of contrary considerations of time or place, and of the moderates whose foremost interest is always the success of their cause but who realize that conditions determine success and should control practical measures—hence they support this or that champion of their principle believing that their cause will attain success more speedily by his promotion. Some of the latter type stand staunchly by their champion through thick and thin, hoping all things and doing all things in his behalf. Others deliberately canvass the situation, coolly calculate the chances of this or that representative candidate,



for Seward throughout the balloting notwithstanding the breaks in his columns in the New England States on the second and third ballots. The Lincoln men under the lead of Col. Alvin Saunders and Mr. C. C. Nourse, in spite of heavy odds, worked from the first for the candidate of Illinois. Mr. Coker F. Clarkson was a steadfast admirer of both Judge McLean and Governor Chase, having enjoyed personal and political associations with each in Ohio. In the Convention, however, he cast his vote on the first and second ballots for Judge McLean. On the third ballot he went to Lincoln.


The second general class instead of contemplating chiefly general principles and grand results is interested principally in personalities, either champions or themselves. They insist upon and care for correct principles and righteousness in a practical way, as do the former class, but they visualize them more in tangible leaders. This class probably comprises usually the larger numbers in conventions. This class too is easily discernible in two groups or kinds. One kind is made up of hero-worshippers, the major number perhaps. They feel and see the issues of right and wrong only through personalities. A leader who champions their cause they ardently admire. There is little or no analysis, no comparison, no synthesis of views or points of conduct. The champion's ability, his looks and manner, his prowess in debate, his successes, his steadfastness in the faith, his sacrifices for the cause enthrall the mind and energize heart and hand. They join his forces and work and proselyte in his behalf. Ardor and sentiment are likely to characterize their performances rather than cool calculation and reasoning, youth rather than age; and in the progress and culmination of a canvass they are wont to hear *vox dei* in the noise of the shouting throngs of the street and the amphitheatre. But enthusiasm and zeal if faults are exceedingly common—indeed, most normal persons regard them as commendable virtues. Few regard the character of those so delinquent as worthy of indictment on the score of sincerity or intelligence for the reason probably that it would include most of us. "I was," says Henry Villard, "enthusiastically for the nomination of Wm. H. Seward

• • • • • The noisy demonstrations of his followers

and especially of the New York delegation in his favor made me sure, too, that his candidacy would be irresistible.”¹

Most critical persons with a cynical turn of mind are wont to sneer much at this sort of thing. But it is not so irrational or illogical as may seem at first flush. Large numbers united and vocal for a candidate or cause indicate decided unanimity of opinion or general concurrence of interests or views. Such concurrence of numbers is presumptively the result of rational considerations and sensible conclusions. Most men are too busy to give particular attention or devote time to the study of conditions and causes, of the *pros* and *cons* of men and measures in issue. They turn to the men of “light and leading” to whom they have been accustomed to look and defer. They do not supinely follow their leadership but generally the consideration that decides them is the feeling that the numbers indicate a better or more informed judgment than their own.

The second sort who are interested in personalities rather than causes or principles is the group that think of their own individual welfare. They may be manifest in that aggravating species who seek to be on the winning side—they flit and flutter between the lines, anxious and uncertain lest they decide unwisely. This class is discouragingly numerous, not only in conventions but everywhere else. They mean well and usually are harmless in intent; they lack acute intelligence and steady nerve. They seek popularity and cannot endure the idea of defeat or nonsuccess. Another species



be and usually is coupled with the noblest aspirations for human welfare. Some thus animated, however, are willing, if need be, to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the cause, as witness Lincoln's deference to Trumbull and his insistence upon putting the Freeport Questions. Others permit the ardor of desire to blur the vision and impel disregard of the niceties of conduct as was the case with Ohio's noble Roman, Salmon P. Chase, in his later relations with his great rival and coadjutor.

There are, of course, in conventions, no small number who are narrow, petty and sordid in their calculations and strife for immediate benefit. They regard such a conclave as a sort of fair or market where hucksters gather for bargain and sale and higgling and haggling is the rule. Oftentimes, alas, the dickering is corrupt and utterly vicious. Shakespeare describes the conduct of this miserable fraternity in his lines depicting the species of human kind that


Dodge
And palter in the shifts of ~~baseness~~.

The latter class are an abomination and should be given short shrift. The former class exhibit a low order of political intelligence and virtue. They are simply petty and stupid but not necessarily shysters or scoundrels.

Academics and arm-chair critics are wont to over-emphasize or misjudge the numbers and the significance of the huckstering or corrupt politicians in conventions. A few black sheep in a flock makes most persons reach hasty and sweeping conclusions whence one infers that the entire number is discolored. Taking the daily occurrence of horrible headlines in our sensational press they talk as if crime and divorce were universal and rampant. Pettiness, sordidness and corruption are found in politics and conventions and perhaps are more impudent and obtrusive but they are discoverable and prevalent in all other walks of life in similar measure. Again it is not easy to differentiate the bad or undesirable from the necessary. Petty trading in offices is not particularly laudable. Yet combinations or "deals" in the large, adjustments of forces and compromises of conflicting interests are imperative if a convention is to avoid futile con-

troversy that easily invokes serious estrangements or concludes in disruption.

Among the men from Iowa in the Convention of 1860, were a number who possessed rare powers of discernment and achievement. They were masters in political tactics and strategy; men who shortly thereafter attained great eminence in public life and just fame. They severally had their preferences but the triumph of anti-slavery principles and success of the party at the polls were the predominant considerations with them. Mr. John A. Kasson preferred Edward Bates of Missouri and Mr. Wm. B. Allison's choice was Salmon P. Chase; but after they realized the futility of their hopes both threw their votes and influence in favor of Lincoln. Col. Alvin Saunders at heart would have rejoiced if Seward could have been made the candidate but an extended correspondence prior to going to Chicago with leaders in Illinois, Indiana and Pennsylvania convinced him that the nomination of the New Yorker put success in jeopardy. Consequently notwithstanding his attachment to Senator Harlan, who earnestly desired Seward's selection, Colonel Saunders went to Chicago and did yeomen service for the Illinoisan. Governor Kirkwood, at bottom prejudiced in favor of Chase because of early associations as Democrats in Ohio, frankly wrote Iowa's senior Senator that if long and able service were decisive Mr. Seward was entitled to the nomination, especially because he had long been the "best abused man" in the party. Nevertheless he concluded that other matters had the right



to Lincoln, when his chances were not favorable, when Horace Greeley had telegraphed *The Tribune* that the opposition to Seward could not unite and conceded the latter's nomination. If Iowa's contingent had been petty traders and hucksters, or politicians of the weather-vane sort, they certainly would not have aligned themselves with the "Rail-Splitter" and his uncertain prospects. They would have joined the supporters of Seward the "popular" man, the man whose forces were led by the wizard Weed, the man for whom Col. A. K. McClure says "two-thirds" of the delegates really wanted to vote.

(To be continued.)

FAST TRAVELING—A gentleman of this place arrived yesterday morning on the Rolla having come up from New Orleans in ten days, less seven hours, including twenty-seven hours spent in St. Louis. This is the quickest trip ever made on the Mississippi.—*Iowa News (Dubuque)*, June 9, 1838.


A HARD CASE—I am about to quit business in Dy Buque. I have been in it over two years and have not made "*Salt to my Porridge*." To those of my *friends* who have been indebted to me since I started, I would say, that I know it is monstrous hard that I should ask them to pay me *so soon*, but the fact is, I want money and *must* have it, as neither my creditors nor myself can live on barnicles and bottles of smoke.—Geo. L. Nightingale.—*Iowa News (Dubuque)*, March 17, 1838.

DAVID RORER.

BY EDWARD H. STILES.

The subject of this sketch I knew intimately. He used frequently to visit the Ottumwa Bar. I met him frequently elsewhere—the last time at his own house and fireside. I participated in the last case in which he personally appeared in the Supreme Court of Iowa. It was that of Wapello County vs. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company, and is reported in 44 Iowa, 585. He was the general counsel of and represented the railroad company. I had for many years been its local counsel at Ottumwa, but this case was the heritage of ancient litigation growing out of stock subscriptions by the county, and owing to circumstances not necessary to explain, I represented the county. The case was a leading one and the questions involved difficult of solution. The judges were divided, and the opinion was carried by a bare majority. Of the lawyers who had participated in the trial below, he and myself were the only ones present. We both made oral arguments. He was then seventy years of age but his strong and well-sustained effort evinced no infirmities. His mental forces were unabated.

Taken all in all he was one of the most remarkable men I have ever known, and decidedly the most unique. He had been the compeer of all the distinguished men of the Territory and State and stood shoulder to shoulder with them. For politics





Yours very truly
David Rorer.

PIONEER JURIST, LAW WRITER.

STANDARD
FORM 1

and gestures when addressing the court or jury, were extremely animated and, if the term may be properly used, picturesque. He was perfectly *sui generis*. I never saw a man that resembled him. The *tout ensemble* of the person was without a model. He carried the green bag of the olden time lawyer on his arm for his books and papers, and never deigned to call the statement of plaintiff's cause of action, the "Petition", but always the "Declaration". He was an able lawyer and a highly gifted man. Though ordinarily affable and gracious, he was determined, self-willed, and, when heated, sometimes domineering. Nothing could quench his indomitable spirit. "Age could not wither, nor custom stale his infinite variety". Even when comparatively an old man he wrote and gave to the profession three highly prized works—*Rorer on Judicial Sales*, *Rorer on Inter-State Law* and *Rorer on Railroads*. The last, in two volumes, was written when he was verging close to eighty, and is used as a text-book in the Columbia College Law School and in that of the Wisconsin University. All are standard works, and prized as such throughout the English-speaking world, and will serve to carry his name into the future beyond most if not all of his personal associates at the bar.

The accompanying half-tone is from a photograph of an oil portrait painted in Paris by Seymour Thomas and considered a good likeness, but in my estimation it fails to perfectly exhibit the sprightly animation which pervaded his very being.


But let it not be supposed that because of his restless activity, he lacked the qualities of a patient student, for his works, his arguments, his writings demonstrate the contrary. The spirit of research was deeply founded in his nature. He had the instinct of the antiquary and the historian, and found time among his diversified labors, to collect much material and make several sketches for a history of the early Northwest—a work which, it is to be regretted, was left unfinished.

Though most of his life was spent in dealing with hard facts and the logic of events, so to speak, he was by no means deficient in aesthetic qualities. He loved the beautiful and the grand. He loved nature in all her various moods and forms.

He loved and remembered the lines of her poets. To illustrate: After completing our arguments in the case referred to in the opening of these remarks, we concluded to walk from the Capitol, instead of riding, to our hotel. We pursued a roundabout way and wandered into the environments of that part of East Des Moines. He pointed out the denuded hills once crowned with magnificent forests, as he had seen them nearly half a century before; where the old fort and the wigwam of the Indian had stood. As we advanced we saw ahead of us, smoke rising above the treetops. I wondered what was the cause, but in a moment he divined it in repeating the old familiar lines:

I knew by the smoke that so gracefully curl'd
Above the green elms that a cottage was near;
And I said if there's peace to be found in the world,
A heart that was humble might hope for it here.

While he was a learned lawyer his researches were not confined to his professional work, for he was an omnivorous reader and had a well-developed taste for general literature. While as already indicated, he had a lively imagination and the high instincts that belong to great orators, he was not what would be termed an eloquent one, for his oratory had been mostly trained to logical courses; it was essentially of the argumentative kind; strong, heroic, devoid of vacuity. And yet implanted in him were the faculties of real eloquence, as the following scrap, which has been fortunately preserved, will show and than which, I think, but few rarer specimens of native eloquence can be found. A condemned man whom he had



I had a family—and a home—a rude home it is true, and a plain and humble family—but they were my all. The deceased robbed me of the one and invaded the sanctity of the other—two small sons, a lovely daughter, and a wife—ah! a cherished wife. On returning to that home the day of the fatal deed, I learned the certainty of the unblenching truth, and hastened to the field, my rifle still in hand. I know not why I went. I had no fixed design:—he met me with a club—I shot him—and though I claim not to have acted in defense, I do assert that there was mutual combat. You know the rest. I fled; my family followed; but for the fifteen years I lived at Lockland, I made no secret of the deed that I had done.¹

Now, time has done its work. The government itself has changed: new laws are passed, and old ones are repealed; and those who then surrounded me have mostly passed away. A different people now are in the land. A different code of morals now prevails. But I drank liquor, it is said, and true it is I drank it; not to have done so then would have been the objection. Men high in station leaned upon the dram shops for support, and to treat one's fellow to the poisoning cup, was deemed proof positive of genteel training. I may not be held responsible alone, for the vices of society; it is enough that I have been their victim. Those days are passed, and that loved wife is gone—borne down with troubles, she sank into an early grave. That lovely daughter is now a hopeless cripple, wearing a haggard face. Of those two boys who should have been the prop of my old age, the one has gone to join his injured mother as witness against the dead destroyer of their peace—the other—and my heart sinks within me when I say it, still lives—but not to me—with an ear deaf to my calamity, he comes not near me; but I forgive.²

To this Honorable Court, the jury, attorneys and officers, and to the people of this community, I return my humble thanks for their impartial bearing.

I have never been a criminal of choice, but rather the creature of circumstances, beneath the weight of which far better men than I have sunk: I may have been too jealous of mine honor but never have but once proved faithless to a trust. When my country's rights were invaded, I avenged them, and so I did mine honor.

With General Jackson in all his Creek campaign, I battled for my country and its laws. At the fast in the wilderness, I was there—³ at the fast of acorns, I was there—at Emucfaw and Talladega.⁴ I was there; and when the shouts of victory drowned the cries of the dying at the Horse-Shoe, in the front ranks of my country, I was there; and then the name of him whom we call Jones,⁵ was but another

(2) McCardle, as Jones alleged, and the evidence tended to prove, had slandered Jones' family and cheated him out of his farm. (3) After killing McCardle, Jones fled to Lockland, Ohio, and there remained fifteen years before arrested. (4) The killing was in Iowa Territory, in 1840. The trial was in Iowa State, in 1855. The Government had changed. (5) Jones' wife and one of his sons had died, and the daughter was an invalid. (6) His remaining son refused to aid or come near him.

(7) Allusion is made to the starving condition of Jackson's army in the Creek wilderness. (8) Many of the troops ate acorns on arriving in the oak woods, just before meeting supplies. (9) Emucfaw, Talladega, and the Horse-Shoe Bend, were noted battle-grounds of Jackson, with the Creek Indians. (10) Jones was not his real name; he assumed it after leaving the army, for reasons not necessary to mention. The case was reversed in Supreme Court, by reason of change of government, and the prisoner discharged.

word for deeds of glory! But these things are of the past—a long life is nearly spent—the scene is changed—yet He alone who reads the human heart is, further than the formal sentence of the law, competent to judge me.

In the case of Ruel Daggs vs. Elihu Frazier *et al.*, tried to a jury in the District Court of the United States at Burlington, in 1850, before Judge Dyer, the proceedings in which, including the arguments of counsel, were happily preserved, and to which reference is made in the biographical sketch of Judge J. C. Hall printed in the April number of *The Annals* will be found an excellent specimen of his forcible style of oral argument. Though an emancipationist and a hater of the principle of slavery, he was, nevertheless, in favor of loyally supporting the constitutional provisions and the laws framed for its protection, so long as they remained on the statute book. The case was brought under the Fugitive Slave Law to recover the value of certain slaves who had escaped from their master in Missouri, and whom it was claimed he had been prevented from retaking by the acts of so-called Abolitionists in the Quaker settlement of Salem in Henry county. Judge Rorer represented the plaintiff, Judge Hall the defendants. Probably no two more powerful legal combatants ever met in an Iowa forum. Judge Rorer in his closing argument thus urged upon the jury the duty of the citizen to support the constitution and the law:¹

* * * * *

The passages referred to from this off-hand effort exhibit virile qualities that at once mark its elevation and stamp it


But let us look at him on the other side of the slave question. He manumitted his own slaves, and in the first case to be found in the Iowa Reports, that of *In re Ralph*, reported in Morris, page 1, though a southerner and reared as a slave-holder, he espoused the cause of the slave Ralph, whom his master, under a contract between them, had permitted to come and live in Iowa, and by reason of which the Supreme Court, composed of three Democratic Judges, with the gifted Charles Mason at the head, declared Ralph to be a free man. And throughout our great civil war, he exhibited the greatest patriotism and loyalty. Early in the struggle he boldly advocated the emancipation of the slaves as the heroic remedy needed for the Nation's relief, and with all the firmness of his decided character.

The following incidents I obtained from members of his family and other authentic sources. He was born in Pittsylvania county, Virginia, in 1806. He descended from an ancient and honorable Swiss family, the Protestant branch of which settled in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, anterior to the Revolution. He was the son of Abraham and Mary Cook Rorer. His father was a soldier of the Revolution and fought under Anthony Wayne at Stony Point, and on other fields. Soon after the Revolution the family removed to Virginia, where, as above stated, he was born. He studied law under Nathaniel Claiborne, of Franklin county, Virginia. He early resolved to try his fortune in the southwest, and in 1826, accompanied by a negro slave as servant, he made his way on horseback through the wilderness to Little Rock, Arkansas, where he concluded to settle; returning to Virginia to make his final arrangements, and coming back soon after to Little Rock—this time by horseback to Louisville, and thence by steamboat down the Ohio, and up the Mississippi, as far as Helena. He soon acquired a good practice in Little Rock, where he remained for ten years. But his profound discernment and a close study of the situation enabled him to foresee the gathering storm that was to burst upon us in the great Rebellion, and he determined to seek a new residence in the north. Carrying out that purpose, he removed to Burlington, where he arrived in March, 1836, and became one of the principal founders of that city, and intimately interwoven with its history and in-

terests. He saw and participated in its growth from a little hamlet of forty insignificant houses, to a populous and wealthy city. In the same year he built, on the southeast corner of Fourth and Columbia streets, not only the first brick building in Burlington, but in what is now Iowa. At that time it was a part of the Territory of Michigan; later it became a part of Wisconsin Territory, and in 1838, the Territory of Iowa. In the building of this house he laid the first brick himself, saying to the mason, "Let me show you how a lawyer can lay a brick." It was perfectly in accord with his quaint and lively characteristics. A picture of this house is in possession of the Historical Department of Iowa. In the following year the next brick building in the Territory was constructed at Dubuque. In 1841, he built the old homestead at the corner of Fourth and Washington streets.

As already stated, he was identified with the history of Burlington from its inception. The first meeting to incorporate the town was held at his office. He drew the first charter of the city. He assisted in laying out and naming many of its streets. He also drew the first ordinances, and in various ways aided in the organization and development of the city.

In 1839, he gave to and impressed upon Iowa the sobriquet of "Hawkeye." How this was brought about was clearly shown by an article in *The Burlington Hawk-eye* of November 21, 1878, in reply to an inquiry made by a correspondent on the subject. The inquiry and the article of *The Hawk-eye* will be found in the accompanying note.



In a short time after this, Mr. Edwards changed the name of his paper to *The Hawk-eye*, in honor of the people of Iowa. This history of the name was procured from Judge Rorer, who had the honor of giving Iowa the title of the 'Hawkeye State.'

While living in Little Rock he married Mrs. Martha Martin (*nee* Daniel). She died after their removal to Burlington, in 1838. They had two sons and two daughters, Daniel, Claiborne, Martha and Frances. Daniel became a lawyer, and died in Worthington, Minnesota, in 1902. Claiborne joined Walter in his expedition to Nicaragua, and was there killed in battle, in 1856. Martha married William Garrett, a pioneer of Burlington, and died there in 1893. Frances married Davis J. Crocker, a lawyer, and is now living in New York City.

In March, 1839, he married for his second wife, Delia Maria Viele, a sister of Philip Viele, who was one of the distinguished lawyers of Lee county and early Iowa. Mrs. Rorer died in November, 1888. Two daughters survive, Miss Delia M. Rorer and Mrs. Mary Louisa Remey, wife of John T. Remey, of Burlington.

As hereinbefore stated he appeared in the first reported case heard in the Territorial Supreme Court, as the representative of the slave Ralph. In the first volume of the Iowa Reports (Morris) his name is attached to thirty-five cases. Thus commencing, it unceasingly runs through all the reports down almost to the date of his death—from 1839 to 1884—a period of forty-five years. As thus traced, his professional career was more lengthily continuous and his name attached to more cases, than that of any other lawyer who has appeared before the Iowa bar, and figured in its highest court. For the last twenty-five years of his life, his practice was more especially devoted to railroad litigation. He became the solicitor of the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company in 1858, and after its consolidation with and absorption by the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company, he was continued in the same position by that company; and as counsellor, down to the day of his death. He was regarded as an expert in railroad law, and the publication of his work on that subject served to make his fame in that respect national.

Judge Charles Mason, in a communication addressed to me, January 23d, 1882, thus refers to him:

Among my earliest acquaintances in Burlington, where I commenced housekeeping, in 1837, were David Rorer and James W. Grimes, who, as nearly as I can now remember, were the only members of the bar then residing there. The streets were full of stumps and brush, and surrounded by the primeval, unbroken forest. Mr. Rorer has always been a hard and devoted legal student, and though of late years he has withdrawn himself from the general practice, he has, during his time, devoted his talents to the preparation of works on different branches of the law, which I believe possess a high degree of merit. Gifted with a very acute mind, and possessing a more extensive library than most of his competitors, he has generally appeared in court provided with a copious list of authorities. I know of no one who seemed more fully to enjoy an investigation which taxed to the fullest extent his thoughtfulness and his industry, nor do I know of any who devoted himself more unreservedly to the interests of his clients.

His life came suddenly to an end in Burlington twenty-three years ago. The newspapers of the State paid proper homage to his memory as one of its principal founders. *The Chicago Tribune* thus spoke of him: "In the death of David Rorer who died suddenly at his home in Burlington, Iowa, Monday July 7th, at the ripe age of seventy-eight, the State of Iowa has lost one of her noblest citizens, and the American bar one of its ablest lawyers and most learned law writers."

His daughter, Miss Delia M. Rorer, to whom I had written for certain data, writes:

I well remember his frequent reference to you and the long-standing friendship that had existed between you. You ask me for suggestions in regard to his private and domestic life, and for the circumstances attendant upon his death. Love of home, family, friends, and his dear country, were the key-notes of his existence, and these were never heard to vibrate more appealingly than when seated with his family by the blazing logs of his own fireside. His sense of hospitality was large, and he was never more happy than when he and my mother entertained their friends in the old homestead. He often repeated the old lines:

(The world has little to bestow)

HOW THE DES MOINES VALLEY RAILROAD CAME TO DES MOINES.

BY TACITUS HUSSEY.

There has ever been a strong bond of friendship between the early settlers of Des Moines and the city of Keokuk, Iowa. This friendship began when that city on the Mississippi was a young and bustling town and Fort Des Moines was a little, muddy, smoky hamlet at the "Raccoon Forks of the Des Moines river." Keokuk, in those days, was our Chicago: for there we used to get our supplies. There come up in our memory the capacious warehouses of Chittenden & McGavic, Conable, Smyth & Co., B. B. Hinman & Co., Foote & Co., J. B. Carson, Stafford & McCune and others, perhaps, situated on or near the levee, where consignments of goods were stored intended for the interior of Iowa, waiting transportation by boat, during the boating season on the Des Moines river, or by wagon during the dry seasons over a wild prairie, in summer's heat, autumn's haze and through winter's snow-drifts.

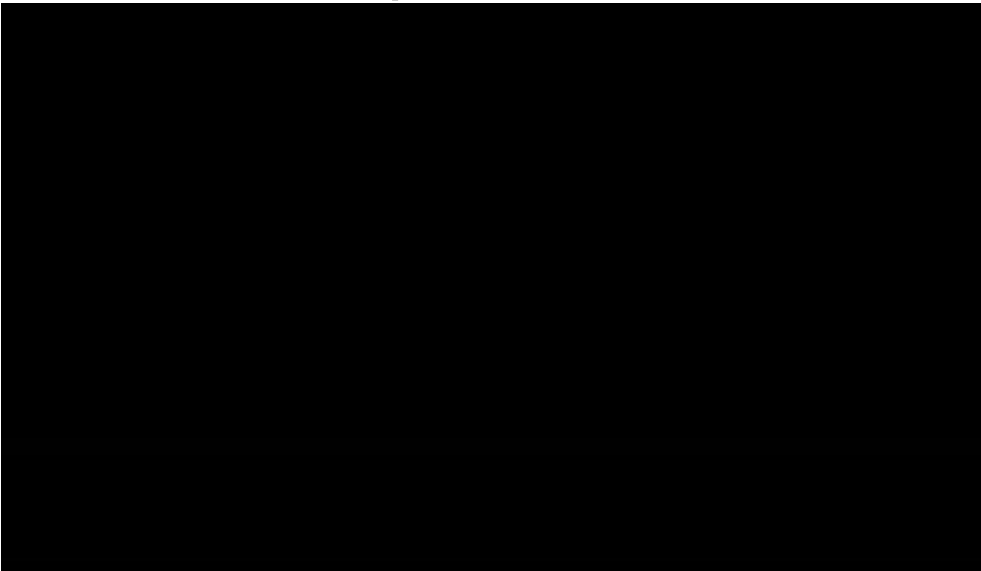
Keokuk bears the name of the "Gate City." A very appropriate cognomen: for through this gate nearly all the shipments to Des Moines passed for consumption here and for distribution to the scattered villages and sparsely settled country which surrounded them. There was another bond of friendship which united these two cities. In the beginning of the dark days of 1861, with tears and prayers, we followed some of our young men who had sprung to their country's call, to that city, where they were uniformed, armed and drilled for the bloody work to which they were called, and watched them as they were carried away by boat and rail to the front, amid tears, cheers and streaming banners.

It was there that Miss Allie Smith, a little Keokuk girl twelve years of age, with an upturned barrel for a platform sang war songs to the soldiers, cheering the homesick ones, causing the hearts of all to throb with renewed patriotic resolves. As Mrs. Allie Smith Cheek, of this city, her voice has

lost none of its sweetness and flexibility, as every army post and camp-fire in Iowa will gladly testify.

There is another bond of friendship between these two cities which will never be forgotten by the pioneers of Des Moines. In January, 1857, the Constitutional Convention met in Iowa City and formulated a new constitution which was to be submitted to the voters of Iowa in August of that year. In order to make the location of the Capital at Des Moines doubly sure, the following clause was inserted at the instance of some of the prominent Des Moines citizens: "The seat of government is hereby permanently established as now fixed by law, at the city of Des Moines, in the county of Polk, and the State University at Iowa City, in the county of Johnson." For jealousy, or some other reason, the various counties of the State opposed the adoption of this Constitution and voted against it vigorously. The people of Polk county being intensely interested, raised a subscription of \$100,000 to aid the Des Moines Valley Railroad, and gave a majority of 1,500 for the new Constitution. Lee county, in return for this very high compliment to its pet railroad line, gave an immense majority for the Constitution—and saved the day! But it was a tight squeeze; for the entire State majority was only about 1,600.

On a high, rocky bluff, now overlooking the canal and the Mississippi river to the east, the writer stood alone one sunny afternoon in June, early in the fifties, and was so charmed with the beautiful prospect spread out before him that it has




first train came into the city. The project and the work of carrying it to a successful finish, was little short of heroic. Four years previous to the throwing of a single shovelful of dirt there had been an unprecedented flood which had swept the valley of the Des Moines clean of crops, stored and growing, live stock, fences and in fact all floatable articles and filled the Mississippi with all sorts of floating debris. The farmers on the upland did not fare much better, as the continuous rains prevented planting and washed the ploughed fields into unsightly ditches. Iowa came as near to a crop failure and Des Moines to a food famine as ever before or since. It took three or four years to recuperate. Then there was financial difficulty. Gold and silver, what little there was, had gone into hiding. Currency was of the doubtful kind, being free bank money from Indiana, Illinois and Iowa "wild cat currency."

The officers of the road in 1855-56 were: President, H. T. Reid, afterwards a gallant soldier in the Civil War and an accurate historian; secretary, C. F. Conn; treasurer, W. C. Graham, and a board of directors. Grading began in 1855 when a contract was let to Bentonsport, a distance of forty miles. The rails for this distance were ordered by eastern capitalists, September, 1855, and were expected in 1856. Grading began again in March, 1856, although the frost was not yet out of the ground. The contractors who were to furnish the ties were going on with their work. On June 17th, 1856, the good news was received that 4,000 tons of the rails ordered, costing \$64,000, had arrived at New Orleans and were on their way up the river on seven steamboats. When the boats arrived track-laying began without ceremony and on the seventh day of October of that year, the first "Excursion train on the D. V. R. R." started from the depot grounds in Keokuk for the first station, Buena Vista. The locomotive pulling this first train had been christened "Des Moines," as a compliment, no doubt, to the city in the dim distance at the terminus of the road. The passengers were: President Reid, Messrs. Eaton, Roberts, Leighton, Parsons and others of the directory board, together with a number of citizens unnamed, but who, no doubt, wished to go down in

history as passengers on the first train out of Keokuk. Track was at this time being laid at the rate of half a mile a day, and it was estimated that by December first the road would stretch out twelve miles, ever pointing hopefully to its destination.

There began on the first day of December, 1856, an unprecedented snow-storm, lasting three days, followed by a blizzardly wind which heaped up the snow all over Iowa from one to ten feet deep, making the graded work look like an elongated grave of buried hopes. But under a somewhat belated spring sun the snow-drifts wept themselves away, and on June 10th, 1857, Farmington welcomed the "Iron Horse" with loud acclaim, fed and encouraged the officers of the road and the welcome visitors who accompanied them and with a Godspeed waved them on to their journey's end. Bonaparte was passed in due time, and in the spring of 1858 the road had reached Bentonsport in time to carry to their homes some of the members of the first Legislature Des Moines ever had. Those members who could in any way reach home by boat, embarked on the steamer "Skipper," arriving safely at their destination and thence by railroad to their several homes. These members had been courted, had feasted and danced during the winter and left the new Capital in the best of spirits. The first Legislature, the first railroad and the first arrival of a steamboat in the spring were events which caused the heart of the average Des Moines citizen to swell with pride. The Republican State Convention met in Des



when the war was going on, and where it was met by the "Des Moines Steamboat Line" as it advertised itself. This line was used to transport the outgoing troops and return the sick, wounded and furloughed soldiers who had been to the front, smelled powder to their cost, and returned home to be nursed back into health and strength by tender hands and loving hearts. But little by little the railroad crept up the river and on July 10th the readers of the *Daily Register* smiled over one of J. M. Dixon's characteristic couplets:

Sammum Hillum! Something's broke!
The cars have got inside of Polk!

The news had been brought in by a farmer, who, with beaming face, gave the pleasing information that track-laying and a construction train had penetrated Polk county nearly half a mile! Then we began to hear of it at "Woodville," only a few miles away; for stages met the passengers there for a while and the hearts of the Des Moines people began to beat high with hope, especially after being in the presence of and talking with the men and women who were congratulating themselves on coming to Des Moines with so little staging. On the 22d of August our citizens were regaled by the following:

PROCLAMATION.

Hear, oh, ye heavens and give ear, oh, ye earth! Let the glad news sweep over the prairies and around the universe, that the first train on the Valley Road will come into Des Moines on the afternoon of the 29th of August, 1866! Colonel Leighton says it, and his word stands fast! In view of this circumstance, preliminary arrangements should be made to meet the Iron Horse and give him a grand reception! Let the mayor and city council lead off in this matter. About forty persons from Keokuk will come up on the train as railroad delegates to Des Moines, and there should be marching, bonfires, music, hurrahing, whistling, yellings, and circumscribed and uncircumscribed rippings and tearings through all this Land of Promise! Let us have a perfect roar and rush and thunders of enthusiasm!


Accordingly a public meeting was held at the city council room to make arrangements for the coming event. Mayor Geo. W. Cleveland was called to the chair and Seward Smith appointed secretary. John Morris moved that a committee of seven, of which the mayor should be chairman, should be selected to take the matter in charge. The committee chosen

was as follows: P. M. Casady, J. M. Moody, John Morris, B. F. Allen, S. F. Spofford, and George W. Jones. They were given full power to complete the arrangements. On motion of Judge Casady, Mayor Cleveland was authorized to invite the mayor and city council of Keokuk to visit Des Moines on the first train. The meeting then adjourned to meet on the following Saturday, at which time the city council would be asked to make such appropriation as would meet the bills of the committee of arrangements. At the meeting thus appointed Col. E. F. Hooker was elected marshal of the day, Col. E. S. Spofford was appointed committee on transportation of visitors, and John Morris on music, artillery and ringing of the bells of the city.

A supper and dance was appointed at the Savery House (now Kirkwood) and given into the hands of Geo. A. Drake, Ten Eyck Beekman and Major Joseph Lyman, with such sub-committees as might be required.

Honorable Geo. W. Jones, Col. E. F. Hooker, and Ccl. Stewart were appointed a committee on program and they at once selected Hon. John A. Kasson to make the speech of welcome. Other speakers to be called out by the chairman, if desired. The arrangements were as follows:

ORDER OF EXERCISES AND PROCESSION.

1. Collard's Brass Band,
 2. Mayor and City Council,
 3. Invited Guests,
 4. Masonic Order,
 5. Odd Fellows,
- 

farm on the afternoon of August 29, 1866. the crowd with one accord shouted: "She's a coming!" When the train came in sight, as far down the track as could be seen, there was a wilderness of handkerchiefs, hats and hands waving from the windows of the cars, while on the crowded platforms could be seen men waving their hats and shouting their greetings to the assembled crowds on both sides of the track. When the stop was finally made there were speeches, but not a third of the crowd heard them. They were too happy to listen. A majority preferred to inspect the cars and shake hands with the engine, so to speak. Many of the assembly had never seen a train of cars, especially the younger portion of the generation. Some of the older ones had not seen a train since they bid adieu to the railroad on the east bank of the Mississippi years ago, as they journeyed into Iowa with eyes fixed on "Fort Des Moines," the prospective Capital of the State.


John A. Kasson was at his best that day, as was also Judge Wright, who had been "waiting for the wagon" for the last twenty-five years. His face beamed with the satisfaction he felt, and he convulsed the listeners with some of his old-time stories of early transportation, by ox team, stage and steamboat. The visitors responded in their happiest vein and the crowd was the jolliest ever seen and heard in Des Moines. And the women! They were there in great numbers; for where the men are, there will the women be also.

Then the procession was formed and the march to the Savery House, Fourth and Walnut, was made in the same order as the previous procession, yet with much more enthusiasm and noise. All were so happy that they had to give vent to their enthusiasm in some way and it generally took the form of shouting and singing. When the destination was reached the procession was dismissed by Judge Wright in a few well-chosen words and the procession melted away. The visitors were assigned to the Savery, the De Moine House and other hotels, while not a few were taken care of by friends and acquaintances at their private residences. The people of Des Moines seemed to be fully in accord with one of the voices of the day, which said:

They waited for its coming! They prayed for its coming! They talked of its coming until their tongues grew eloquent with the theme! But they died and were in their graves before their eyes saw the glories of this latter age! Through the films of death they struggled to see the glory; but a cloud from the Shadowy Land, freighted with the chills of the grave intercepted all vision and encompassed the dying with universal darkness! It is here! All doubts have fled! The great triumph has been achieved! The promised train is here today! The sun shines in a clear firmament! The day, yea, the hour of final victory has come!

The supper and dance at the Savery House was all that could be wished and was enjoyed until a late hour of the morning. Some of our staid citizens did not go to bed at all, but "made a night of it!" Des Moines never saw a happier throng of citizens, and none was more happy than Judge Wright, Judge Casady, B. F. Allen, Col. Spofford, Col. Hooker, J. B. Stewart, Thomas Hatton, Ed. R. Clapp, Geo. W. Jones, Col. Stewart and hundreds of others who had waited for years for the coming train which was to bind Des Moines in bands of iron to the outside world, and cause her to stretch her limbs in the great race of preferment.

Nearly forty-one years ago! What changes have come to the then village just waking to a sense of her importance! How many of the active participators in this city are alive? How many of the honored guests remain in the flesh to look back upon this most important step in the progress of Central and Western Iowa? For the benefit of the younger generation, a list of the guests are given that they may go down into history as participants in the first railroad excursion to the Capital of the greatest State in the Union:



Haines, H. A. Whitney, Isaac Anderson, S. M. Anker, W. N. Stannus, H. Robertson, S. Pollock, W. S. Roche, B. Williams, Michael Gregg, James Mayer, G. W. Kerr, Col. A. W. Sheldon, E. H. Jones, W. C. J. Vines, G. W. Pittman, Rev. Mr. Hassall, H. S. Farrer, Sam M. Rankin, D. Mooar, M. K. Taylor, C. P. Birge, James C. Bruce, E. Sellers, J. W. Rankin, Col. D. B. Hillis, J. R. Copelin, H. B. Ten Eyck, Col. J. C. Parrott, R. H. Wyman, A. C. McQueen, Hon. J. W. McCreary, H. T. Cleaver, I. N. Sterne, Gen. W. W. Belknap, Doc Lowe, D. W. Blackburn, A. J. Wilkinson, George E. Yarmann, S. Cary, S. Younker, George Cabus, P. D. Foster, H. W. Bobsnik, J. M. Hiatt, Rev. John Burgess, D. W. Tucker, C. E. Snow, John W. Bowers, J. W. Pearmain, J. Gush, E. M. Buell, Geo. L. Coleman, P. Gibbins, Geo. B. Smith, A. Bridgeman, O. C. Hale, Thomas Clyde, Thomas J. Tucker, J. J. Goodwin, George R. Stafford, J. P. Carl, J. Tibbetts and Alex Barclay.

From Oskaloosa—W. H. Seevers, J. R. Needham, M. T. Williams, Geo. J. Bennett, W. H. Needham, E. Moore, D. W. Loring, and C. G. Moss.

From Burlington—A. D. Wentz, L. Carper, E. Chamberlain, Mark S. Foote, C. P. Squires, James Morton, A. G. Adams, Dr. Beardsley, James Pittman, H. E. Hunt and T. W. Barhydt.

From Ottumwa—Gen. J. M. Hedrick, J. Howley, Jr., Hon. E. H. Stiles, Gen. E. Gillespie, E. M. Gibbs, J. J. Robison, and W. H. Caldwell.

The same train took the excursionists back the next day and bore on one side of the engine a banner reading: "Keokuk-Des Moines—the gate open to the Capital." On the other side of the engine a banner read: "D. V. R. R.—The link which unites us."

And the train moved out across the wide stretch of prairie amid the good-byes and cheers of the happiest people in Iowa. And thus Des Moines shook hands with the outer world by rail.

The first locomotive entering Des Moines was the "Marion," on the 28th day of August, with rails to finish laying the track, James Carl, engineer. The engine bringing

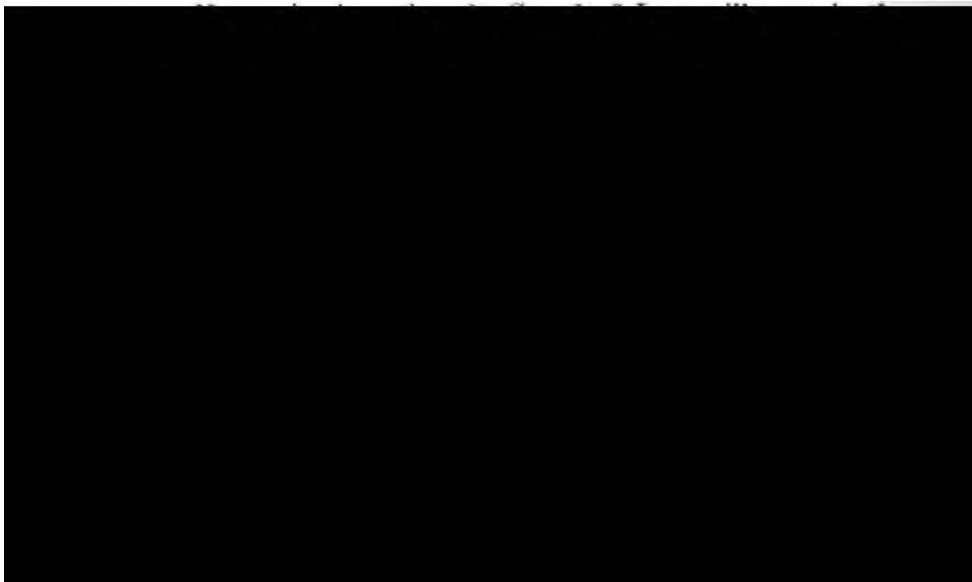
in the "excursion train" on August 29, 1866, was the "Keokuk, No. 1," James Tibbetts, engineer, and R. Patch, conductor.

Robert Given, now of Dallas, Texas, was conductor of the first freight train entering Des Moines, August 30th, 1866, drawn by the "Leighton," Jack McKeachie, engineer. This train brought up a big consignment of lumber for H. F. Getchell & Co.

Some years after this, a "chesty" individual, wishing to say something smart, in speaking of the "Gate City," remarked that the "Gate" had been left open and business had sauntered out never to return! Well, never mind. When the Mississippi river is improved with a six-foot channel from St. Anthony's Falls to the mouth of the Missouri, and thence with a fifteen-foot channel to the sea, and the Des Moines river, by canalization, becomes an arm of the great waterway system which is to be, our old sweetheart will come to her own again!

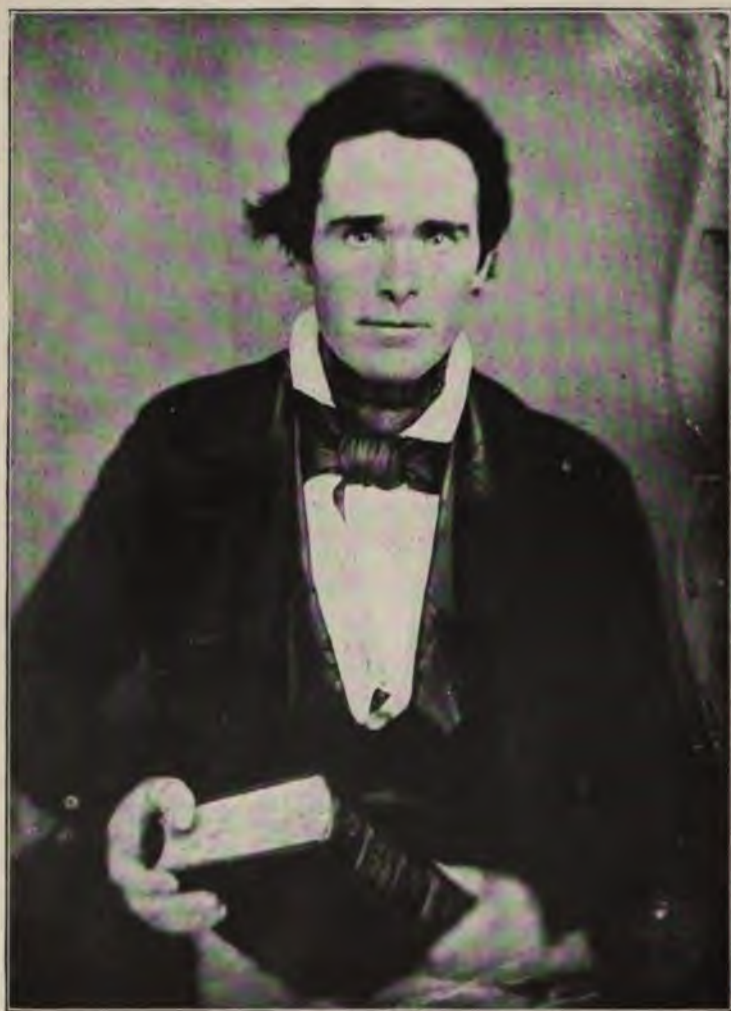
Des Moines, Iowa.

THE WESTERN PLAINS are literally covered with buffalo. The number each year seems to increase rather than diminish. They go in immense droves and at times seem to cast a dark shadow over the valley.—*St. Charles City Intelligencer*, September 25, 1859.



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HENRY HAWKINS BARKER,
PIONEER PHYSICIAN.

DR. HENRY HAWKINS BARKER—A PIONEER PHYSICIAN.

BY J. F. KENNEDY, M. D.*

Iowa annals are not very rich in the record of the physicians who came to the State in an early day. While the names and deeds of a few are preserved in the histories of some of the counties yet scarcely anything can be found relative to the diseases and their characteristics as encountered in Iowa earlier than the fifties. I have been fortunate in obtaining some few facts in regard to one of the earliest physicians in the State that I am sure are worthy of record and will prove interesting to many readers of *The Annals of Iowa*—especially to our pioneers.

Doctor Henry Hawkins Barker, the subject of this sketch, was born October 7, 1814, in what is now West Virginia. At an early day his father's family removed to Indiana, locating at Greensburg. Here he studied medicine and in the winter of 1829-30 attended lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, one of the best medical colleges in the country. It is also stated that he attended medical lectures in Cincinnati, Ohio. It will thus be seen that he was well equipped professionally.

In 1838 with his father, mother, four brothers and a sister he came to the Territory of Iowa and settled in Keosauqua, Van Buren county. That must have been at this early date a good part of Iowa to immigrate to, for I find quite a number of the prominent people of Iowa and some now residents of other States who were in an early day residents of that county.

Doctor Barker was married to Mrs. Dorothy C. Twombly, mother of Captain V. P. Twombly of Des Moines, at Keosauqua in 1844. To them three children were born, two dying in infancy. The last, Henry Wilder Barker, born in 1853, is yet living, and for the last twenty-five years has

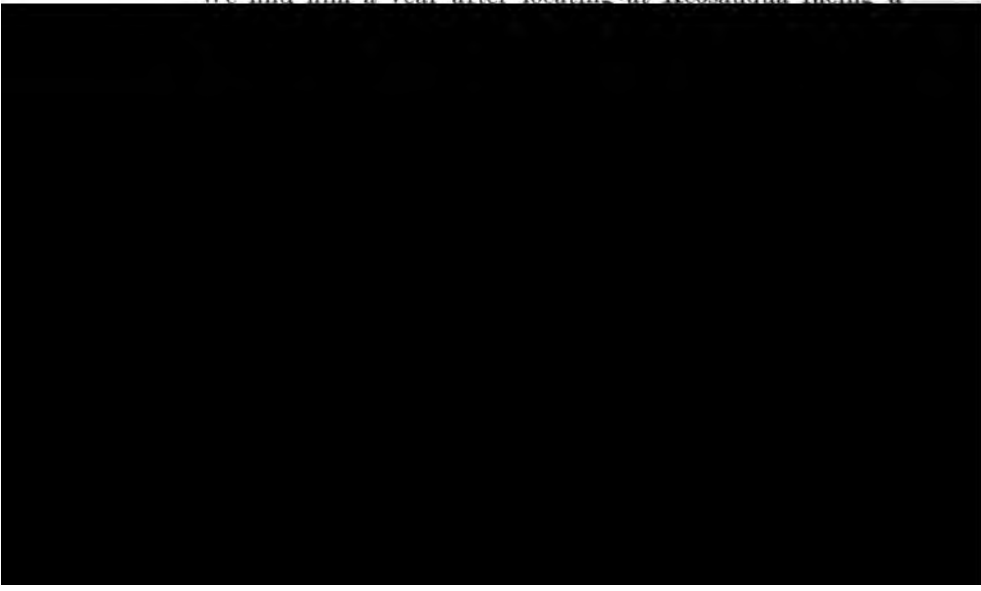
*Secretary of the Iowa State Board of Health, 1884-1896.

been employed in the offices of the Great Northern Railroad at St. Paul, Minn.

For seventeen years Doctor Barker practiced medicine and engaged in the drug business. There are those yet living who have a grateful remembrance of him. His pleasant, genial manner and his professional skill endeared him to all who required his professional services. Among those who thus remember him is Mr. P. M. Casady, of Des Moines, a prominent and highly respected citizen, who on coming to Iowa in 1846 was taken sick at Keosauqua and was taken care of by Dr. Barker. The doctor was the first physician to settle in Keosauqua with the exception of Dr. Cyrus H. Ober, who preceded him a short time. Dr. Barker died at Keosauqua March 6, 1855, at the early age of forty, of consumption the seeds of which had been "planted" in his system by exposure during those early pioneer days in a new territory. His stepson, Captain Twombly, who was thirteen years of age at the time of his death has a very vivid and pleasant recollection of him. As a husband, father, citizen and physician he was greatly beloved by all who knew him and his early death at a time when strong men were greatly needed in Iowa was a great loss to the State.

There are no records of his long rides, his exposures to storms, the impassable condition of the roads (if roads there were) and the great amount of gratuitous services cheerfully rendered at that early day by all honorable physicians.

We find him a year after locating at Keosauqua facing a



Upon receiving his appointment the following official oath was taken:

H. H Barker you do Solemnly Swear that you will Support the constitution of the U. S. and perform all the duties appertaining to your office So help you God
Sworn & Subscribed to
before me this 14th Day
of Dec 1839
H King Brg—Ins pt Div
1st Br. I. M

H. H Barker

There is nothing to indicate that the doctor was called upon to do any surgical work as the war ended before it really began.

The following history of an epidemic of sickness in and about Keosauqua will be especially interesting to physicians. It was found among his papers and so far as known was never published. This interesting account and many of the facts above referred to were kindly furnished by his stepson Captain Twombly. The doctor writes:

Prevailing diseases of 1840 between the last of June and the first of October:—I had the care of more than one hundred and sixty-seven cases of fever in Van Buren county, which generally went through their course and required close and vigilant attendance. I also had many cases of the same sort which, either from original mildness or prompt treatment, proved to be comparatively slight—the latter class, however, (patients) were so much indisposed as to be unable to attend to their ordinary business for a period of one or two weeks, though unlike the former, they were not entirely confined to their beds for any considerable time. Of these cases one-half the mortality happened in the month of September. In the succeeding month the epidemic, if it might be so called, terminated. Persons of all ages from one year old to seventy, and of both sexes were the subjects of the disease. It is perhaps needless to remark that the following statements apply more particularly to the severer cases. A majority of the cases were ushered in by slight chill; coldness of the extremities; an excruciating pain in the back, loins and head; dryness of the skin; extreme thirst; great arterial excitement and determination of blood to the head; great torpor of the liver and frequent ejections of glary mucus from the stomach. The great majority, however, had no apparent local affection except of the brain and of the parts that more directly sympathize with that organ. A few of the cases were attended with petechiae. In nearly every instance, whether severe or moderate, the disease began with more or less pain in the head, especially about the forehead. Vertigo was also a symptom almost universal. In some, a sudden faintness, dizziness or a sense of extreme exhaustion was present so that the patient could neither sit nor stand upright. In other cases the attack resembled a severe concussion of the brain. Indeed everything seemed to show that the brain or nervous system was the primary seat of the disease.

In some cases the skin was preternaturally cool for several of the

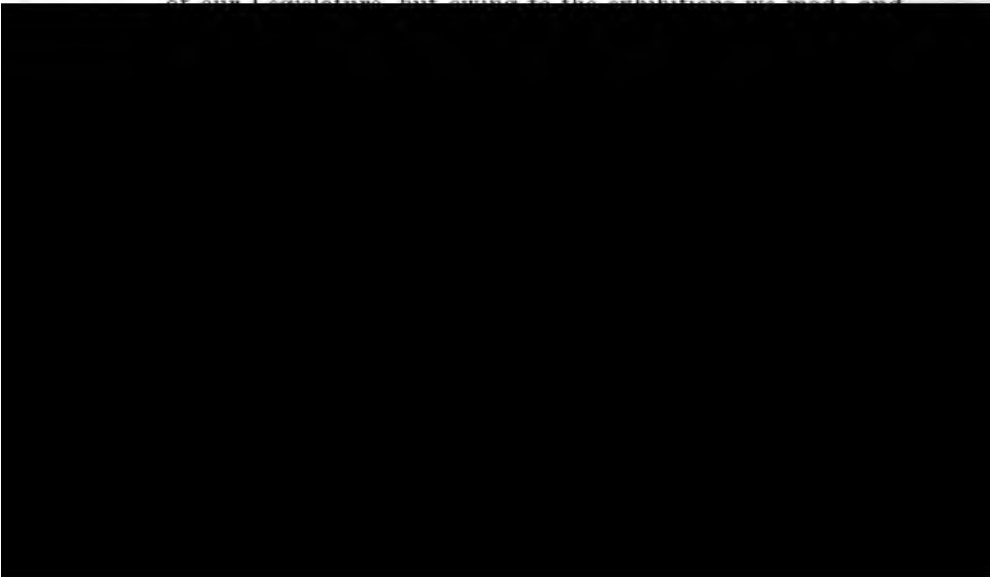
first days and subsequently, in temperature, it never exceeded the standard of health. Hemorrhage from the nose was not an unfrequent occurrence and was one of the most fatal symptoms that occurred and was the first alarm given to the bystander.

There were two varieties of attack, the sudden and the insidious. The most sudden attacks were the soonest relieved, provided the patients had prompt and appropriate treatment, and under such circumstances the disease rarely exceeded five or seven days. In some of the severest cases the disease arrived at its height on the third day and under careful management the patient appeared subsequently to be free from danger. The recovery in most instances was the evident consequence of the prompt and decisive treatment and of the necessity which both patients and attendants felt of following prescriptions scrupulously.

UP TO the year 1836, Iowa as well as Wisconsin, was embraced in the Territory of Michigan, and as lately as 1832, it was an Indian territory, except a claim at Du Buque's lead mines, which had been entered and worked by a few miners two or three years previously. The first emigrants who made farms in the State entered the territory in February, 1833, and settled a few miles west of Burlington. The first Christian Church gathered was a Baptist one in 1834.—*St. Charles Intelligencer*, July 31, 1856.

WE had an article prepared for this paper on the subject

of our Legislature, but owing to the exhibitions we made, and




GOVERNOR A. B. CUMMINS AT ANDERSONVILLE.

During the journey to the Southern Battle-fields in November, 1906, Governor Albert B. Cummins was the principal speaker representing our State, though several other distinguished gentlemen spoke upon occasion as their services were required. It was his proper official duty to receive the monuments from the various commissions, thanking them on behalf of the people of Iowa for the admirable manner in which their important duties had been performed. He then presented them to the agent of the General Government, who represented War Secretary Taft upon the different occasions. To say that he performed this arduous duty to the satisfaction of his auditors, eloquently and in splendid taste, would be but to faintly convey the feelings of his different audiences, especially the old soldier element, which was largely represented on this historic excursion. His crowning effort on these occasions was at Andersonville, where he extemporaneously addressed his auditors from a stand which had been erected among the thousands of monuments to the dead who had given their lives at that place. The Iowa monument was one of the most tasteful among those erected on the battle-fields of the south. As he was concluding his remarks an old soldier was heard to express himself as follows: "I have heard three great historic speeches. One was the first inaugural address of Abraham Lincoln on the 4th of March, 1861; the next was the reply of Andrew Johnson to several attacks made upon him by rebel Senators in the U. S. Senate, and the third one was that of Governor Cummins at Andersonville." It really needs no introduction, for its expressions are so clear and eloquent that they tell their own story. He was listened to with profound attention, and at the close of his address there were few dry eyes in that assemblage. An Iowa Colonel who pondered over the inscriptions on the monument remarked that he had discovered the names of eight men of his command who were there buried. He walked away with streaming eyes, as did scores of others. The Iowa monument is one of great beauty. It is a solid block of Montello porphyry from the little town of that name in Wisconsin. Perhaps one-fourth of the space on the four sides is occupied with a list of the Iowa dead. This monument is surmounted with a statue of a woman, leaning forward in the attitude of weeping. The only criticism we heard upon this monument was that this figure of Iowa had not been cast in bronze. Granite will in a few decades show evidences of great deterioration and this figure will not escape the common fate of such statues. For the time that it will last, however, nothing could be more admirably designed. The day was a sad one from the terrible associations with which the monument and the graves were surrounded. Every one who was fortunate enough to be present and listen to our distinguished Governor, heard an address which has already become historic and will never be forgotten.

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Andersonville Prison Monument Association, Prisoners of War, Ladies and Gentlemen: Words are meaningless things upon an occasion like this. I think that all understand that, but possibly you do not appreciate as I do at this moment that words are not

only meaningless—inadequate, but they are difficult as well. Mr. Chairman, as you have so well said, but a few hours ago, we dedicated to the immortal renown of our boys who fought at Vicksburg, the memorials which a grateful State has erected to their memory. It was easy to speak as I stood upon that historic spot. It was easy to speak of the wild enthusiasm of the charge and the rushing splendor of the assault, for death seemed to be robbed of its terrors when accompanied with a glory so radiant and so complete. That hour was full of glowing memories. This hour is surcharged with the saddest recollections that can fill the human heart.

It seemed to me this morning that the clouds themselves were in harmony with the emotions that overcome these soldiers of the war and with the ceremonies through which we are passing. They were weeping in sympathy with the loyal people of the State of Iowa, as we stand where her brave sons suffered the extremest test of loyalty to the Union and to the flag. Does it not fill your hearts with a new purpose, my dear friends, does it not fill them with a new adoration for human nature, when you remember that these boys suffered the unparalleled inhumanity of the prison and the infinite cruelties of the stockade rather than to surrender for a single moment their privilege to fight and to die for the Union, and for the sovereignty of the old flag? It seems to me that in all the lessons of history, in all the inspiration of bravery and courage, nothing can surpass the resolution which filled their hearts when, day after day, they saw their comrades go



generation will exemplify in our lives, will exemplify in our devotion to the flag, the Union, and to humanity, the spirit which animated their faithful hearts. We do not understand the inscrutable mysteries of Providence; but we do know that we are commemorating another vicarious atonement, and it is well that our tears should fall here, consecrating its dear memories. The Republic of the United States had committed a mortal sin, and somewhere, somehow, in the plan of the Almighty, that sin must be expiated; and it was expiated here, when these men laid down their lives for the Union, as my friend the Chairman of the Commission has well said, not inspired and cheered by the music of martial strains, not led on by the shriek and storm of shot and shell, but in the misery and the suffering of cruelty and want. Ah! as I look upon that pathetic memorial, erected by my beloved State, there ring in my ears, through forty years of time, the echoes of the battle hymn of the Republic:

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;
He is trampling out the vintage where his grapes of wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword,
For God is marching on.

And then, I think of the awful carnage of war. Three hundred and sixty thousand of our boys laid down their lives that we might stand here free citizens of the Republic. Have you ever thought of the wives who had shared the joys and sorrows of these immortal spirits, of the mothers who had borne them, of the maids who had loved them; have you ever attempted to measure the infinite sacrifice that the people of America made, just to see to it that not a single star in the azure field of Old Glory should ever fade away, and that no stain should ever again mar the pure colors of its beautiful folds?

And then, when I think of the scenes we are so sadly recalling, the battle hymn again comes to me:


He hath sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment seat.
Be swift, my soul, to answer him; be jubilant, my feet,
For his truth is marching on.

And it did march on, until it was crystallized in the glories of a peace which preserved to every citizen of the Republic the high dignities and the high privileges of independent manhood.

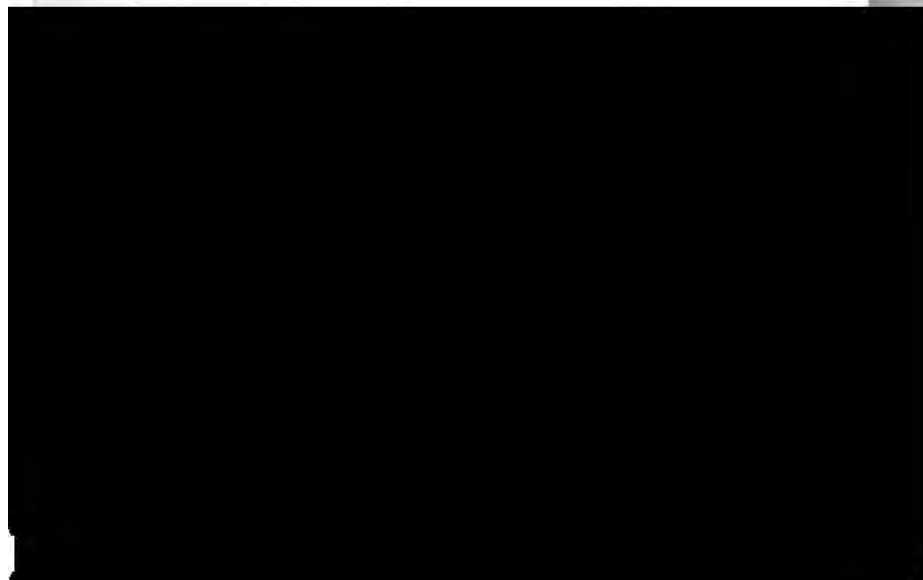
Mr. Chairman, speaking on behalf of the State of Iowa, speaking on behalf of all her people, I congratulate you most cordially upon the beauty of the work that you have done. There (pointing to the monument) kneels Iowa, weeping, suffering, grieving for the sons she lost. She rests upon a column of enduring granite, that so long as time shall last will speak to generations yet to come, not only of the fortitude and the courage of these boys who lie buried here and who endured over there (pointing to the stockade) but will make them know that republics are not ungrateful. It will no longer be said that the people of a free country do not fondly remember those who have died that truth might live.

I congratulate you upon the felicity of the design and upon the fidelity with which your Commission has performed its work, and speaking again for the people whom you have so well represented, I thank you for this offering laid upon the altar of our patriotism.

And now, General Carman, representing the Government of the United States, even as our Commission has placed this testimonial in my hands, I deliver it into yours, knowing that it passes into the keeping of a Government whose flag flies for all her citizens, without respect to condition in life, whether they be high or low, rich or poor, white or black. It



1



ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

HISTORICAL VALUE OF EARLY COURT FILES.

Original matter touching that part of Iowa history preceding the general introduction of the press is most elusive for the student. It is meagre, of varying value and scattered through reminiscences, personal letters, diaries, petitions to legislative and administrative authorities, resolutions and statutes, treaties and proclamations. The published reminiscences of the period are to some extent inaccurate and inharmonious. Personal letters and diaries are scarce and will become more so. Petitions forwarded to Territorial and National authorities are rare, and the bare language of our Indian treaties, statutes and proclamations, while more accessible and more familiar to the student, contain comparatively little of the affairs of the people. But the effectuation of the laws of that period, as of our own, was by the courts, and the interest and issues of persons and communities were perhaps more frequently recited in the pleadings and processes of these courts than in any other available source. Historically speaking there is a value in a statement filed under oath, giving names, dates, places and principles regardless of whether it was ever tried, appealed or published. The records and archives of the *nisi prius* courts first established over what is now Iowa soil are therefore rich in matter of interest to the student of that time. As illustrating this we present herewith three items from the files of a single one of the many earliest seats of justice in this State, namely, Van Buren. It will be noted that all were filed within the brief space of six months, and within a series of ninety cases.

File number 173 is endorsed: "United States vs. Chapley P. Ross, and others. Indictment for kidnapping. A true bill. (Signed) Lemuel G. Jackson, foreman. *Nol. E. P. Qui.* (bail) \$1,000 each. Exhibited and filed in open court August 14, 1839. (Signed) Frye B. Hazelton, clerk." We set out the first count verbatim, with the variations in the three others indicated.

Territory of Iowa, County of Van Buren, ss. District Court, August Term, A. D. 1839. The grand jurors on the part of the Territory aforesaid selected, tried, empanelled and sworn to inquire in and for the body of the county of Van Buren aforesaid on their oaths present that Chapley P. Ross, Robert Chapley Woodfork, Giles O. Sullivan and Benjamin B. Troop on the tenth day (3—on the day and year aforesaid. 4—date omitted) of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine at Bentonsport in the county aforesaid did unlawfully kidnap a certain black man named Armsted with intent to send the said Armsted out of the Territory of Iowa into the State of Missouri. (2— . . . unlawfully and forcibly take a certain black man named Armsted away from his residence in said county with intent to send the said black man Armsted out of the territory. . . . 3— . . . unlawfully and forcibly take away a certain black man named Armsted and did then and there send the said black man named Armsted out of this Territory. . . . 4— . . . unlawfully and forcibly take away a certain black man named Armsted and did then and there carry the said Armsted out of the Territory of Iowa into the Territory of Missouri) against the peace and dignity of the United States of America and contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided.

(Signed.)

WILLIAM H. STARR,
District Prosecutor.

A second indictment against the same persons was returned on the *next day* in substantially the same words except there was inserted the very pregnant word *free* preceding each phrase *black man*.

File 180 is endorsed: "United States vs. George S. Wilson. Indictment for exercising an office in this territory without authority. (Signed) Lemuel G. Jackson, foreman. A true bill. Decided (*nol prossed*) April, 1840. Exhibited and filed in open court August 15, 1839. Frye B. Hazelton, clerk. Bail, \$500." The indictment reads:

File 262 is endorsed: "The United States vs. James F. Turner. Indictment for disturbing dead. A true bill. (Signed) Martin A. Britton, foreman. Decided September, 1840. Found on the testimony of John Fairman, Cyrus H. Ober, Robert Moffit."¹

The indictment is as follows:

District Court, April Term, A. D. 1840.

The grand jurors on the part of the Territory aforesaid duly empanelled and sworn in and for said county, on their oaths present that James F. Turner of said county on or about the first day of November, A. D. 1839, in the county of Van Buren aforesaid, did unlawfully open the grave where the body of a deceased Indian named Black Hawk had been deposited and did then and there remove the remains of said Indian from said grave for anatomical purposes without the knowledge and without the consent of the relatives of said Black Hawk.

And the jurors aforesaid upon their oaths aforesaid do further present that the said James F. Turner, on or about the day and year last aforesaid in the county aforesaid, did unlawfully procure some person to the jurors unknown, to open the grave where the body of the said deceased Indian had been deposited, and to remove the remains of the said Black Hawk from said grave for anatomical purposes, without the knowledge or consent of the near relatives of said Black Hawk.

And the jurors aforesaid upon their oaths aforesaid do present that the said James F. Turner on or about the first day of November, A. D. 1839, at the Indian village in that part of the Indian country which had been and now is attached to the county of Van Buren for judicial purposes by act of the Congress of the United States in such case provided, did unlawfully open the grave where the body of a certain deceased Indian named Black Hawk had been deposited, and did then and there remove the remains of the said deceased Indian from the said grave for anatomical purposes without the knowledge or consent of the near relatives of said deceased Indian.

And the jurors aforesaid upon their oaths aforesaid do further present that the said James F. Turner on or about the first day of November, A. D. 1839, at the Indian village aforesaid, did unlawfully counsel some person to the jurors unknown in the opening of the grave where the body of a deceased Indian named Black Hawk had been deposited, and in removing the remains of said deceased Indian from said grave for anatomical purposes, without the knowledge or consent of the near relatives of said deceased Indian, against the peace and dignity of the United States of America and contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided.

(Signed)


WILLIAM H. STARR,
District Prosecutor.
E. R. H.

¹ A facsimile of the *capias* is the frontispiece of this article, and carries its own explanation. It is endorsed "Not found."

CONSIDERATIONS AGAINST THE ADMISSION OF
IOWA.

Gideon Smith Bailey emigrated from Indiana to what is now Iowa in 1837. He was a factor from his advent in the new country's affairs, and remained an element in the consideration of substantial men from whom he separated in his native State. Territorial Delegate A. C. Dodge recommended him to President Polk in 1845 for the Receivership of Public Moneys at Fairfield, but the recommendation was ignored and General Ver Plank Van Antwerp was appointed. It was on this occasion that Doctor Bailey was assured that he should be recommended for his choice of positions as United States Marshal or Governor of the Territory. Upon mature consideration Doctor Bailey chose the Marshalship, to which place he was appointed and in which he remained for several years. The Governorship was given to James Clarke, husband of Dodge's sister.

Doctor Bailey preserved for us a vast amount of original material relating to the events in which he figured, embracing his incumbency of the marshal's office, service in Territorial and State Legislatures, and a candidacy for Congress. There occur many valuable communications and lights on numerous important events. Nothing he preserved is of more interest perhaps than communications from Indiana associates interested in the Iowa situation in the days of agitation for admission. Arguments on the subject from political viewpoints, both local and national, have been amply treated



and consequently I have neglected to write to you sooner, which negligence I hope you will excuse. I was much gratified at your success in the election in Augt. last, and much more so to see that you ran the highest poll.

I have recd. the Burlington paper in which the Governor's message & the organization of the Iowa Territorial Legislature is given, and I regret to see in said message a recommendation to memorialize Congress to pass a law authorizing Iowa to form a constitution and State government so soon.

I have no doubt but that you recollect how long it took Indiana to liquidate the debt she created by going into a State government too soon. While Iowa remains a Territory the Genl. Government pays all the Territorial expenses, which I consider a matter of much importance to the people at present, as they have no land taxable yet nor will have soon, and as so small a part of the lands of the Territory have been sold by the Genl. Government it will be many years before there will be any subject of *taxation* except personal property; consequently you will have nothing but personal property to tax, & but little of that if you tax it very high, (as you will be obliged to do if you make a state of the Tery. before the lands are taxable, because the citizens will be likely to do with as little as possible if it is so taxed, and consequently retard the increase of wealth in the state, as well as in some degree check the immigration to it. And furthermore while it remains a Territory Congress will make appropriations for improvement of the roads and rivers; which they will cease to do the moment it becomes a State; and consequently all improvement will cease as the State will not be able & the U. S. will not be willing. I hope therefore that Gov. Lucas's recommendation will not be complied with, as I can see no good reason why it should, as it will only gratify a few aspirants to office, and as I believe greatly retard the growth and prosperity of one of the fairest portions of this great country. I feel anxious to know how the question of the relocation of the seat of justice of Lee county is likely to be decided; you know why.

Please use your influence to prevent private interest from improperly controlling the public good; by having intelligent, honest and disinterested Commissioners to perform that duty.

Please write to me as soon as it may be convenient and as often as you may find leisure.

And believe me to be yours sincerely,

John Brown.

P. S. If a law should be passed to relocate the seat of justice of Lee county, please let me know as soon as possible who the Coms. are, when & where they are to meet and what are the genl. requisitions of the law.

J. B.

We are requested to state by Capt. J. C. Ainsworth, of the fast running steamer, Kentucky, that a celebration will come off at Davenport, on the 4th of July. The Kentucky will leave Montrose on the morning of the 3d, and arrive in Davenport in time for passengers to engage in the celebration of the day.—*Keokuk Register*, June 22, 1848.

IMPORTANT ACTS OF THE THIRTY-SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Among the more important general provisions passed by the Thirty-second General Assembly, and most of which went into effect July 4, 1907, there should be named the following:


Chapter 48, for the government of cities of a population exceeding twenty-five thousand by commission, with provision for the initiative, referendum and recall, and for a civil service commission.

Chapter 50, requiring candidates for nomination by political parties to file sworn statements of disbursements made in furtherance of candidacies.

Chapter 51, providing for the nomination of party candidates, convention delegates, and the election of party committeemen by primary elections.

Chapter 71, providing against the issuing of capital stock of a corporation for pecuniary benefit for any consideration except its par value in money, unless the corporation shall first obtain leave of the Executive Council of the State; application for such leave must be accompanied by a statement of the amount of stock proposed to be issued and the property or other consideration proposed to be accepted in exchange therefor.

Chapter 73, preventing the contribution by corporations to the expense of political campaigns, or the solicitation of funds therefor from corporations.



maximum legal passenger rate per mile for the respective classes to be two, two and one-half and three cents per mile.

Chapter 111, providing such a freight rate over connecting railroad lines between points within the State as would be the rate were the points on the same line.

Chapter 112, providing against the issuance of free transportation by common carriers.

Chapter 116, declaring express companies to be common carriers and empowering the Board of Railroad Commissioners to fix, regulate and enforce rates.

Chapter 147, establishing a State sanatorium for the treatment of tuberculosis.

Chapter 148, authorizing the State educational board to issue State certificates to teachers graduated from higher institutions of learning.

Chapter 149, empowering the validation by the State educational board of teachers' certificates issued by the departments of other states.

Chapter 160, defining warehousemen and authorizing and regulating the issuance, negotiation and transfer of warehouse receipts.

Chapter 161, preventing divorcees from marrying within one year from and except by permission granted in the decree or where the parties desire to re-marry.

Chapter 170, providing a penalty for the desertion of wife or children.

Chapters 176 to 180, inclusive, providing for pure drugs and pure food.

Chapter 192, establishing a board of parole and providing indeterminate sentences for crime.

Among the appropriation measures of most general interest are the following:

Chapter 221, for the compiling of a supplement to the Code of 1897 to embrace all laws subsequent thereto.

Chapter 223, providing for the compilation of a roster of all Iowa soldiers and sailors and marines in the war with Mexico, the Rebellion, Spanish-American, Philippine and border wars.

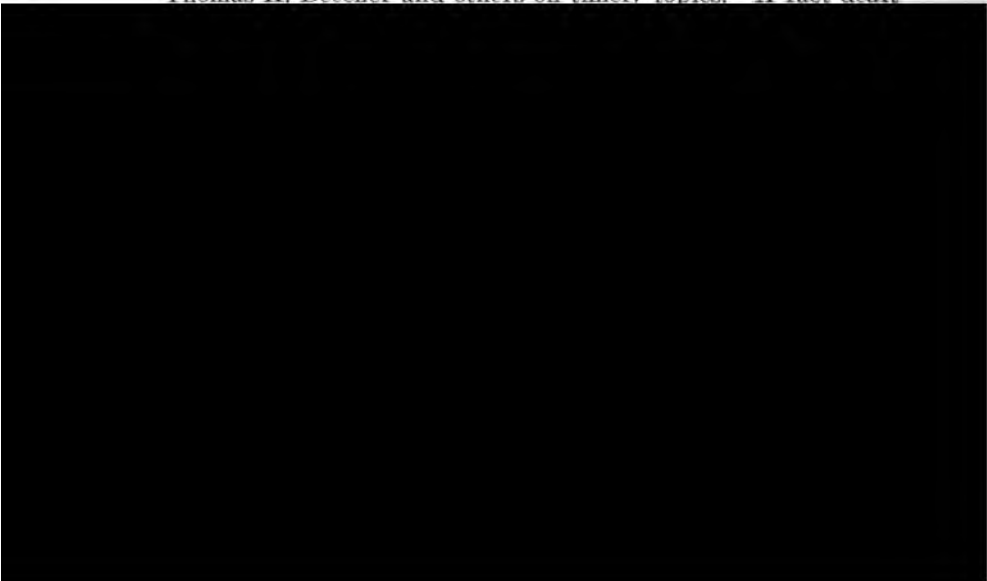
Chapter 226, providing for the placing of a statue of James Harlan in the national statuary hall.

EARLY AGRICULTURAL JOURNALISM.

One of the editorial ventures now almost forgotten is that of *The Western Farmer & Gardener* as it appeared with the head, "Indianapolis, Ind., edited by Henry Ward Beecher, Indianapolis, Edward J. Hooper, Cincinnati. S. V. B. Noel, Publisher and Printer." Under date of January 1, 1846, Indianapolis, Mr. Beecher editorially says:

The American Farmer, begun at Baltimore in 1819, was the first agricultural paper in the United States. It completed fifteen volumes and in 1834 was succeeded by the Farmer and Gardener, the original title from which there have been so many patronymics. These changes have been similarly acted over at the West. Mr. E. J. Hooper, we believe, issued one Volume of the Western Farmer in 1839. In 1840 the title was changed to Western Farmer and Gardener; and the paper was continued until the summer of 1845, when it was temporarily suspended on account of the health of its editor. The Indiana Farmer and Gardener was issued at the beginning of the year 1845. The name of the State was affixed, both to indicate its locality and to distinguish our paper from the paper at Baltimore and from the Western Farmer and Gardener, at Cincinnati. Another change has now been completed. Our friend, Mr. Hooper, has suddenly found himself in the lap of fortune; and his golden cares (strange cares for an editor!) have waxed apace and an arrangement has been made to unite the Indiana, and the Western Farmer and Gardener. The paper will be published in Indianapolis and issued simultaneously at Cincinnati and at Indianapolis.

Among interesting matters in this volume, which has reached the Historical Department, are contributions of Dr. J. T. Plummer, of Richmond, Ind., setting out the weather history of that locality from 1833; strictures against Mr. Beecher's spelling "acre" *a-k-e-r*, from many critics; an illustration of Cook's reaper, 1845; communications by Nicholas Longworth, Thomas K. Beecher and others on timely topics. A fact dealt



NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Robert Lucas, by John C. Parish in the Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh and published by the Iowa State Historical Society. pp. 356.

The author and editor have placed the State under lasting obligation by the presentation of this volume. The materials used are a large collection of private letters, happily preserved, extending over half a century, together with speeches, military orders and public records in Ohio, as well as in Iowa. The character of the work proves that these materials have been faithfully and intelligently used.

It would be difficult to select a man whose life more fitly and accurately represents and typifies the process of state-building in the Northwest. Born in Virginia in 1782, he begins public life in Ohio in 1803; an active member of the State militia previous to the war of 1812, he was a soldier throughout the war, holding the ranks of private, lieutenant, colonel, and brigadier-general. He was a candidate for Congress and was several times elected to the State Legislature, where he held the position of speaker in the upper House. Twice he was chosen Governor of Ohio. By a narrow margin he was defeated in his candidacy for the United States Senate at the close of his career as Governor in 1836. It was this disappointment in a cherished ambition which caused him to seek and obtain the position of Governor of the newly organized Territory of Iowa in 1837.

Robert Lucas was a member of the party of Jefferson and as such formed the habit of calling himself a Republican, a practice to which he adhered throughout his public career long after the name Democrat was generally substituted. He was chairman of the first national convention of his party held at Baltimore in 1832. Like Jefferson he was opposed to slavery and at the same time was opposed to the agitation of the subject. Yet when attention to the subject was forced upon the country by the events of the war with Mexico, Lucas with many other Democrats took the free-soil side and his last public act was to oppose the election of Franklin Pierce. To this end he allied himself with the Whig party in Iowa, and had he lived one year longer he would again have been a "Republican" in name. Thus in his own person he would have bridged over the gap between the Jeffersonian Republicanism and the new Republicanism which its enemies stigmatized as "black."


But Lucas was in many ways much closer to Jackson than to Jefferson. He strikingly resembled Jackson in personal appearance, in the set of his hair, in his orthography, and in many qualities of character. The stern, homely traits which contributed so much to the founding of civil institutions in the West were similar in the two men. It was natural that Lucas should be an ardent admirer and supporter of Jackson. His four years' tenure as Governor of Ohio coincides with the last four years of Jackson's Presidency. He supported the President in his opposition to nullification and to a national bank.

Robert Lucas's chief occupation and purpose in life was the service of the public in official and political relations. It would be difficult to name a life which more fittingly represents the elevating influence of politics during that stage of society when there was little surplus wealth and few vested interests. In the days of his youth Lucas was something of an anarchist. When the sheriff proposed to arrest him for reasons which he did not approve he resisted and so frightened the officer that he resigned. Another officer was appointed

and he also resigned. Finally, when officers were found with nerve enough to incarcerate the young culprit, he sought to stir up his friends to come to his rescue by means of a letter in which he described the officers of the law as "The dam raskels that mobbed me." These youthful conflicts laid the foundation for lifelong resentments which lent a personal zest to his political conflicts. Yet it is interesting to observe that the responsibilities of office overcame the spirit of anarchy and that through many trying positions Lucas exhibited remarkable judgment and self-control while strictly maintaining law and order. Political responsibility developed the true man.

Among the vices prevalent in the settlements of the West were intemperance and gambling. Lucas's father-in-law was a tavernkeeper, and, according to the customs of the day, a dispenser of intoxicants. Our future Governor had, therefore, abundant opportunities to familiarize himself with the evils associated with the business. As a supporter of the law he was habitually arrayed against intemperance and gambling. He identified himself with the early temperance movements in Ohio, and when he became Governor of the Territory of Iowa he was already a veteran in the cause. In his first message to the Legislature of the Territory he stigmatizes intemperance and gambling as the two vices which may be considered the source of almost all others. "They have produced more murders, robberies and individual distress than all other crimes put together. . . . Could you in your wisdom devise ways and means to check the progress of gambling and intemperance in the Territory, you will perform an act which would immortalize your names and entitle you to the gratitude of posterity." The Governor followed up this recommendation by declaring that he would not knowingly appoint to office one who was addicted to these practices. Iowa doubtless owes not a little to its first Governor for its continuous high moral stand in respect to temperance.

Equally significant and important is the relation of Governor Lucas to the cause of education. Having been himself deprived the benefits of school training, he was as Governor, both in Ohio and in Iowa, insistent in his demands for a liberal provision for a system of free public schools. This was indeed but the carrying into effect of the principles outlined in the ordinances for the government of the Northwest Territory; but had it not been for men like Lucas, who with persistence and determination insisted upon practical steps for the creation of a public school system, the provisions of the ordinance would have remained a dead letter.



during the second year of Mr. Lucas's tenure as Governor of Iowa, the quarrel with Missouri assumed an acute form. It now became his duty to maintain the rights of a Territory against the claims of a State. In the case of Michigan the people of the Territory for a time repudiated the authority of the United States and set up an independent government of their own. Mr. Lucas was careful not to make this mistake. He secured the aid of the co-operation and authority of the general government at every stage in the excited controversy, so that the quarrel should at no time appear as an affair of the Territory, but rather as that of the United States itself. The Iowa dispute was not finally settled until a State government had displaced the Territorial organization and suit was brought in the Supreme Court of the United States. That court supported the claim of Iowa. In both disputes, therefore, our Governor made good his position.

It would be difficult to find a book which more aptly illustrates than does this one the close relation of history to biography. The history of the life of Robert Lucas involves the political history of the State of Ohio from the beginning of the century to 1837, and the history of Iowa to the middle of the century or to the death of Lucas in 1853. Every chapter is full of interest in that it adds the personal touch to the interesting and important facts entering into the process of state-building in the West.

Iowa College.

JESSE MACY.

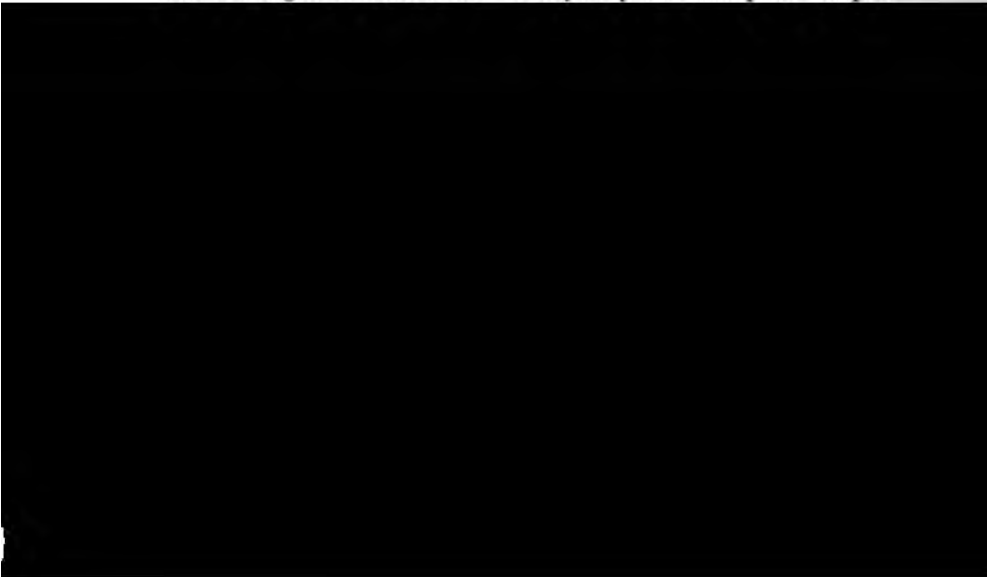
A History of the County of Montgomery, from the Earliest Days to 1905. By W. W. Merritt, Sr. Published by the Express Publishing Company, Red Oak, Iowa. 1905.

Those who have in any way been interested in the history of localities in this State have doubtless learned something of the faulty character of most of our county histories. They have been extremely slipshod affairs, which few would purchase for their libraries. True, there are exceptions, but out of the entire number, the works of real merit may be counted on the fingers of one hand. A large part of many volumes is taken up with general history of some sort, having no reference to any particular county. This matter is used as a preface to all the volumes issued by one publishing house. The biographical matter, often accompanied by portraits of the local magnates, is usually compiled by illiterate fellows who are out of a job and are hired to procure answers to a certain set of questions because they will work for very low wages. A price is set upon each sketch and portrait and only those who pay liberally are thus honored. One of these peripatetic biographers once called upon Senator James Harlan with a proposition to immortalize him with a portrait and sketch of his life. "Do you propose to include Presley Saunders in your book?" queried the Senator. "No, Sir!" responded the biographer. "He is dead, and there seems to be no one to pay for these things." "Then," said the Senator, "please leave me out. I do not wish to appear in any history of Henry county which omits the name of Presley Saunders," and the biographer went his way. Presley Saunders was one of the earliest settlers and merchants of Henry county, a good man whose memory is revered by all the aged people of that region, and a brother of Alvin Saunders who was later on Governor and United States Senator from Nebraska. He was one of the most important factors in settling Henry county.

But a better day has arrived touching the qualities of Iowa county histories. This work on the rich and beautiful county of Montgomery

will take a high place in this department of our historical literature. Its author is Hon. W. W. Merritt, a man of education and ability, who has resided in that county nearly all the time since its organization. Of all the events which he has recorded he can well say, "All of which I saw, and part of which I was." He has been an active participant in building up the local institutions, churches and schools, and has been active at times in the politics of the county and of that part of Iowa. He is a man well known throughout the southwestern quarter of the State and enjoys the confidence of all who know him. His book, lately issued, records every local event of importance and shows the progress of the county from its earliest days to the present time. One of its attractive features is 100 fine half-tone portraits, every one of which is inserted as a matter of personal justice to the party represented. The familiar "graft" of securing pay for these portraits has been eliminated. The book was manufactured by the Express Publishing Company of Red Oak, which is noted throughout the United States for its fine calendar printing. While its patronage will to a large extent be local, it will be found necessarily to contain much historical, biographical and genealogical information relating to Iowa and the country at large. We feel that both the author and publishers are to be congratulated upon this advanced step in placing upon record in readable and attractive form the history of their county. The book is, however, sadly marred by its lack of an index. Otherwise, we can give it high commendation.

A LUCKY EDITOR.—Well, our turn has come at last; we always thought it would; we had faith; but were getting a little impatient for *sight* too. On Monday, July 27, who should come to see us but John Jessup, of Moresville, known to everybody in the town who eats cheese, and to sweeten an acquaintance he brought a box of honey—white as snow, containing some ten pounds! Ah, those Moresville farmers! they have the name of doing things up in the very best style, and we begin to believe it! If anybody else has proof to pre-



NOTABLE DEATHS

EDWIN HENRY CONGER, born to Lorenzo E. and Mary Hurd Conger, March 7, 1843, in Frank county, Illinois, was of the next generation after Benjamin Conger, first of that name in America. Edwin E. took the public school course, then graduated from Lombard University, class of 1862. He enlisted almost immediately in Co. I, 105th Ill. Volunteer Infantry, became first lieutenant Sept. 2, 1862, and was promoted to the company Oct. 21, 1862, with therevet of major for gallantry and meritorious conduct in the field, and was mustered out with his regiment June 8, 1865. Graduating from the Albany Law School in 1866, he entered the practice at Galesburg, where he continued until his purchase of and removal to a farm in Madison county, Iowa, in 1868. In 1874 he removed to Dexter, Dallas county, a few miles from his farm, and engaged in banking as successor to his father, then lately deceased. Dallas county Republicans nominated him for County Treasurer in 1877, his election following, and a re-election in 1878. Iowa Republicans chose him as a candidate for State Treasurer in 1880, his election and a re-election following. The Seventh Iowa District, consisting then of Adams, Dallas, Boone, Madison, Marion, Polk and Warren counties, elected him over Judge W. E. McHenry to the 48th Congress. Speaker Carlisle appointing him to the Committee of Invalid Pensions. He was retained over W. L. Carpenter to the 50th and assigned to the Committee on Agriculture and to the floor over Allen E. Morrison, Democrat, and J. A. Nash, Republican, and later candidate. Speaker Reed transferred him to the Committee on Agriculture, and placed him on those of Banking and Currency and of Commerce, Weights and Measures. Successful advocacy of his bill for the re-creation of a department of land gained him great credit. President Harrison appointed Mr. Conger Minister to Spain, where a successful service was interrupted by a change of administration, but after an engagement in business in Des Moines, during which time he was an Iowa elector at large to the St. Louis convention of 1896, President McKinley reappointed him to the post in Spain, transferring him in 1898 to China. President Roosevelt advanced Mr. Conger to the embassy to Mexico in which post he completed his public service and resigned in October, 1900. Mr. Conger's diplomatic service was highly creditable throughout, was especially distinguished during the Brazilian revolution of 1893, and rose to international importance in the Chinese Boxer stage of 1900.

On the 22d of June, 1868, at Galesburg Mr. Conger was united in marriage with Miss Sarah J., a daughter of E. W. and Laura Pike. They became parents to a son and daughter, the latter, Laura V., wife of Lieutenant Buchan of the army, only surviving. Mr. Conger retired to private life in Pasadena, California, where Mrs. Conger now resides and where he died May 17, 1907, and was laid to rest. He was a Knight Templar, a member of the Loyal Legion and of the Military Order of the Dragon.

E. R. H.

THOMAS M. BOWEN, the pioneer of Iowa-born legislators and public officials, died at his home in Denver, Colo., Dec. 30, 1906. General Bowen was born in the county of "De Moin," Territory of Michigan, Oct. 26, 1835. The place is understood to be near the present city of Burlington, but before there was such a city, and even before an "Iowa" appeared on any map. A part of his schooling was at

the Iowa Wesleyan University at Mount Pleasant. He was admitted to the bar before he attained his majority. He was also elected to the House of Representatives before he was of age. Before the Legislature met, however, he was out of his minority; and in December, 1856, he took his seat in the 6th General Assembly, which was the last to meet at Iowa City. He represented the counties of Wayne and Decatur. A year or two after his Iowa legislative experience, he removed to Kansas. On the outbreak of hostilities against the Union, he went into the service as captain of Company F, in the First Nebraska Infantry. He subsequently recruited and commanded the Thirteenth Kansas regiment, continuing in the service until the end of the war; first, in the Army of the Frontier, and later in the Seventh Army Corps, at times commanding brigade and division. He was brevetted brigadier-general. After the war he remained in Arkansas for several years, and was a member of a convention that framed a constitution for the State, and presided in that convention. Later, Gen. Bowen was one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the State. In 1871 President Grant appointed him Governor of the Territory of Idaho, but he resigned before the close of that year. In 1873 he was a candidate for United States Senator from Arkansas, but Stephen W. Dorsey was his successful competitor. In January, 1875, he removed to Colorado. There, on the establishment of the State government, he was chosen District Judge, serving in that capacity for four years. In 1882 he was chosen a member of the Legislature of that State, and, while acting as such he was elected a Senator of the United States, in the room of Horace A. W. Tabor, who had been chosen to fill out the term of Henry M. Teller. Six years later he gave place to Edward O. Walcott. After that time he devoted his attention largely to the extensive mining interests in which he was concerned.—W. H. F.

EUGENE S. ELLSWORTH was born in Milwaukee county, Wis., Nov. 2, 1848; he died in Iowa Falls, Iowa, Feb. 15, 1907. He served in the civil war as a drummer boy in a Wisconsin company commanded by his father, Capt. Ellsworth. In 1863 he removed to Iowa Falls, Iowa, then more than fifty miles from the nearest railroad. He foresaw the possibilities of the State and began at once to aid in its development and growth. He built up an extensive real estate and loan business. When the Burlington, Cedar Rapids & Northern railroad was built, he organized a town lot company and was its manager for eight

Medina, Ohio, and was admitted to the bar in 1848. He removed to Tipton, Iowa, in 1850, residing there nineteen years. In 1857 he became proprietor of *The Tipton Advertiser*, which he published until 1863. Under his administration *The Advertiser* became one of the most widely known country weeklies of this State. During the session of the Legislature of 1860 that portion of the House Journal in which the election of State Printer was made a matter of record was stolen. In a purely accidental way Mr. Daniels was instrumental in bringing this theft to light. There was no general investigation of the matter, but the Journal was quietly restored by authority of the House from the rough notes kept by the clerk, and nothing serious resulted. He retired from *The Advertiser* after conducting the paper six years, and settled in Mount Pleasant, where he resided up to the time of his death at the ripe age of 85 years. He had held several positions of honor and trust and was widely and favorably known.

GEORGE FRANKLIN WRIGHT was born in Warren, Washington county, Vt., Dec. 5, 1833; he died in Council Bluffs, Dec. 13, 1906. He was reared on a farm and received his education at West Randolph, Vt., where the late Judge Austin Adams was his tutor. In 1855 he came to Iowa and commenced the study of the law with the firm of Wright, Knapp & Caldwell in Keosauqua. In 1857 he was admitted to the bar and began practicing under the firm name, Knapp, Caldwell & Wright. In 1861 he helped raise a company of volunteers and was elected first lieutenant. Business demanding his return to Keosauqua, he raised a company of militia and was elected captain. The organization was in active service in protecting the Iowa border. In 1868 Mr. Wright removed to Council Bluffs and formed a law partnership with Judge Caleb Baldwin. Aside from his profession he was interested in many business enterprises. He was president of the first street railway company; helped to organize companies for the manufacture of coal illuminating gas in various Iowa towns, and organized the Omaha and Council Bluffs Railway & Bridge Co. He served in the Senate in the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th General Assemblies, being a member of the judiciary committee.

HIRAM SCHOFIELD was born in Hadley, Saratoga county, N. Y.; he died in Seattle, Wash., Dec. 30, 1906. He graduated from Union College, Schenectady, in 1853, and from the law school at Albany in 1856. In 1857 he removed to Washington, Iowa, where he practiced his profession and became one of the best known lawyers in southeastern Iowa. His military career was a brilliant one. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted in the 2d Iowa Infantry. He participated in many engagements, including the battles of Fort Donelson, Shiloh, and the siege of Corinth. He was promoted to first lieutenant and later served as assistant adjutant-general on the staffs of Generals Lauman and McCarthy. He was then made colonel of the 8th Louisiana colored infantry, and subsequently commanded a brigade. He was brevetted brigadier-general at the close of the war. In 1868 he was chosen a presidential elector on the Republican ticket. He was a collector of rare books and left one of the largest private libraries in the State.

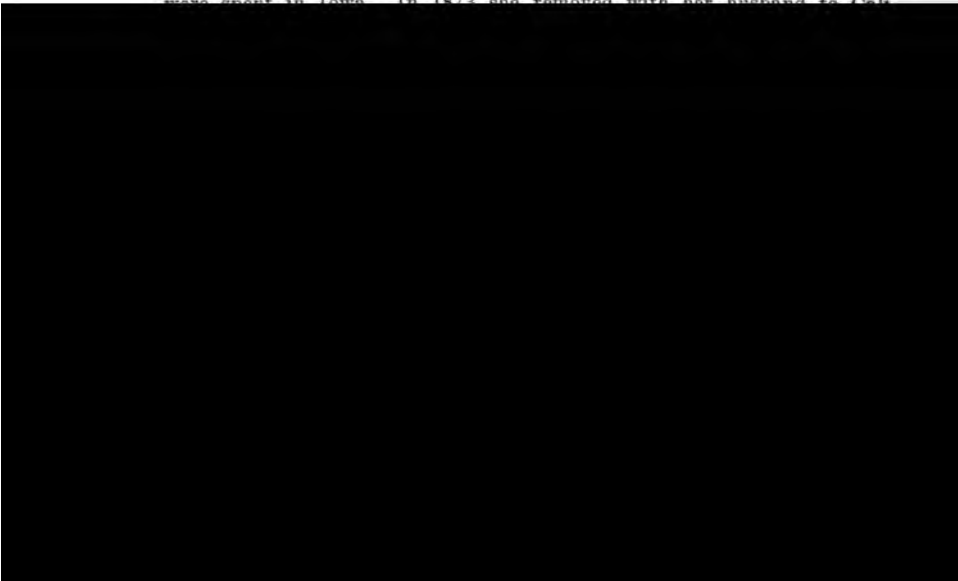
SAMUEL LUCIUS BESTOW was born at Williamsville, N. Y., March 8, 1823; he died in Chariton, Iowa, Jan. 10, 1907. In 1869 he came to Lucas county and purchased a farm, where he resided until a few

years ago, when he removed to Chariton. He represented Lucas and Clarke counties in the Senate during the 16th and 17th General Assemblies, elected as a Republican. Later he affiliated with the Democratic party. He was their candidate for lieutenant-governor in 1889, but was defeated; in 1891 he was again on the ticket and was elected, serving with Governor Boies during his second term, and presiding over the Senate of the 24th General Assembly.

WILLIAM B. PERRIN was born near Montpelier, Vt., Jan. 19, 1839; he died in Nashua, Iowa, May 10, 1907. He received his education in the Barre, Vt., Academy, Dartmouth College and the Albany Law School. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted and served throughout the war, first in Co. B, 7th Squadron R. I. Cavalry; later as lieutenant in the 3d Vermont Light Artillery. In the fall of 1867 he removed to Iowa. In 1868 he located in Nashua and engaged in the practice of his profession—the law. During his thirty-nine years residence in Nashua he had served as councilman, mayor, city attorney, member of the school and library boards, and in various other offices. He was a member of the House of Representatives in the 17th and 18th General Assemblies and in the State Senate during the 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th.

CHARLES LINDERMAN was born near Bloomingburg, N. Y., Feb. 4, 1829; he died in Clarinda, Iowa, April 15, 1907. He was graduated from Hamilton College, N. Y., in 1854. In 1855 he came to Scott county, Iowa; after a few months spent in Nebraska, where he helped establish the sixth principal meridian, he returned to Iowa. In 1859 he settled in Clarinda where he resided over 48 years. In 1863 he enlisted in Co. A, 8th Iowa Cavalry and was elected second lieutenant of the company. He was a member of the House of Representatives in the 11th and 24th General Assemblies. For eight years he served as Clerk of the Supreme Court of Iowa. Since 1875 he had been connected with the banking interests of Clarinda. He was a prominent Mason and a member of the Loyal Legion.

THEODOSIA BURR HALL SHEPHERD, daughter of Judge Augustus Hall, was born in Keosauqua, Iowa, Oct. 14, 1845; she died in Ventura, Cal., Sept. 6, 1906. Her girlhood and the early years of her married life were spent in Iowa. In 1873 she removed with her husband to Cal.



CHARLES H. TALMADGE was born in Gerard, Erie county, Pa., Oct. 10, 1842; he died in West Union, Iowa, May 2, 1907. In 1850 his family moved to Illinois and in 1856 came to Iowa, locating in Mitchell county. In 1857 he entered the printing office of *The Mitchell Republican*; subsequently he worked on several other papers. In 1861 he was among the first volunteers to form a company in Mitchell county. He became a member of Co. I, 3d Iowa Infantry. For the past forty years he had been editor and proprietor of *The West Union Gazette*.

IRA E. DEAPER was born in Marion county, Ind., Jan. 4, 1834; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 18, 1907. He removed to Jasper county, Iowa, in the fifties, and engaged in business at Vandalia. From 1860 to 1871 he was postmaster of that place, and for a time published *The Vandalia Visitor*. He later engaged in the banking business in Prairie City, and became a large landowner. He served as a member of the House of Representatives in the 14th General Assembly.

HENRY L. HUFF was born in Cumberland county, Pa., Jan. 29, 1829; he died in Eldora, Iowa, June 9, 1907. He came to Iowa in December, 1853, and in 1855 settled in Hardin county, where for over fifty years he was engaged in the practice of the law. He had served as prosecuting attorney, county judge, and county attorney. In 1890 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention which nominated Garfield for President; he was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives in 13th General Assembly.

ROBERT ALLEN was born in Antrim county, Ireland, Jan. 23, 1817; he died in Franklin township, near Burlington, Iowa, Jan. 18, 1907. When an infant his parents came to America, locating at Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1839 he removed to Des Moines county, bought a large tract of land, which has since 1844 been his home, and which he turned into a productive farm. In 1852 he was elected justice of the peace and for many succeeding years served in that capacity. He was a member of the House of Representatives in the 12th General Assembly.

JOHN A. RIGGEN was born in Knox county, Ill., Oct. 29, 1841; he died in Siloam Springs, Ark., May 12, 1907. He settled in Missouri in 1859 and there began the practice of medicine in 1869. In 1879 he removed to Iowa, locating eventually in What Cheer. He served throughout the civil war in the 18th Missouri Volunteer Infantry, being mustered out as first lieutenant. He represented Keokuk and Poweshiek counties in the Senate of the 25th and 26th General Assemblies.

JOHN C. DONAHEY was born in Harrison county, Ohio, Nov. 2, 1832; he died in Newton, Iowa, March 26, 1907. In 1866 he removed to Muscatine, Iowa; in 1883 he settled on a farm in Jasper county, and in 1892 became a resident of Newton. He had served six years as a member of the Board of Supervisors. He was also a member of the House of Representatives in the 19th General Assembly.

WELCOME MOWRY was born in Putnam county, Ill., April 3, 1842; he died while temporarily at Excelsior Springs, Mo., April 15, 1907. He served in Co. D, 7th Kan. Infantry, and Co. F, 151st Ill. Infantry during the civil war and was in many of the most noted engagements.

In 1867 he came to Iowa and settled on the farm in Tama county, where he had since resided. He was a member of the 20th General Assembly, and of the State Railroad Commission, 1899-1901.

WILLIAM A. FOSTER was born on a farm near Davenport, Iowa, July 24, 1842; he died in that city May 25, 1907. His parents, Asa and Cora (Wray) Foster, settled in Scott county in 1838. Mr. Foster was admitted to the bar in 1866 and rapidly rose to the front ranks of his profession. He was a brilliant orator and gained a national reputation as a criminal attorney. He was a member of the Iowa State Senate in the 17th and 18th General Assemblies.

JAMES HENRY BARNETT was born in New Market, Shenandoah county, Va., Oct. 8, 1835; he died in Indianola, Iowa, Dec. 28, 1906. He had resided in the vicinity of Indianola since 1845. When the civil war broke out he was a student in Simpson College. He enlisted in the 48th Iowa Infantry and served for two years. He was a breeder of fine horses. He served in the State Senate during the 22d and 23d General Assemblies.

LOUIS M. JAEGER was born in Burlington, Iowa, Sept. 23, 1858; he died in that city May 12, 1907. He was a cigarmaker by trade and was prominent in labor circles, having served a term as vice-president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. He was a member of the House of Representatives in the 27th, 28th and 29th General Assemblies.

SAMUEL T. SPANGLER was born in Maryland, June 11, 1829; he died in Buchanan county, Iowa, April 29, 1907. In the spring of 1857 he came to Iowa and purchased the land which had since been his home. He was an extensive stock raiser and landowner. He was a member of the 15th General Assembly, and was later a candidate for Congress on the Greenback ticket.

JOHN W. WHITE was born in North Dighton, Mass., April 7, 1824; he died in Portland, Ore., May 14, 1907. In 1838 he came with his parents to Iowa, settling in Burlington, where he grew to manhood and was for many years in business. About 20 years ago he removed to Oregon. He leaves one brother, Dr. Charles A. White, the well-known scientist of Washington, D. C.

JAMES MCALEER was born at Holy Cross, Dubuque county, Iowa, Feb. 14, 1872; he died in Cedar Rapids, March 28, 1907. He had spent his entire life in Iowa engaged in farming and teaching. At the time of his death he was living in Independence. He represented Dubuque county in the 28th General Assembly.

OLIVER E. DOUBLEDAY was born in Tippecanoe county, Indiana, Feb. 22, 1831; he died on his farm near Des Moines, April 7, 1907. He came to Polk county in 1854 and has since resided here. He was a member of the 25th and 26th General Assemblies.

In 1867 he came to Iowa and settled on the farm in Tama county, where he had since resided. He was a member of the 20th General Assembly, and of the State Railroad Commission, 1899-1901.


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THIRD SERIES.

VOL. VIII. NO. 2.

OCTOBER, 1907.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

CHARLES ALDRICH, CHAIRMAN.

PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR. SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS.

DES MOINES, IOWA.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

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Portrait of a young man, representation of the family

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VIII, No. 3. DES MOINES, IOWA, OCTOBER, 1907. 3D SERIES.

DR. EDWIN JAMES.

BY L. H. PAMMEL, PH. D.,

Professor of Botany, Iowa State College, Ames.

Some years ago the writer found among some miscellaneous papers in the C. C. Parry Herbarium and Library a short biographical sketch of Dr. Edwin James with an attached letter from Dr. George Engelmann asking what had become of Doctor James. The letter was pasted in a copy of Long's *Expedition*, giving his account of the ascent of James' Peak, now commonly called Pike's Peak. Somewhat later I saw an article by Mr. George Frazee* on *The Iowa Fugitive Slave Case*, which contained a tribute to Doctor James. The following number of *The Annals* contained a short but excellent account of Doctor James by Charles Aldrich,† *A Forgotten Iowa Author*. A few years later the writer gave under the auspices of the Botanical Seminar a lecture on the early botanical explorations of the Rocky Mountains. I found the information about Doctor James very meager. I wrote to Doctor Salter of Burlington, who had known Doctor James personally, and he gave me such information as he had. Mrs. Fannie James Bissell of Dubuque, a granddaughter, also favored me with material. By chance I learned that Mrs. A. Richmond of Nevada was a daughter of a brother of Doctor James. I therefore interviewed Mrs. Richmond a short time before her death, concerning him. Her daughter, Miss Anna Richmond, was kind enough to furnish me with a written statement about Doctor James, taken from Mrs. Richmond's journal, as well as to let me see several letters. This journal is in possession of the Richmond family. Mrs. Richmond copied


* *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. 4, pp. 118-137.

† *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. 4, pp. 233-234.

some of the more important points of the journal for Miss Julia James of Kansas City, who was kind enough to permit me to use such parts as I liked in the preparation of this paper.

To a cousin, Miss Harriette Kellogg of Grinnell, Deacon Samuel James of Middlebury, Vt., who is himself eighty-six years of age, has loaned a number of letters written by Dr. Edwin James to his brother, Dr. John James of Albany, and also one to his niece. These cover a somewhat lengthy period, extending from the time when he was stationed at Ft. Mackinac as army surgeon to 1859, when in his old age at Burlington he wrote with all his old-time vigor on slavery and the John Brown question.

From the journal I learn that the James family originally settled in Rhode Island, but that Deacon David James, father of Doctor James, very early emigrated to Stockbridge, Mass., and at the commencement of the Revolutionary War moved to Weybridge, Addison county, Vermont. Here with his own hands he hewed down trees, in the mighty forest, and erected a log house in which the subject of this sketch was born and grew to manhood. Edwin James, the youngest of thirteen children, ten of whom were sons, was born August 27, 1797. The family home is still standing, although its original form could hardly be recognized, so many are the additions and other changes that have modified its appearance. It is on an eminence overlooking a beautiful valley, while in the near distance is clearly seen the town of Middlebury. Back of the



a member of the family, the present incumbent being Deacon Samuel James—a nephew of Doctor Edwin—who also owns a residence on the old farm.

In early days church pews were the absolute property of the individual members, and the James' pew, at the right hand of the pulpit, with its straight, unyielding back, and door that could be locked against intruders, is still seen in the church, although the family prefer the more democratic freedom of the body pews.

The surroundings of the boyhood home of Edwin James, and the sturdy character of others of the same family, may be seen from the following biographical note of a brother, which appeared in *The Register* (Middlebury, Vt.) many years ago:

Deacon Samuel James, Sen., was one of those men who never die—living, but not dying, out. Born in Weybridge in 1791, he was the last of a large family of children who scattered widely over our country and a number of his brothers were men of eminent ability and usefulness in their professions. He always lived upon the old homestead, living a life packed full of duties performed and opportunities secured. With unwearied industry he labored upon his farm and gradually accumulated an ample estate.

He was a studious and thoughtful man. The leisure moments of his long life were not suffered to run to waste. His mind was not pinioned to the instrument with which he labored, but in his working hours he was accustomed to cull treasures of rich thought from the works of nature and a wide range of readings, and while his acres widened, his mind expanded more. To those who knew him well it was a pleasure to converse with him, nor could they fail to utter words of admiration as they marked the stride with which he kept pace with the great and truthful ideas of the ages. He judged wisely and carefully and his opinions were not mere assertions but showed the compacted strength resulting from patient investigation. Perhaps no one trait was more strongly marked in his character than that of an untiring perseverance, no matter whether it was some improvement on his farm or some public interest he would accomplish, blow after blow succeeded each other with an unfaltering repetition until a result was reached.


He was long identified with the church in his native town and its honored officer; he loved it, was familiar with its history and prayed and planned earnestly for its prosperity and continuance. Amid times of discouragement and doubt he proved a tower of strength. From its commencement he was a steady supporter of the Sabbath school; he not only believed in the Bible, but he loved to study it, and many will remember the sparkle of his eye, as he was wont to vindicate the character

of God as unfolded in its doctrines. Through all the years of his old age he continued a teacher. As a religious man he explored among the deep things of the Creator and caught no taint of skepticism, but acquired a stronger faith, a brighter hope and a warmer love. He studied thoroughly the questions of national policy, appreciated and sympathized with our public men who loved the right, while with a Puritan's faith he saw the hand of God guiding all of the events of our history. He had faith in God, faith in the church of Christ, faith in our government, and his life as a citizen, as a Christian and as a man was the outgivings of such a faith.

He was not exempt from affliction. "The billows rolled over him;" one son stricken by disease languished almost into manhood and died. Another in the strength and beauty of an intelligent and Christian manliness, passed under a mental cloud, and went down to the grave, and another still, the youngest, the pet and pride of the family, after graduating at Middlebury College, with bright hopes sailed for South America, and speedily sickened with the yellow fever and died in the hospital at Bahia, Brazil.

He had comfort in their deaths, and his faith as a Christian man held him to his God and his duties. Himself for years grappling with disease resolutely pushed on and with an untiring will demonstrated the power of a living soul over its frail tenement.

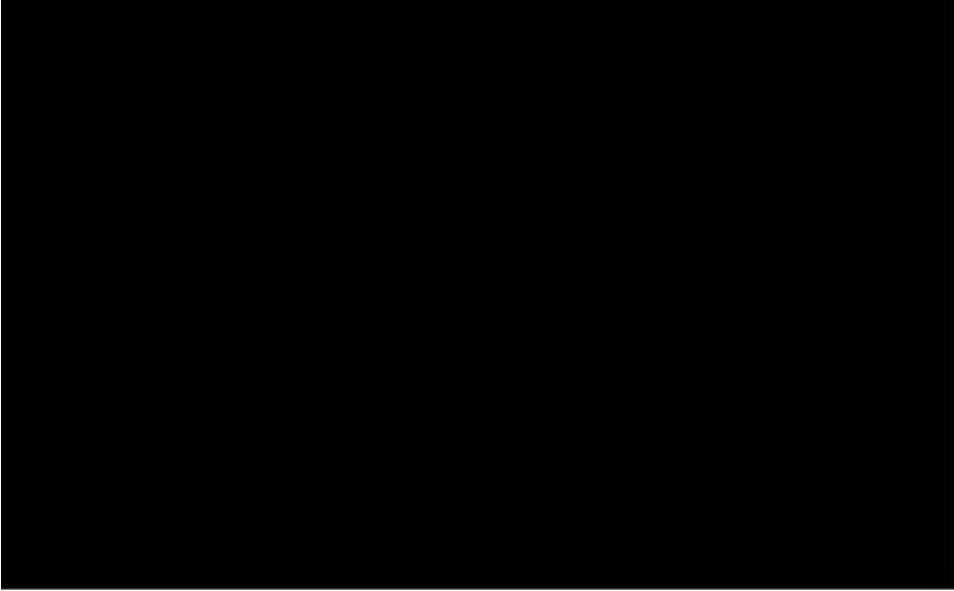
The Sabbath before his death he was in his place in the brick church on "Weybridge Hill," he was always there "sunshine or storm," and on Monday evening following he attended the meeting of the Farmers' Club and read an essay, and spoke earnest words of his own experience in farming. A cold brought on by the exposure of that evening swiftly brought him down, and in six days he ceased his struggling with disease. Thus Deacon Samuel James, Sen., carried his work and responsibilities to the brink of the grave, ready to assume them beyond, so there will be no break in his life, for he still lives.



fessor Hall: "The following catalogue of plants which are indigenous in the township of Middlebury was prepared for me by Dr. Edwin James, a very young gentleman formerly of this place, who has during a considerable period assiduously applied himself to the study of botany, and who will ere long attain distinguished eminence in this interesting branch of natural history." Whether this list was prepared before taking up his residence in Albany or while in college cannot be determined. It is probable, however, that he was much interested in plants while at college and that part of this work was done before his acquaintance with Dr. Amos Eaton in Albany, an author of *A Manual of North American Botany*, who delivered a course of lectures in Albany on the invitation of Gov. DeWitt Clinton, who was much interested in botany. Edwin James studied medicine with his brother in Albany. In those days a medical education was difficult to obtain. There were few hospitals and almost no medical schools and it was customary to study with an established practitioner. I am unable to learn when he went to Albany. The date of his graduating from Middlebury College is given by Doctor Barton as 1816. The brother with whom he studied medicine was in Europe in 1817 so it is probable that his medical education did not begin before 1818, and it is hardly likely that it extended beyond two or two and a half years. In those days it was considered essential that a physician be well posted in natural history, especially botany. This is why so many of the botanists of the early part of the last century were physicians. Doctors Gray, Torrey and Darlington were all physicians. The following letter written by Dr. John James will give some idea of the necessity of study abroad:

MY DEAR MOTHER: At the moment when I am about to leave London for Edinboro, I have the good fortune to receive yours of Sept. 22nd. How grateful and in what good time it is impossible for me to tell you—you have never been a stranger in London—and can hardly imagine how much I am interested in every word from you. It is indeed a long time since the date of your last letter, but I have received them but lately, and can readily excuse your not writing oftener, when I consider the cares and the business which must inevitably engross your mind and fill up every moment of your time. I can clearly

comprehend from your account of Mrs. James' symptoms * * * decline of her health. I wish it were possible for me to see her, and to add my endeavors to those of all of her friends to administer to her comfort and happiness in such a trying situation. I fear I shall never see her in this world. The only consolation which her friends could have, I know Mrs. James will afford by her uncomplaining resignation to this dispensation of providence, and a cheerful reliance upon the goodness of the Creator. Mrs. Pepon—I am most happy to hear her name, and that her situation is improving. I have heard so little from America that I open your letter with a kind of a dread, lest some evil should have befallen to some one of the family—I don't know why Henry should not have made me acquainted with his situation—at least written me. There has not been a day since I left America that I have not considered his situation, and weighed in my mind the chances of his business—with hopes and fears. That Pittsfield debt should if possible be shaken off. I sometimes reprove myself that I have left my country and not rather put my shoulder to the mountain and aided the common cause, with what effect I could, in other words—that I did not endeavor to help Henry and Mrs. J. instead of incurring expense abroad. In the end however I think we shall all be satisfied, with the course that I have taken and I flatter myself that at some future period, there will be a result essentially useful. I believe that I shall not return to America, without having added most materially to my medical knowledge. I am more entirely satisfied of the importance of the opportunities I enjoy—and the real improvement that may be derived from them than I expected to be. I find more to learn than I was aware of and more facilities of learning. I have devoted the summer extensively and laboriously to practical anatomy. By giving this important branch my undivided attention I have so wedded myself to the study, that what was at first a labor, has become a pleasure, and I contemplate even the intricacies, and minutiae of anatomy, with the hope of mastery. This study is indeed the "Key." * * * which the





Rocky Mountain White Pine (*Pinus flexilis* James) from a photograph
by L. H. Pammel.

tages that I expect to derive from going to E. are, I shall see the country, and the school. I can combine more studies there than here—and all to equal advantage except practical surgery—and this is to be learnt only to a certain degree by precedent, and seeing. The operation part must be acquired by the enterprise of our own hands—minute and distinct ideas of anatomy with the aid of having seen the operation a few times, will be sufficient—as to going to France and the French language—I cannot conscientiously think of spending my time, and my small funds there, because I could not acquire so much professional information. The time will soon arrive when I must apply myself most diligently to business again—stimulated by the to me new necessity of annihilating considerable debts. I hope to go to my task with zeal, and to enter the lists properly armed for the fight. If I have time, which I undoubtedly shall, I can improve what I have but just commenced in the French language after I join you in Albany. If I happen to be so unfortunate as not to find business there, this study will prove a resource. I have suggested to you that I am not learning good manners—I don't know that I am improving in this respect. If I can improve, my understanding and taste, by such observations, as my residence in foreign countries, will allow—I hope the amiable and lovely ladies of America will excuse my uncouth manners, and that men of sense will do me justice, though I cannot approach them in the most courtly style—and more than justice—for I don't mean to say that my claims in any respect will be of the improving kind. If I should go to France instead of Edinboro, I should be but chasing the shadow of a man of the world—which will ever fly me—

I have had a very trifling illness in consequence of confining myself too closely to the dissecting room which I believe I mentioned to you. Since I have relaxed a little I have regained the same high health which I found in Italy after a long voyage—as ever,

JOHN JAMES.

London Nov. 4th, 1817.

P. S. I start for Edinboro tomorrow by the stage. Direct to care of Messrs. Ramsays Bonan & Co. Bankers. I shall sail for America as soon as the season will admit.

CONNECTION WITH LONG'S EXPEDITION.

Some years had elapsed since the return of Lewis and Clark from their explorations to the Northwest, the finding of the source of the Missouri, and their trip down the Columbia to its mouth. The publication of the notes of the Lewis and Clark Expedition occurred in 1814, some seven years after their return to St. Louis. The Explorations of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, published in 1810, were familiar to the American

reading public. These publications made a large number of Americans interested in further explorations, and Congress in 1819 passed an act looking towards an exploration of the country between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, Red River, Arkansas, and Mississippi, above the mouth of the Missouri. The members of the expedition were also to obtain the extent of our limits from those of Great Britain at some point in the forty-ninth parallel of latitude to prevent collision between our traders and theirs. They were to enter in their journal everything interesting in regard to plants, animals, soils, and minerals. They were to conciliate the Indians by kindness and presents, and to obtain their number as far as possible.

Major Long, the commanding officer, in organizing this expedition designated Major Biddle to keep the journal. Doctor Baldwin acted as botanist, Mr. Say had charge of the zoology, Mr. Jessup of the geology. Mr. Peale acted as assistant naturalist. The members assembled in Pittsburg in April, 1819, and started on their journey May 5th. Several members of the party kept diaries. All were in good health except Doctor Baldwin. In the account of the expedition reference is made to the delays caused because of his sickness. On August 9th Doctor Baldwin was moved to the house of Mr. Glen in Cincinnati, but on the 18th, having recovered sufficiently, the party started down the Ohio. At Franklin, Missouri, it again became necessary to leave him, and there he expired on the 31st day of August. The steamboat proceeding up the river with Messrs. Say, Jessup, Seymour and Daugherty, accompanied by Major Biddle, left Franklin on July 17th overland to Ft. Osage. The *Western Engineer* was the name of the first steamboat to ascend the Missouri River above the mouth of the Charaton (Chariton), Lewis and Clark ascended the Missouri in a periogue or mackinaw as it would now be called. This note is made: "The Chariton originates near the De Moyon (Des Moines) River of the Mississippi, and between a country which is of great importance, both on account of the fertility of the soil and its inexhaustible mines of coal."

THE WINTER CANTONMENT.

"The position selected for the establishment of winter quarters for the exploring party, was on the west bank of the Missouri about half a mile above Fort Lisa (a fort named after Manuel Lisa of the Missouri Fur Company), five miles below Council Bluffs and three miles above the mouth of Boyer's River."* They anchored here on the 19th of September, and remained for the winter. On October 11th Major Long and Mr. Jessup departed for Washington, going down the Missouri in a canoe, returning by way of Philadelphia and St. Louis, and arriving at the latter place on April 24th. The party after having procured horses and equipment went overland, arriving at Engineer Cantonment on the 29th of May, accompanied by John R. Bell and Dr. Edwin James. By the order of the Honorable Secretary of War, dated February 28th, Major Long had been instructed to explore the country from the Missouri westward to the Rocky Mountains to the source of the river Platte and thence by way of the Arkansas and Red rivers to the Mississippi. Thomas Say was retained as zoologist, and Doctor James became botanist, geologist and surgeon. The latter received the appointment through the recommendations of Dr. John Torrey, Hon. Smith Thompson, Secretary of the Navy and later Justice of the Supreme Court, and Captain Le Conte.

FIRST ASCENT OF JAMES' PEAK, COMMONLY CALLED PIKE'S PEAK.

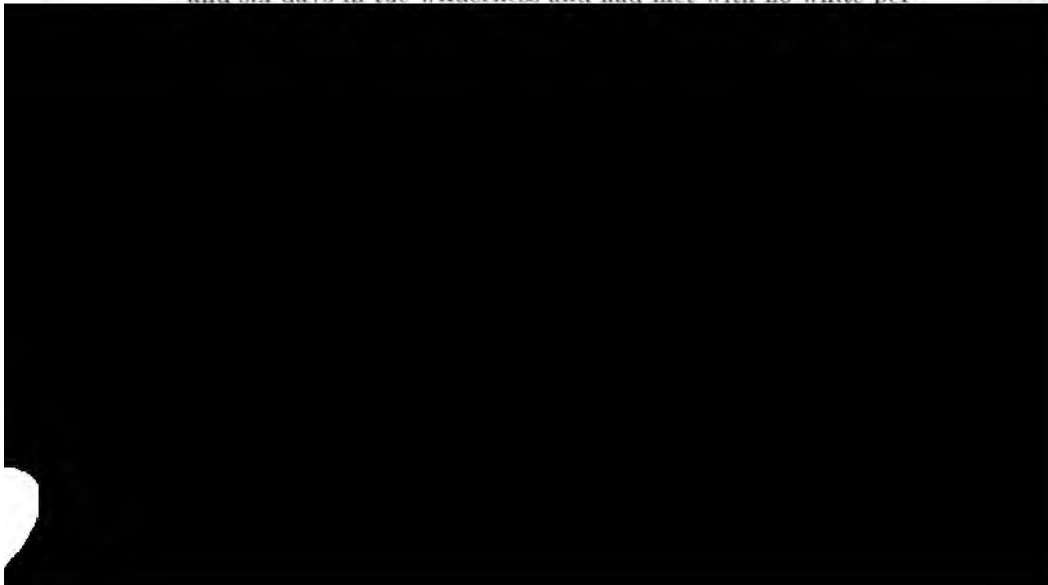
Leaving St. Louis on May 4, 1820, Doctor James, in company with Major Long and Captain Bell, traveled on horseback across the country and in twenty-four days reached Engineer Cantonment, where the party of twenty persons composing the expedition was camped. They started on their journey to the sources of the Platte, June 6th, and in a month reached the chasm through which that river issues from the Rocky Mountains. They were particularly desirous of visiting what Pike called the highest peak of the mountains, which now bears the name of that distinguished explorer and

* The spelling is Boyer and as usual Doctor James was accurate. It is misspelled in many older books.

soldier. Its summit had been reported inaccessible. A detachment of the party, however, conducted by Doctor James, went to the top on the 13th and 14th of July. From this circumstance it was called James' Peak, and this name is given to it on the map which accompanies the report of the expedition. It was the peak eight or ten miles south of this and much below it in elevation, being wooded to the top, which Pike ascended. The following extract is from his note of July 15, 1820:

From information derived from the Indians and hunters and also from the account given by Pike relative to this Peak, it appears that no person either civilized or savage has ever ascended to its summit, and that the ascent was deemed impracticable. Dr. James having accomplished this difficult and laborious task I have thought proper to call the Peak after his name as a compliment, to which the zeal and perseverance together with the skillful attention with which he has examined its character and productions, give him the fairest claim. Pike has indeed given us notice that there is such a Peak, but he only saw it at a distance, the unfavorable circumstances under which he came into its neighborhood preventing his arrival even at its base.

The expedition now divided into two parties near the Arkansas in Colorado. One proceeded down the river to Ft. Smith, the other, consisting of Major Long, Doctor James and eight others, intended to travel southward in search of the sources of the Red River, but misled by Indians whom they met they passed down the Canadian River and reached Ft. Smith the 13th of September. They had been three months and six days in the wilderness and had met with no white per-



tions to the natural history, botany, and geology of the country were welcomed in Europe as well as in America. Doctor James digested the various reports and prepared a history of the expedition for publication. It was published in London under the following title, *Account of an Expedition to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819 and '20*. By order of J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the command of Major Stephen H. Long of the U. S. Top. Engineers, compiled from the notes of Major Long, Mr. T. Say and other gentlemen of the exploring party by Edwin James, Botanist and Geologist to the Expedition—in three volumes, London. The work is dedicated to Mr. Calhoun, "whose liberal view, enlightened policy, and judicious measures have contributed in an eminent degree to the advancement of the National Character of the United States both in science and in politics."

Mrs. Fannie James Bissell, in a letter to the writer, comments as follows: "I remember, when I was a child, of being very fond of looking at the pictures in a large book in my father's library. I was greatly interested in the little Indians I saw there. I asked so many questions about them, my father told me that when I grew older he would tell me how the book came to be written and by whom. I wish to preserve the story to be read by the descendants of my noble grandfather."

The Ozark Mountains received their name from Doctor James. Under date of August 31st he says, "We were now at the western base of that interesting group of hills to which we have attempted to give the name of the almost extinct tribe of Ozarks." The following is from Mrs. Bissell's letter to the writer:

FRIEND OF THE INDIAN AND THE NEGRO.


My grandfather was a close observer of Indian character, manners and customs. After coming back from the expedition he was surgeon in the United States army, and for several years was stationed among the Ojibways. He mastered their language and translated the New Testament from Greek into their language and this was published in 1833. Up to this time he had been a member of the Presbyterian church, but changed his views in the translation of the testament and became a Baptist. In later years he became dissatisfied with churches generally, for infidelity to humanity and justice on the slavery question,

which he attributed to them. He was a great abolitionist and thought slavery a sin against God. He disavowed allegiance to the government. He sheltered the fugitives from oppression under his roof at any hour of the day or night; he was always ready to help them to a better country. To these services he gave his means without stint. Nor were his sympathies confined to slaves alone, though his mind was absorbed upon the subject of their condition. I am told that he showed great kindness to some poor Danish Mormons who settled in his neighborhood, helping them to employment and giving them and their children instruction in the English language.

Before this, however, he was appointed Indian agent for the government near Council Bluffs, and resided for a while among the Osage Indians on the Missouri river. In endeavoring to exclude whiskey from the Indian country he encountered the fierce opposition of the traders, and suffered so many annoyances that he was compelled to resign the agency. He was a great temperance advocate, and for a time was engaged with E. C. Delevan of Albany in conducting a journal devoted to the cause. In 1836 he decided to make his home in the far West. He thought of settling near Dubuque, Iowa, but on his way thither from St. Louis was stopped by ice, and on his way overland tarried one night some six miles southwest of Burlington, where being much pleased with the country, the soil, the water and timber, he determined to pitch his tent. He selected three hundred and twenty acres for his farm which he considered not surpassed by any part of the United States he had seen. This was at Rock Springs, Iowa.

JAMES' PEAK.

There has been some discussion in regard to whether Zebulon Montgomery Pike, that intrepid explorer, ascended Pike's Peak. From his own account,* "The summit of the grand peak, entirely bare of vegetation and covered with snow, now



have had any experience in mountain climbing know what difficulties beset the traveler through fallen timber, deep gorges and dangerous trails. Pike, Robinson, Brown or Miller were nearer the peak than any other white men up to that time. Pike's Peak stands out prominently, and may be seen for a distance of forty miles from the plains. It was, therefore, long known to the Spaniards, but was probably called Pike's Peak in the forties when the great overland trails covered the plains and mountains in quest of the California gold fields. On all of the early maps it was universally known as James' Peak. Doctor James describes the carbonated springs well known to all tourists who visit Manitou Springs.*

From the Journal prepared by James I take these notes:

The boiling spring is a large and beautiful fountain of water, cool and transparent, and highly aerated with carbonic acid. It rises on the brink of a small stream, which here descends from the mountain, at the point where the bed of this stream divides the ridge of sandstone, which rests against the base of the first granitic range.

Distant a few rods from this is another spring of the same kind, which discharges no water, its basin remaining constantly full, and air only escaping from it. We collected some of the air from both of these springs, in a box we had carried for the reception of plants, but could not perceive it to have the least smell or the power of extinguishing flame, which was tested by plunging into it lighted splinters of dry cedar.

In ascending we found the surface in many places covered with loose and crumbled granite, rolling from under our feet, and rendering the ascent extremely difficult. We began to credit the assertions of the guide, who had conducted us to the foot of the Peak; and left us with the assurance that the whole of the mountain to its summit was covered with loose sand and gravel, so that though many attempts had been made by the Indians and by hunters to ascend it, none had ever proved successful. We passed several of these tracks, not without some apprehension for our lives, as there was danger when the foothold was once lost of sliding down and being thrown over precipices.

After clambering with extreme fatigue over about two miles, in which several of these dangerous places occurred, we halted at sunset in a small cluster of fir trees. We could not, however, find a piece of even ground large enough to lie down upon, and were under the necessity of securing ourselves from rolling into the brook, near which we encamped, by means of a pole placed against two trees. In this

* *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg*, Vol. 2, p. 23.

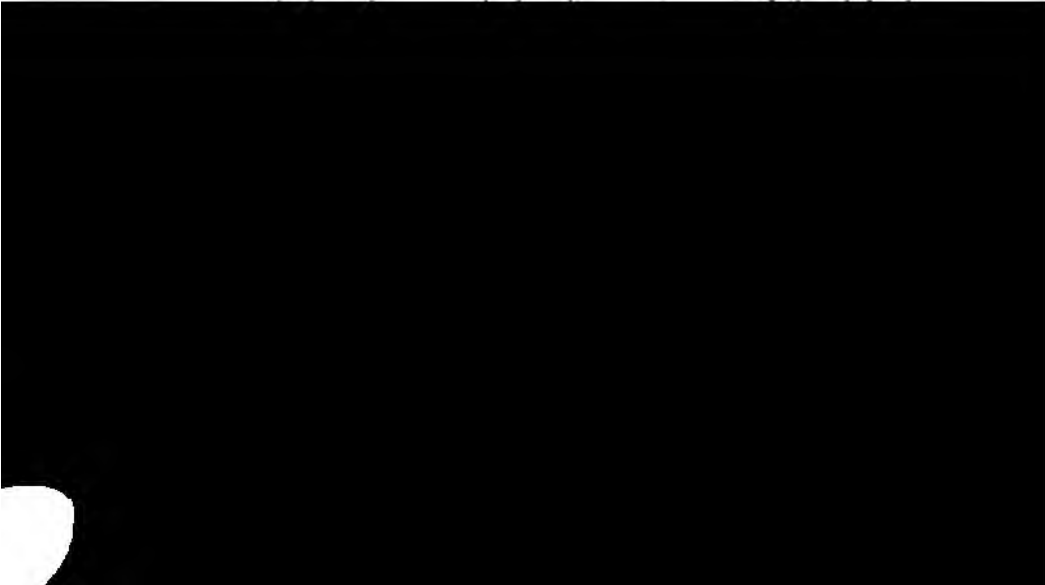
situation we passed an uneasy night and, though the mercury fell only to 54°, felt some inconvenience from cold.

On the morning of the 14th, as soon as daylight appeared, having suspended in a tree whatever articles of clothing could be dispensed with, our blankets and provisions, except about three pounds of bison flesh, we continued the ascent, hoping to be able to reach the summit of the Peak, and return to the same camp in the evening. After passing about half a mile of rugged and difficult traveling, like that of the preceding day, we crossed a deep chasm, opening towards the bed of the small stream we had hitherto ascended, and following the summit of the ridge between these, found the way less difficult and dangerous.

Having passed a level tract of several acres, covered with the aspen poplar, a few birches and pines, we arrived at a small stream running toward the south, nearly parallel to the base of the conic part of the mountain, which forms the summit of the Peak. From this spot we could distinctly see almost the whole of the Peak, its lower half thinly clad with pines, junipers and other evergreen trees; the upper a naked conic pile of yellowish rocks, surmounted here and there with broad patches of snow; but the summit appeared so distant, and the ascent so steep, that we despaired of accomplishing the ascent, and returning on the same day.

In marshy places about this part of the mountain we saw an undescribed white flowered species of *Caltha*, some *Spediculariae*, the shrubby cinquefoil (*Potentilla fruticosa*, Ph.) and many alpine plants.

The day was agreeably bright and calm. As we ascended rapidly a manifest change of temperature was perceptible and before we reached the outskirts of the timber a little wind was felt from the northeast. On this part of the mountain the yellow flowered stone-crop (*Sedum stenopetalum*, Ph.) is almost the only herbaceous plant which occurs. The boundary of the region of forests is a defined line encircling the peak in a part which, when seen from the plain, appeared near the





Rocky Mountain White Pine (*Pinus flexilis* James) from a photograph by Fawcett.

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those trees which are now on the outskirts of the forest, were formerly protected by their more exposed neighbors.

It cannot be doubted that the peculiar brilliancy of coloring, observed in alpine plants, inhabiting near the utmost limits of phaenogamous vegetation, depends in a great measure on the intensity of the light transmitted from the bright and unobscured atmosphere of those regions, and increased by reflection from the immense impending masses of snow. May the deep cerulean tint of the sky, be supposed to have an influence in producing the corresponding colour, so prevalent in the flowers of these plants?

It was about 4 o'clock p. m. when we arrived on the summit. In our way we had attempted to cross a large field of snow, which occupied a deep ravine, extending down half a mile from the top, on the southeastern side of the Peak. This was found impassable, being covered with a thin ice, not sufficiently strong to bear the weight of a man. We had not been long on the summit when we were rejoined by the man who had separated from us near the outskirts of the timber. He had turned aside and lain down to rest and afterwards pursued the ascent by a different route.

On the north side of the Peak was an immense mass of snow and ice. The ravine, in which it lay, terminated in a woodless and apparently fertile valley, lying west of the first great ridge, and extending far towards the north. This valley must undoubtedly contain a considerable branch of the Platte. In a part of it, distant probably thirty miles, the smoke of a fire was distinctly seen and was supposed to indicate the encampment of a party of Indians.

On the south the mountain is continued, having another summit (probably that ascended by Captain Pike), at the distance of eight or ten miles. This, however, falls much below the High Peak in point of elevation, being wooded quite to its top. Between the two lies a small lake, about a mile long and half a mile wide, discharging eastward into the Boiling spring creek. A few miles farther towards the south the range containing these two peaks terminates abruptly.

Most of the trees which occur on any part of the mountain are evergreen, consisting of several species of abies, among which may be enumerated the balsam fir (*A. balsamea*, Ph.), the hemlock, white, red and black spruce, (*A. canadensis*, *A. alba*, *A. rubra* and *A. nigra*), the red cedar and common juniper and a few pines.* One of these, which appears to have been hitherto unnoticed in North America, has, like

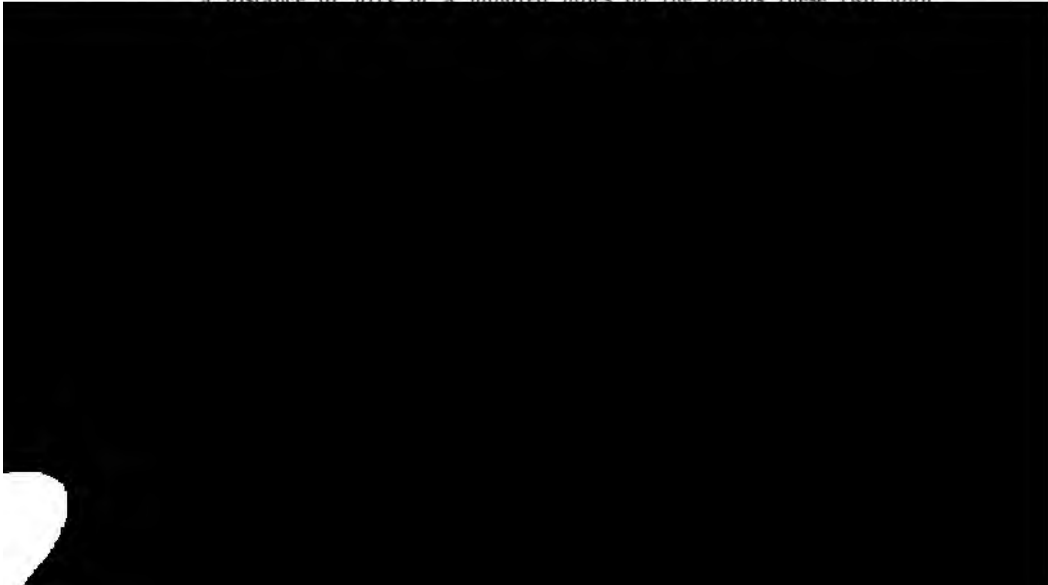
* Doctor James had a good eye in discriminating plants, but he is mistaken in the identity of most of the conifers mentioned here. The writer saw in the region mentioned by him an abundance of Douglas Fir (*Pseudotsuga Douglasii*) at lower altitudes; also Colorado Blue Spruce (*Picea Parryana*). The Engelmann Spruce (*Picea Engelmannii*) and the Lodgepole Pine (*Pinus Murrayana*) at higher altitudes. The Black Balsam (*Abies concolor*) is abundant at about 8,500 feet and below. The Bull Pine (*Pinus scopulorum*) is abundant around Manitou Springs. The *Pinus flexilis* is here described for the first time and correctly placed in the section *Strobus* or White Pine section. The *Pinus rigida* referred to is *Pinus scopulorum*.

the great white or Weymouth pine, five leaves in a fascicle, but in other respects there is little resemblance between them. The leaves are short and rather rigid, the sheathes which surround their bases, short and lacerated; the strobiles erect, composed of large unarmed scales, being somewhat smaller than those of *P. rigida*, but similar in shape, and exuding a great quantity of resin. The branches, which are covered with leaves chiefly at the ends, are numerous and recurved, inclining to form a dense and large top; they are also remarkably flexible, feeling in the hand somewhat like those of *Dirca palustris*. From this circumstance the specific name *flexilis* has been proposed for this tree, which is in several respects remarkably contrasted with the *P. rigida*. It inhabits the arid plains subjacent to the Rocky mountains, and extends up their sides to the region of perpetual frost. The fruit of the *Pinus flexilis* is eaten by the Indians and French hunters about the Rocky Mountains, as is that of another species of the same genus by the inhabitants of some parts of Europe.

The following is a letter written by Doctor James to Dr. C. C. Parry at Burlington, February 11, 1859, in regard to the ascent of Pike's Peak:

Dear Sir: Yours of the 2d inst. reached me yesterday, but may have lain some time in the P. Office, which, being six miles from me, I do not visit every day.

Thirty-nine years ago on the 14th July next I explored one of the peaks of the range of mountains containing the sources of the Platte and Arkansas. From its summit, about 12,000 feet* above tide water of the Atlantic, I looked southward to a twin peak perhaps twenty miles distant, supposed at that time to be the one ascended by Lieut. Pike, and near the base of which his blockhouse had stood. The intervening valley had some timber, but did not appear as inviting as other valleys or "parks" lying more to the west and north. Seen from a distance of fifty or a hundred miles on the plains these two high



Maj. Long's expedition was completed in 1820, his second embracing only Lake Superior and the Red River of the north dates in 1821-2.

Collections of plants were made from the country that is now Iowa in both and descriptions of such as were new to those learned in such matters have since appeared mostly in the Journals of Societies of Natural History in New York and elsewhere.

I became a settler in Iowa twenty-two years ago and of course have seen great changes. The locomotive engine and railroad car scour the plain in place of the wolf and the curlew. Mayweed and dog fennel, stink weed and mullein have taken the place of "purple flox and the moccasin flower," the Celt, the Dane, the Swede and the Dutchman* are instead of Black Hawk and Wabashaw. Wawhouse, Manny-Ozit and their bands. Very cordially yours,

E. JAMES.

MARRIAGE.

I have little information about Doctor James' marriage. It occurred after his return from the exploring expedition. Two letters written by him to Miss Clarissa Rogers of Gloucester, Mass., who afterward became his wife, are in the writer's possession, dated March 9th and 19th, 1827. They are dignified in tone but display the most ardent devotion. Mrs. Bissell writes of her grandfather: "Upon most persons who made his acquaintance he made the impression, that while he was an independent man, he was also singular and eccentric. * * * He seemed like one who had a secret on his soul he meant carefully to guard. It is doubtful whether he had any confidants or unbosomed himself to any human being, not even to his beautiful wife, who was once considered a belle of Boston."

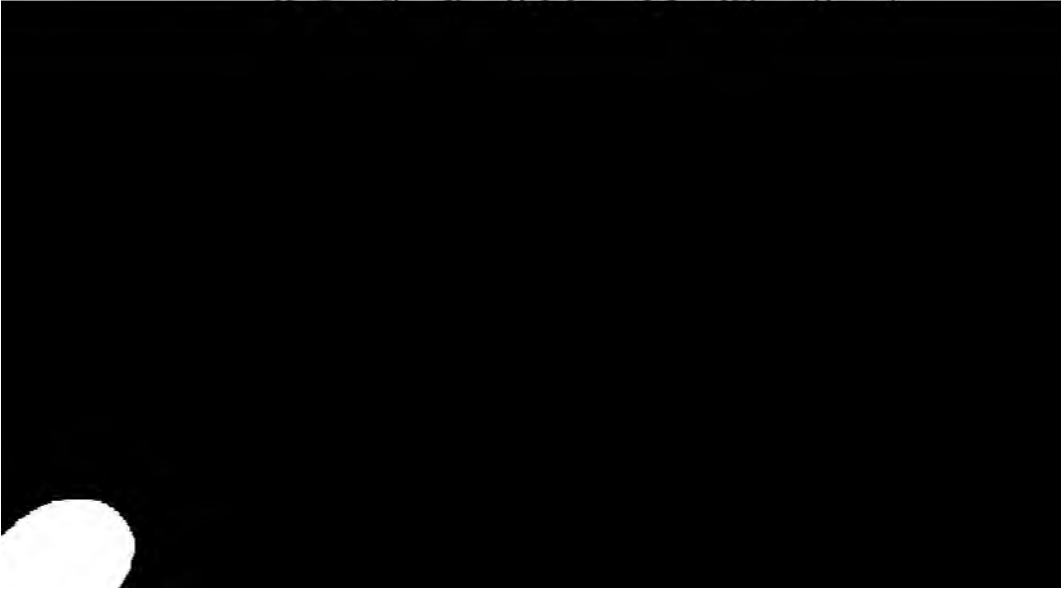
Edwin James, Jr., his only child, was born January 7, 1838. This son married Miss Fannie Johnson, much against his father's wishes. He was in the wholesale grocery business for some time and afterwards went as surveyor to Cheyenne with his uncle, Dr. Silas Read, Surveyor of Wyoming, where he remained with his family for some years, he and his wife finally dying there, leaving four children. Mr. C. G. Coutant, author of a *History of Wyoming*, writes me that Mr. James bore the reputation of being a very learned man, especially as an astronomer and civil engineer.

* He probably meant Germans. Fifty years ago it was a common expression to speak of the Dutch but meaning Germans, although there was a settlement of Dutch in that section of the State in the fifties.

Doctor James' wife was buried at Rock Springs, Iowa. She was a woman of talent and fond of society, which in his later days Doctor James did not care for. Mrs. Dr. Anna Richmond, a niece, now deceased, lived in St. Louis and knew Doctor James when he was a civil engineer under Silas Read, who was then Surveyor General. She told me that it amused the city folk from St. Louis very much to have Doctor James call for them in a cart drawn by oxen and take them to his home near Rock Springs. He desired to have Mrs. Richmond study botany. True to the instincts of the James family, Mrs. Richmond was a pronounced temperance woman. Mrs. Estelle D. Fogel of Ames, formerly of Burlington, tells me that she had a conversation with a neighbor of Dr. Edwin James at Rock Springs. This woman was then a small girl but remembers Doctor James as a philanthropist. He had the good-will of all of the neighbors. They called on him for treatment but he would never take any pay for the same. They knew nothing of the family. The lady remembers his help in the care of escaped negroes. In Denmark, he hid the negroes in a stone house, and in Burlington helped conceal them in a cellar. At night he would pilot them across the river, at one time taking them across in barrels. Mrs. James would give the children pies and cakes.

That Doctor James was a good husband I am confident from Dr. Wm. Salter's testimony and the following touching tribute paid to his wife in a letter to Dr. John Torrey :

Burlington, Iowa, Mar. 3rd, 1854.



nothing. It did not take me long to discover that it was not for me to "make my mark upon the age," and having settled that point to my own satisfaction I determined to make it on myself. I said, "I will rule my own spirit" and thus be greater than "he that taketh the city." "I will not love the world or seek to honors or possessions that the love of the Father may be in me and his peace rest upon me." Looking back across the chilling shadows of the evening and the more sunny tracts of middle and early life I see not much to regret in my course of inaction and passiveness as to the things of the life that is. What have I gained in relation to that to come? My condolence in the future has not been strengthened nor my hopes made more bright by what I have done, suffered and encountered here.

But as I feel myself approaching the chill and foggy domains of theology, to walk in which may and should be wholly distasteful to a true lover of nature like yourself, I will say no more about these things, unless it should happen that you, having had experiences, may be conscious of something in this line which might be valuable by way of exchange with an old and true friend and a lover of all knowledge and all truth, especially such as bears upon the interests and prospects of our higher and better natures.

As I am no longer bound to any one spot of earth by family ties (my only son is married and settled in business in Du Buque) it enters into my day dreams that I may yet go forth to gather weeds and stones and rubbish for the use of some who may value such things, and perhaps drop this life-wearied body beside some solitary stream in the wilderness.

In the meantime it would afford me the truest satisfaction to grasp your friendly hand once more or to be in the habit of frequent intercourse with you by letter.

Most truly yours,

E. JAMES.

BECOMES SURGEON OF THE U. S. ARMY. HIS WORK FOR TEMPERANCE.

Soon after his marriage Doctor James was appointed surgeon of the United States Army and was stationed at Ft. Crawford, now Prairie du Chien, then an important post. Mr. James H. Lockwood* in an article on the *Early Times and Events in Wisconsin* states that Mrs. Julianna Lockwood asked and obtained Doctor James' assistance in starting a Sunday school in 1825; the first one established in Ft. Crawford. His study of the Indian language began in that place. He did not, however, remain very long but was transferred to an-

* *Collections of the State Historical Soc. of Wis.*, Vol. 2, p. 168.

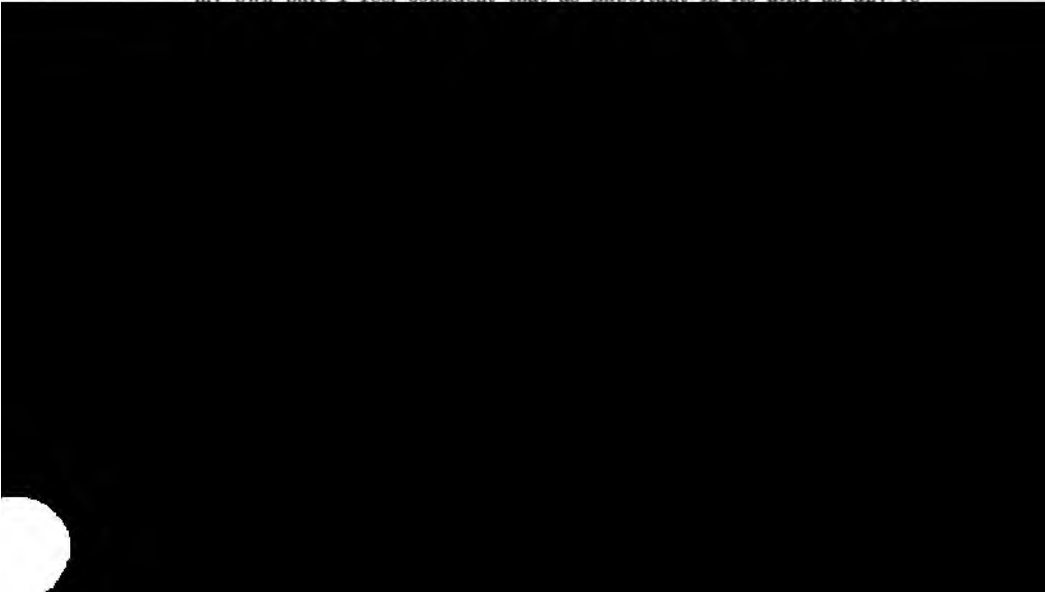
other post. While in Mackinac he became a great friend of the Chippewa Indians, into whose language he translated the New Testament, from Hebrew Chaldaic. As a result of his missionary work five hundred converts were made. In the tribe was a man named John Tanner, who had been stolen from his home in northern Ohio when five years of age. The Indians became much attached to him and treated him as one of their own tribe. He married one of the squaws and became very intemperate. Doctor James induced him to give up his bad habits and promised to write the story of his life and give him the proceeds, which he did. It was called *Tanner's Narrative*, and one thousand copies were sold.*

The following letter has to do with his work on *Tanner's Narrative*:

Mackinac, Aug. 10th, 1827.

My Dear Brother:

The Reverend Mr. Torrey, by whom I intend sending this letter, is the principal of the Mormon family at this place. He will remain but a short time in Albany and if it is convenient for you to show him any attentions you will thereby confer a favor on me. I have thought of sending by him thirty or forty sheets of Tanner's narrative, but it is doubtful whether you would have time to give them any examination before his return. I will thank you to send by him those I sent to Henry by Gen. Scott, that is, if he has forwarded them to you. If my labors meet with no interruption I shall have completed the narrative in less than a fortnight and there will be matter for about 300 open octave pages. One hundred pages more I shall wish to append to the work in the form of dissertations, notes, vocabularies, etc. I am doubtful whether you will think this work worthy of publication, but for my own part I feel confident that as important in its kind as any re-



some slight misunderstanding between them, originating perhaps in Tanner's imperfect comprehension of the English language, and possibly in some want of liberal and indulgent feeling on one or both sides. But for myself I am convinced that the man deserves favor and attention and his story is one which I think may be made worth telling. At all events send me the sheets you have with you and I will amuse my leisure time in revising and putting the narrative in a form for publication and if nothing farther can be done I can give it to him in manuscript and he may derive some benefit from it hereafter.

I enclose a receipt for a note in the hand of a gentleman from Mississippi who will be at Newport this fall and I wish you to forward it to Henry, as he will see Maj. Gooding when he arrives.

The following letter makes no statement about Tanner. The work bears the date 1830 and was evidently completed while stationed in Mackinac:

Saut Ste Mari, June 7, 1831.

My Dear Brother:

I have received the box of clothes, etc., all in good order and all highly acceptable. My wife is under very great obligation to our dear niece, Mrs. M——, for the great trouble she takes in shopping for us. Please say as much to her, also I find Mr. Olcott very obliging. If you think I am not troubling him too much I will send to his bank a small check on the bank at Utica for collection. I have read with the greatest satisfaction your very able address in the temperance pamphlet you sent me. You have done yourself very decided honor in that performance; it is read and admired here and will do much to promote the cause of sobriety and good order. I should have mentioned that you will please pay Mr. Lea \$65.00 from the above check, the balance will cover the \$11.63 which you advanced. I believe I enclosed \$20.00 with a memorandum by Mr. Halbert, but if I did not or if that should be too small for the articles called for I will remit again on hearing from you. The numbers of the Library of Entertaining Knowledge will not be required for the post library, our commanding officer thinking we are already encumbered with books. I feel very sensibly the privation of books, particularly professional, philological, and scientific, but my own means are too slender. How easily might our army in these piping times of peace become a nursery of literary talent—if our army would appropriate some of those surplus millions which are destined to become bones of dangerous contention to the purchase and support of libraries which should belong to *posts* and not as at present to regiments and detachments. The British army and navy contribute a very respectable item to their vast literature, but not so ours.

We have got up a Bible society here, and though only twenty-four hours old it has a fund of \$93.00, but its future growth must be very slow or perhaps retrograde. I took a deeper interest in it than I

should have done, but for the hope of directing the attention of the American Bible Society to the wants of our Indians. My version wants nothing but the press to give it at once a considerable currency among the natives. The temperance reform has reached them, twelve or more of the Indians residing here have made * * * marks to the obligations of our temperance society rendered in Indian. Drunkenness is almost unknown among them thus far this spring—at least I have not seen a drunken Indian for several months—last year I could scarcely have opened my eyes without seeing half a dozen. But I am very fearful this state of things cannot continue, the change is so great from drunkenness which has become second nature to them to their present entire sobriety. Mental cultivation should be assiduously applied to prevent a relapse. I distrust also the steadiness of some of those among the whites, whose influence must contribute to the entire success of this experiment. As ever, very affectionately,


E. JAMES.

He was stationed in Fort Brady, near Detroit, for a few weeks. The following letters were written from this post:

Fort Brady, Oct. 4th, 1831.

My Dear Brother:

I intend to send this by my friend, Dr. Houghton, who has been on a trip with Mr. Schoolcraft.* If you have an hour to bestow on him he can tell you something of us. And you will be pleased with his manner, as he is somewhat of an original. I will not miss so good an opportunity, as I am anxious that the intercourse should be somewhat more frequent than for some time past. At present I have not a great deal to say. I am pleased, however, to be able to say to you that I have succeeded in getting one pupil to learn Indian. This is the Rev. Mr. Boutwell, a missionary of the American Board to the Chippewa Indians, he is a man of education, an Andover scholar and, as I think, a good linguist and divine. He is to aid me in Hebrew



we have so many persons in the cities, but we conclude they can and will flee from the face of the pestilence.

We are under great obligation to you and Mrs. M— for your untiring attention to us. Please remember us both very affectionately to her and all our dear friends in Albany. As ever,

E. JAMES.

Ft. Brady, Jan. 26th, 1832.

My Dear Brother:

Your last is professional and I have profited somewhat by the hints it contains in a case of labor which was on my hands a day or two since. I have considerable of this kind of business to attend to and I sometimes regret that I get only experience for my pains, but even experience is worth the trouble I take.

The temperance reformation has been almost, I may say, quite complete in our camp. I believe there is no spirits in the camp except what is among my hospital stores, and as has been the case in other places, this change has been followed by a remarkable change in morals and manners. We have among the soldiers quite a number of professing Christians and numbers are now every day becoming serious. I hope and trust that you and myself and every one else who has labored in this cause may be rewarded in a similar manner. I also take great pleasure in informing you of a powerful movement of a similar nature among the Indians which still continues. If anything effectual can ever be done for this miserable race, now appears to be a most acceptable time. Their eagerness for instruction is very great and I have no doubt that the introduction of letters among them will be accompanied by as manifest and powerful effects as among the Sandwich Islanders, that is taking into consideration the unfavorable circumstances of their greater comparative poverty, their dispersed way of life and the ruggedness of their soil and climate. I am urging every means of influence in my power in order to get a printing-press and am not anxious to leave this station until I shall have done all I can towards printing the New Testament at least in Indian. The translation of the New Testament wants about twenty days work to be complete, and if my life and health and those of Mr. Tanner are spared until spring this part of the work will probably be finished. Could the Christian public be as well satisfied as to the benefit which would result from the printing as I am I have no doubt the means would be furnished and that more information may exist on the subject I am in hopes that some of the people interested in foreign missions will make us a visit next summer.

My philological studies, like all other studies, when long pursued, continue to interest me more and more, and I make by this mail an attempt to draw Mr. Gallatin into correspondence with me on the subject. If he repels my advances that circumstance is not likely to discourage me, and if I can find no one here who will hold on with me in

this business I must turn my eyes to the Vaters and Humboldts of the old world. What is to be the amount of the new national society got up in New York? I told Mr. Gallatin I should like to belong to it, and if they should not think me worthy to be numbered among the two hundred, I must say I think otherwise. Give me some account of this society in your next, its plan and object I have not been able particularly to learn from the newspaper notices I have seen.

I am writing before an immense backwoods fire of green wood and the numbness of my fingers reminds me of Vermont. You will perceive by my chirography that my hands will not warm in spite of all I can do. The spirit in Lab. stood this morning after sunrise at 38 below zero and the cold is still increasing aside from the dismal effect of a bright sun. The above is the lowest observed temperature at this place since I came here and I think the present will probably pass for an unusually severe winter, notwithstanding an unusual thaw of ten or twenty days in the early part of January. My pupil in Indian, the Rev. Mr. Boutwell, whom I have before mentioned to you, is to leave me in a few days to cross the woods to Mackina on snow shoes. He may as you will doubtless imagine anticipate a colder lodging than you and I have, one night among the Snow mountains. I have still a pupil in Hebrew, the commanding officer of this post, who, though about 55 years of age, has determined to read the Bible in the original, at least so much of it as was written in Hebrew. Will you not be induced to write me more frequently and to be more particular in relation to individual and family concerns? Would you think it advisable since I cannot leave my station that my wife and little boy (now more than 4 years old) should make a visit to the east next summer? Will she not find it easy to travel as far as Cape Ann without her husband?

As ever,

E. JAMES.

Doctor James was probably still at work on his Ojibway New Testament, as the date of its publication is 1833. Writ-

ing under date of June 22, 1822, the prospect of going to press



tion of our department has, as you have doubtless observed, passed both houses, accordingly I consider Philadelphia my station and my furlough will expire in August. In the meantime where shall I go and what shall I do? Cape Ann is cool and quiet and perhaps I shall think best to remain there. The proposition in Mr. D.'s note respects becoming an agent of the New York City Temperance Society. It has not yet been made, probably it may be difficult to see that it would be duty to relinquish the situation of an army surgeon at Philadelphia for so laborious and thankless a task as the contemplated agency. Of course you will not mention such a remark as this to Mr. Delevan, but say that I am under many obligations for the friendly interest he expresses. I will write this afternoon or before long to Mr. Brigham, but unless I can effect something of importance here it is not probable I shall go south at present. My wife and boy are in Cape Ann, thirty miles distant, and well when I left them a few hours since.

Camphor has risen here to \$4.00 the pound; lime is in great demand. The poor Irish are undergoing purgation and banishment. Yesterday 41 families were turned out of one house. Cities and communities like the ocean require to be tempest into purity and it cannot be doubted that the scourge which all are now dreading is sent for good and will do good, that is, to the whole. Write me often and direct at present to Gloucester, Cape Ann.

Affectionately, your brother,

EDWIN JAMES.

[To be continued.]

INDIANA ARCHIVES.—The State Library desires, and is grateful for, gifts of useful books, newspaper files, pamphlets, manuscript narratives, diaries, scrap books, maps, proceedings of church and educational conferences, catalogs, and original documents of every sort which may throw light on any phase of the history of Indiana. Materials often considered as not worthy of preservation are often difficult to obtain a short time after issue, and they often reflect the spirit of the time or event better than more elaborate treatises.

They are indispensable treasures in a good reference library when historians, biographers, statisticians, genealogists, and people in general are looking for everything, no matter how apparently trivial, that may give some information on the subject under investigation.—*Indiana State Library Bulletin*, August, 1907.

IOWA AND THE FIRST NOMINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

BY F. I. HERRIOTT.

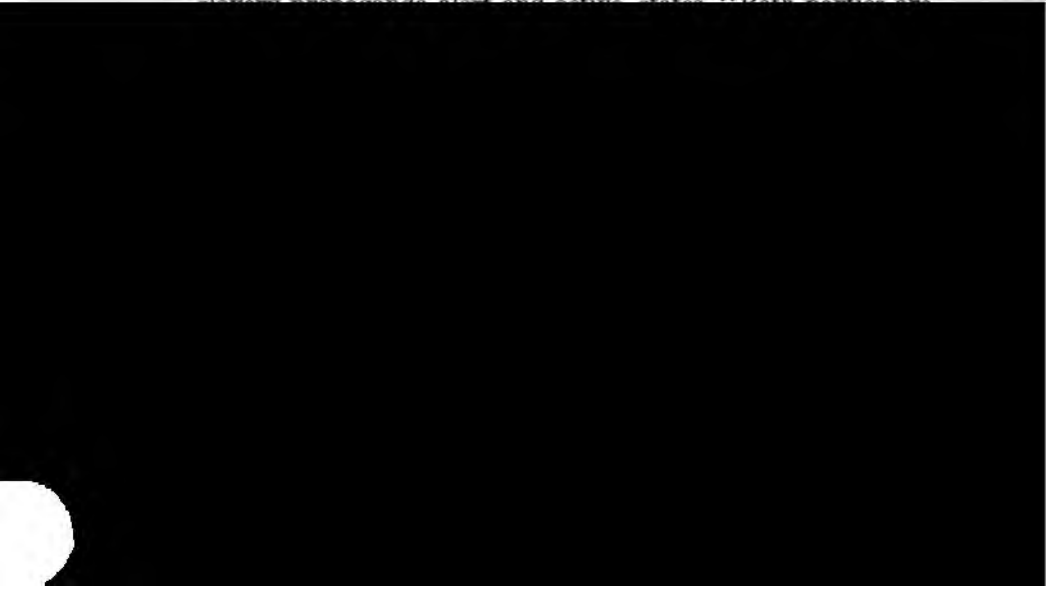
Professor of Economics, Political and Social Science, Drake University.

V.

CONDITIONS ATTHWART THE PLANS OF WEED, GREELEY, AND THE BLAIRS.

If one inquires of Iowans who were contemporary observers of political events in 1860 as to the state of the public mind respecting the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, he receives various answers. One of Des Moines' leading citizens who was an influential Democrat in the capital city in 1860, declared orally to the writer: "Everybody 'round here was for Mr. Lincoln." "Before the Convention?" "That's my recollection." Professor Jesse Macy, of Iowa College at Grinnell, writes: "Lincoln before the Convention was unknown or he made little impression. . . . Lincoln struck us as a surprise." An attendant on the Convention, Mr. J. H. Merrill, of Ottumwa, says that many from Iowa were present at Chicago during the Convention week and they were "almost without exception in favor of Seward." Dr. William Salter of Burlington, whose intimate associations with the State's dominant men were exceptional and his interest in anti-

slavery propaganda, also and stating states: "Both parties are



plain that the wise heads at Washington are fully as much in the dark about the prospects as the people in Aroostook."

Mr. Aldrich's observations were not only aptly put but accurate. In August, 1859, Congressman James M. Ashley, of Toledo, traveled in various States to ascertain the chances of Gov. Salmon P. Chase for securing the nomination, and he informed Charles A. Dana, then associate editor of *The New York Tribune*, that "the Northwest is quite as much for Chase as for Seward," but Dana wrote to J. S. Pike that he had "the best information to the contrary, particularly from Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and Indiana, where the Germans who hold the balance of power, are hot Seward men."¹ *The New York Herald*, on March 7, 1860, in forecasting the result at Chicago gave Iowa's entire vote to Cameron, and on May 16th its columns contained two dispatches from Chicago, one dated May 11th, asserting that "Minnesota and Iowa are for Seward," and the other, May 15th, declaring that a majority of the delegates of Iowa would go to Lincoln. In Greeley's *Tribune*, May 15th, the day preceding the Convention, its Chicago advices were "Iowa is discordant and uncertain."

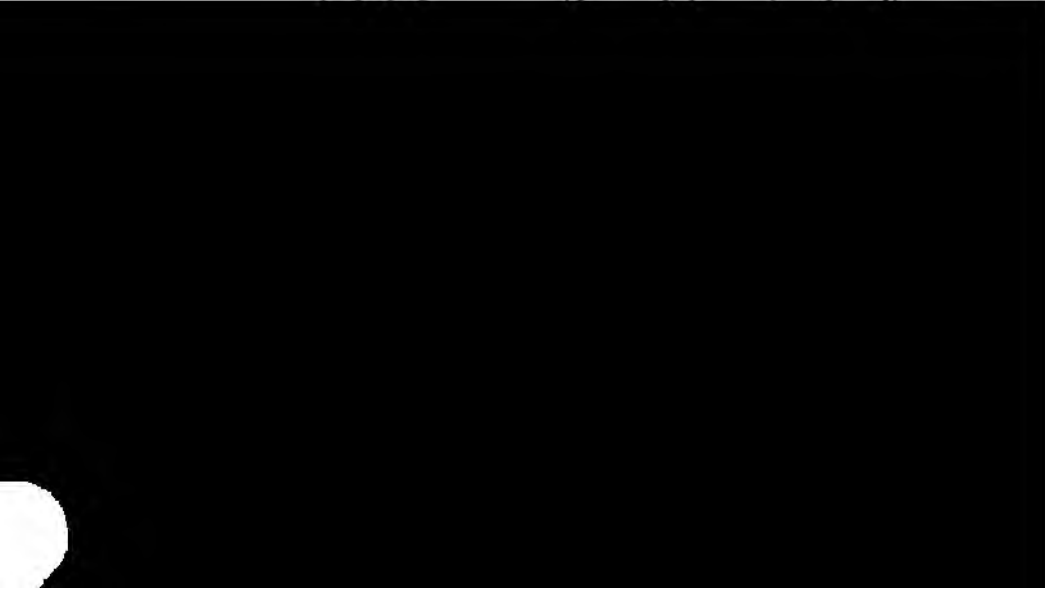
When Iowa was called on the first ballot for the nomination for President, Friday morning, May 18, 1860, the immense throng in the Wigwam was in a state of intense expectancy. William H. Seward, contrary to expectation, had received only 147½ votes, and Abraham Lincoln 100 votes, more than twice the number received by any of his competitors. The votes of the Hawkeyes, though few, were important, as their state was known to be within the sphere of doubtful territory, possession of which was essential to the party's success in the ensuing election. Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke, a lawyer and leader, of Iowa City, whose fame exceeded the borders of the State, arose as chairman to announce the vote of the delegation. He essayed to speak, but not a word was forthcoming. His effort was obvious but vain. The delegation sat by in astonishment and general wonderment began to be manifest. It was soon realized that Mr. Clarke was suffering from an impediment in his speech that was serious only when he was laboring under great excitement. Perceiving that utterance would be futile

¹ Pike's *First Blows of the Civil War*, p. 443.

or painful, a delegate came to his relief and announced that Iowa gave one vote each to Edward Bates of Missouri, Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Salmon P. Chase and John McLean, both of Ohio, two votes to Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and two votes to William H. Seward, of New York.¹ Each of Iowa's votes represented the concurrent preferences of four delegates, as her delegation numbered thirty-two.

This division of her vote among six candidates was noteworthy. No other northern or free State parcelled out its vote so variously as did Iowa. Connecticut, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island gave their votes to four candidates on the first roll call; all other States to three candidates or less. In three of the States mentioned the chances of victory for the Republicans in the Fall campaign were far from certain. It is interesting to note, and significant withal, that one southern or slave State, Kentucky, on the same ballot, gave her thirty-three votes to six candidates, favoring four that Iowa did, but voting for Wade and Sumner instead of Bates and Cameron. On the second ballot, Iowa gave her vote to four candidates, Chase, Lincoln, McLean and Seward; and on the third and decisive ballot, the delegation was still divided—Chase received $\frac{1}{2}$ vote, Lincoln $5\frac{1}{2}$, and Seward 2 votes.

Such marked and persistent division among Iowa's men must have reflected not only lack of harmony, due to stubborn personal preferences of the delegates, but sharp factional dissensions in the party's ranks in Iowa. Or that distribution of



Antecedent conditions as well as causes control results in politics; factions no less than factors; popular prejudices as much as persons. The action of Iowa's delegation at Chicago was an issue of the character, traditions and local interests of the people they represented. Iowa had been a State but fourteen years. Her corporate existence did not span a quarter of a century. Her population, consequently, was made up of pioneers. Public opinion among them consisted largely of the keen predilections or prejudices of their ancestral stocks, modified somewhat by the conditions of life in a frontier State. This complex of local prejudices and interests, together with the composition and strength of the political parties, must be understood if we are to appreciate correctly Iowa's action at Chicago. As neither the facts nor their significance has ever been directly pointed out, the conditions and various phases of the politics of Iowa in the formative days of the Republican party, prior to the pre-convention campaign of 1860, will be exhibited with considerable detail.

1. *Abolitionists Aggressive but not Dominant.*

The stand taken by Iowa, or rather by many of her men of "light and leading," against the aggressions of the Slavocrats between 1850 and 1860 has created the notion that abolitionism generally prevailed throughout the State. This belief is manifest in Major S. H. M. Byers' stirring account, *John Brown in Iowa*.¹ "His career during those Kansas days," we are told, "was watched in Iowa as no other State. . . . Iowa afforded him his first refuge place after contest. . . . It was across her prairies and past her loyal towns he wandered by day and by night carrying liberty for the oppressed. . . . He was so often and so closely connected with the State that people almost forgot that he was not an Iowa man."² Von Holst seems to give warrant for such an opinion when he says of the elections of 1854: "Iowa hitherto a veritable hot-bed of dough-faces now reinforced the little band of 'abolitionists' in the Senate by Harlan."³


¹ Byers' *Iowa in War Times*, ch. 1.

² *Ib.*, p. 18.

³ *History*, Vol. V, p. 78.

Sundry facts give color and substance to such a belief. Foremost, perhaps, has been the prominent roles played by New Englanders and New Yorkers in the development of the State. In politics there have been few more important factors than Fitz Henry Warren, James W. Grimes, John A. Kasson, Josiah B. Grinnell, Nathaniel B. Baker, Judges Asahel W. and Nathaniel M. Hubbard, John H. Gear, William Larrabee and Horace Boies. In the courts Charles Mason, Stephen Whicher and Francis Springer, Austin Adams and John F. Dillon, stand out. In railway construction Grenville M. Dodge and Peter A. Dey are pre-eminent. In journalism Charles Aldrich, Coker F. Clarkson, Clark Dunham, A. B. F. Hildreth, Frank W. Palmer, and Jacob Rich have been conspicuous; and in education and religious life Father Asa Turner and the "Iowa Band," George F. Magoun, Samuel A. Howe, Josiah L. Pickard, A. S. Welch and Henry Sabin loom up. Not all who came out of Yankeedom were abolitionists by any means, but abolitionism flourished most vigorously in New England and in the other States westward, peopled largely by her emigrant citizens. Furthermore, if not abolitionists in the strict sense of the term, they were almost certain to be stout opponents of the extension of slavery northward beyond the bounds set by the Ordinance of 1787 and the Compromise of 1820.

In the first decision rendered in 1839 by the territorial supreme court of Iowa, Chief Justice Charles Mason, speaking for the court, declared that the great Ordinance and the



There were soon numerous underground railway routes through Iowa—main lines, branches and spurs. Southern officers and slave catchers found their rights under the Fugitive Slave Law nullified by Iowa's "law breakers." Governor Grimes himself wrote Mrs. Grimes concerning the first case in Burlington, namely the seizure and trial of the slave "Dick," June 23, 1855: "I am sorry I am Governor of the State, for, although I can and shall prevent the State authorities and officers from interfering in aid of the Marshal, yet if not in office, I am inclined to think I should be a law breaker. . . . Judge [later Governor] Lowe was brought from Keokuk Monday in the night, and a writ of *habeas corpus* was ready to be served if the decision went against us."¹ Fitz Henry Warren exhibited a willingness to take the law into his own hands in that affair.² The exaltation of such leaders as Grimes and Harlan, the practical support of John Brown and his men,³ Governor Kirkwood's ringing message on the Barclay Coppoc affair, the extraordinary enlistments of Iowa's sons in the Union army—all these facts seem to indicate that abolitionism was rampant in Iowa in those troublesome times.

The careers of some of Iowa's delegates to Chicago in 1860 confirm the notion that abolitionism was prevalent. The chairman of the delegation—Mr. William Penn Clarke—early acquired fame or infamy as a "nigger worshipper."⁴ In 1850 he received 575 votes from the Abolitionists for Governor. He was a conductor on the Underground Railway. During the warfare in Kansas he openly and effectively assisted Eli Thayer and Col. T. W. Higginson in transporting "Liberty" men and Sharpe's rifles to Tabor to protect the

¹ Salter's *Grimes*, pp. 72-73.

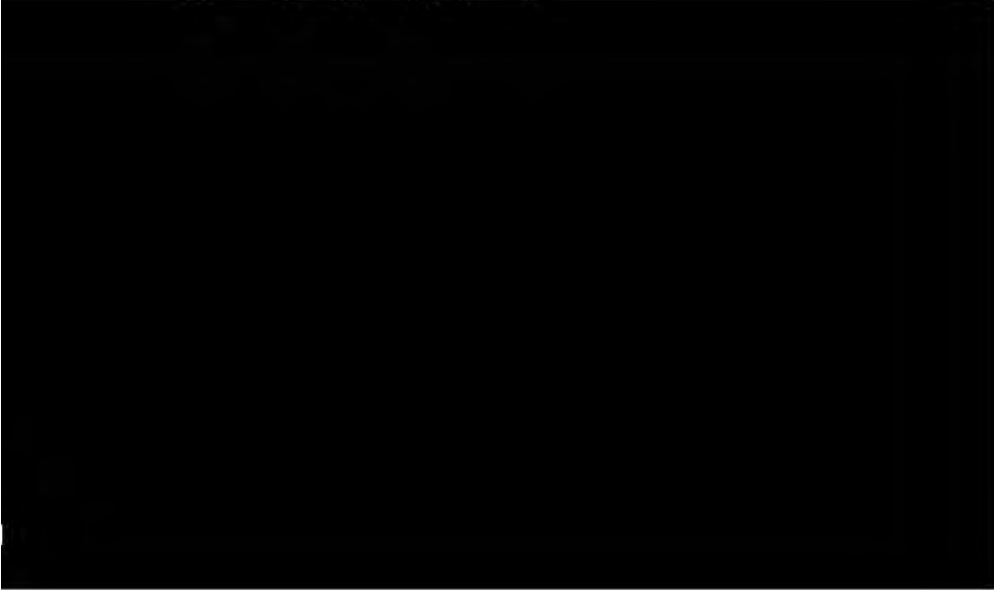
² *Ib.*, p. 73. Mr. George Frazee, Commissioner of the Court to hear the case, practically asserts that both Governor Grimes and Colonel Warren were "principal movers" in gathering "the crowd of sympathizers with the unfortunate fugitive." The abolitionist who was aiding "Dick" to escape was a New Englander, the celebrated botanist and historian of the Long Expedition, Dr. Edwin James, then living a few miles west of Burlington. See Frazee's article, "The Iowa Fugitive Slave Case," *Annals*, Vol. IV, 118-137.

³ Brown's company for Harper's Ferry was organized and drilled at Springdale, Iowa. Iowa furnished more men than any other State. See Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 2.

⁴ Upon the occasion of Mr. Clarke's failure to make his appointment to speak in the campaign of 1848 *The Gate City* observes: "Wm. Penn Clarke, candidate on the 'codfish and cabbage ticket,' concluded to skip our city in his tour of love for the darkies." (October 26, 1848.)

freedom of the New England emigrants beyond the Missouri. In the Constitutional Convention of 1857 the irrepressible champion of the proposal to strike "white" from the supreme statute of Iowa and grant the electoral franchise to negroes was a doughty New Englander, R. L. B. Clarke of Mt. Pleasant, Senator Harlan's home town. On the hustings another valiant champion of that measure was a dashing, brilliant son of Erin, Henry O'Connor of Muscatine, "the best Republican stump speaker in the State."¹ Mr. Jacob Butler, likewise of Muscatine, was another "Abolitionist" whose flag was up and his work on the Underground Railway known;² like his law partner, O'Connor, he, too, was regarded as one of "the ablest and most popular speakers in the state."³ Another Abolitionist in the delegation was the Rev. John Johns of Border Plains, Webster county, of whom more later. All five of those men "died in the ditch" at Chicago, voting for Wm. H. Seward for President.

The delegation contained at least three other "Black" Republicans of the notorious species, all of them trainmen on the Underground Railway: a State Senator, M. L. McPherson, then of Winterset,⁴ Mr. H. M. Hoxie of Des Moines, who had been an expert as to the best time and route for shipping "fleeces of wool"⁵ and was then secretary of the Republican State Central Committee; and Mr. J. B. Grinnell, whose home in Grinnell was a way-station where "old Brown's" chattels were rebilled and trans-shipped.⁶ John Brown wrote a part of his Harper's Ferry proclamation to the Virginians



in Ohio on account of their resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law, "an unchristian enactment"; bidding them "be courageous in enduring wrong," as their martyrdom would "call out and increase the humane and Christian opposition . . . to the whole system of American Slavery, with all its attendant evils, whether established by the General Government, sanctioned by the Supreme Court, or enforced by Federal Officers."¹ It further called for the raising of funds to aid the martyrs. The resolution was deftly worded, so as to avoid explicit encouragement of law breaking but the Association was sharply criticized; the Dubuque *Express and Herald* pertinently asking, "How can such a body of men find fault with any other body, whether composed of religionists or not, who may urge resistance to a law which they dislike."²

The most vigorous type of abolitionism within the regular Republican party organization developed or "broke out" in Muscatine county—a county that has produced many lusty radicals in the course of its history. In the mass convention in Muscatine, January 7, 1860, to select their delegation to the Republican State Convention, in Des Moines, to choose the delegates to Chicago, the committee on resolutions "recommended" Helper's *Impending Crisis* as a book "eminently worthy of an extensive circulation in this county." Coming close on the heels of the executions at Harper's Ferry in which Iowa was but too closely involved, the Convention could have exceeded its display of belligerent radicalism only by commending Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, for the burden of Helpers' book was "Slavery Must be Abolished."³ Such an action, as may be imagined, did not pass without comment. The attitude of Iowa in the great political contest then approaching was a matter of national interest for her political complexion was by no means clear or dependable. A correspondent of the *New York Herald* visited the State to determine the drifts of sentiment, his visit coinciding with the discussion pursuant to the Muscatine Resolutions. Writing from Iowa City, January 27th, he says:

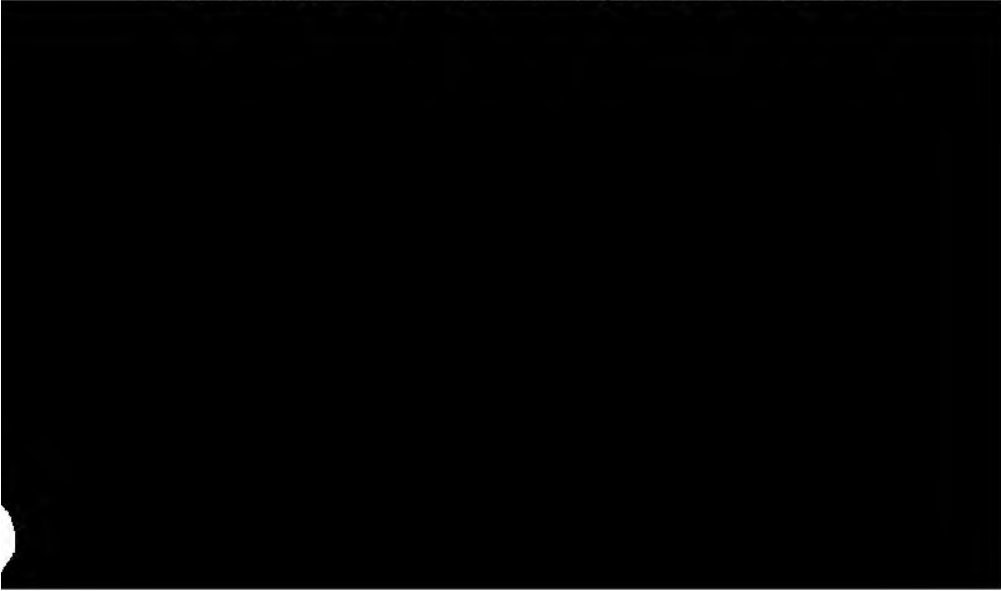
¹ See Proceedings in Muscatine Journal, June 6, 1859.

² Dubuque *Express and Herald*, June 10, 1859.

³ "As much was now said [1859] and written about Helper's 'Impending Crisis' as formerly about 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'; as much but in a different way," etc. Von Holst, VII, p. 8.

Next to Michigan, Iowa is the most completely and thoroughly abolitionized State in the Northwest; it is therefore not surprising that Brown here found practical exponents of Sewardism, or that Helper finds champions in the deliberative councils of the rulers of the State. Whatever dodges the Republican party elsewhere may resort to to cover their participation directly or indirectly with Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry or shield themselves from complicity with the circulation of Helper's book, the Republicans of Iowa feel themselves strong enough to throw off the mask and boldly avow their sympathy with the one and their approval of the other. . . . This [action at Muscatine] is the first public endorsement of the book I have yet heard of; but I have yet to meet with the first Republican here or elsewhere who has read the book who does not endorse it and recommend its circulation.¹

That the foregoing was a veracious report of impressions received we need not doubt, but the correspondent's conclusions as to the prevalence and potency of abolitionism in Iowa or among Iowa's Republicans in 1860 are not to be accepted. The Abolitionists made up a very considerable company in respect of ability, character and courage, but they did not preponderate, even in the Republican party, let alone in the State. They were, in the language of our military experts, out-flankers and skirmishers, or better, a flying squadron of remarkable efficiency, but they were not the main body of troops. The mass of the Republicans were strongly anti-slavery in sentiment and theory, but hostile only to the extension of slavery north of Mason and Dixon's line, the Ohio river and 36° 30'. They were not clamorous for abolition in States where slavery was fixed or formal.² There was no favorable echo of the resolution of the Muscatine Republicans so far as the



epithets: "Abolitionist," "Amalgamationists," "Miscegenationists," "Black Republicans," "Freedom Shriekers," "Nigger Thieves," "Nigger Worshippers," "Woolies," hurtle through their pages *ad nauseam*. Their editors see frightful visions of "white and negro equality."¹ The organ of Buchanan's administration, The Washington (D. C.) *Union*, pronounced Senator Harlan's sober presentation of the north's objections to the aggressions of the southern leaders in the Senate, March 27, 1856, "an elaborate defence of abolitionism" and declared the "one great object" in his speech to be to establish "equality between the two races."² The Republican leaders of Iowa were more or less indifferent to such flouts and taunts. Nevertheless one perceives an extreme sensitiveness to such accusations—the rank and file and most of the leaders constantly declare their hostility to abolitionism. Not only were they sensitive concerning the charge of abolitionism but the dominant men of the party realized that the potent fact chiefly determining the continuance or cessation of Republican supremacy in Iowa was no less dread of abolitionism than dread of slavery. This was a basic condition and assiduous attention thereto was imperative. The reason therefor, arose out of the ancestry of Iowa's population which we must understand if we are to realize the significance of the conduct of Iowa in the great Council in the Wigwam.

2. Southern Stocks and Prejudices Predominant.

The immigration prior to 1850 came chiefly from south of Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio river. Between 1850 and 1860 the settlers hailed mostly from southern portions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, the major number of which were either natives of, or descendants of pioneer emigrants from slave States who in their northern habitats were by trade closely affiliated with the southern peoples. There was at the same time a strong infusion of energetic northern stocks from New England and New York, and of their westernized descendants from northern portions of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and from Michigan and Wisconsin. The influx of the northerners reached high tide between 1855 and


¹ See editorial in *Express and Herald*, Dubuque, September 2, 1856.

² Quoted in *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, Muscatine, April 10, 1856.

1860. It is the popular notion that the latter elements predominated in Iowa prior to 1860; and, it is true, they were the energizing forces and aggressive factors in public discussion and in the "forward" or progressive movements of those days, both in industry and politics. But they did not constitute the preponderant political population.¹

Coincident with the incoming of the native Americans was a heavy immigration into Iowa of foreign born peoples, mostly Germans and Irish. In 1850 the native born inhabitants constituted 89 per cent. of the aggregate population and in 1860 they had declined to 84.2 per cent. Of the 21,232 foreign born in 1850, the Germans made up 7,152 and the Irish 4,885, both together constituting 56 per cent. of the total. In 1860 the Irish numbered 28,072 and the Germans 38,555, making 63 per cent. of the 106,081 foreign born citizens. The total population of Iowa in 1860 numbered only 674,913. It is manifest that if the political party in power in Iowa had a narrow margin of popular support the foreign immigrants could easily control the fate of the predominant party if, for any reason, the foreign born citizens were clannish and were aggravated into political concert by threatened partizan action adverse to their welfare.

The geographical and industrial distribution of the population was a potent factor in the politics of the *ante bellum* period. Speaking generally, the settlers of southern antecedents, although scattered thickly in the northern counties, prevailed in the southern half of the State and in the interior and



prairies with the latest devices in agricultural machinery. The foreign born population for the most part inhabited the counties bordering on the Mississippi. They were more numerous relatively in the northern counties than in the southern. Thus in 1850 the foreigners in Dubuque county constituted 40 and in 1860 42 per cent. of the population, whereas in Des Moines county (containing Burlington) they were only 15 and 21 per cent. for the respective decennial censuses. In Davis and in Dallas counties the foreign born amounted in each county to but 3 per cent. Even in Polk county, with the capital city, the native born made up 90 per cent. of the population.¹

The political, religious and social animosities and prejudices of such a mixed population under the conditions of intercommunication of those days were in the nature of things lively and various, and usually stubborn if not violent. The primary prejudices of the native stocks related to slavery. Their secondary prejudices pertained to the foreign immigrant.

The people of southern antecedents had left the south mainly for two reasons. Either economic pressure or hostility to slavery, or both, had induced them to emigrate. The major number had come north to better their economic condition. Many would have brought slaves with them had their ownership and control been feasible. A large proportion were not

¹ Below are given the returns of nativity for six counties on the Mississippi and for six counties bordering on the Des Moines river for 1850 and 1860:

Counties	1850			1860		
	*Native	Foreign	Per cent. foreign	Native	Foreign	Per cent. foreign
Allamakee	637	140	18	8,295	3,942	32
Dubuque	6,512	4,301	40	18,306	12,958	42
Clinton	2,077	525	19	13,565	5,373	28
Scott	4,452	1,520	25	19,706	9,253	32
Des Moines	11,008	1,955	15	15,530	4,075	21
Lee	16,514	2,287	12	22,747	6,485	22
Davis	7,180	71	1	13,296	468	3
Mahaska	5,885	103	2	14,109	707	5
Jasper	1,255	25	2	9,457	415	4.5
Polk	4,399	114	2.5	10,498	1,127	10
Dallas	842	12	1	5,082	162	3
Boone	667	68	9	3,999	233	5.5

* Includes some unknown.

particularly concerned about the matter, but were strongly pro-slavery in their sympathies. The more influential and industrious immigrants from the south, however, were decidedly hostile to the extension of slavery, because their adversity in their ancestral States was due to the pressure of slavery and the severe and relentless social discrimination against white labor. Small farming was almost impossible in the south and decent and independent social existence otherwise was so difficult as to be virtually impossible.¹ The agitation for the extension of slavery and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused the intense antagonism of such emigrants in Iowa. It was this element among the southern stocks that joined forces with the New England folk and elected James W. Grimes Governor in 1854, to the utter astonishment of the country at large.

Those who emigrated from the south because of personal hostility to slavery, were usually out-and-out Abolitionists. Such notably were the Friends or Quakers who for the most part came into Iowa in considerable numbers direct from Maryland and North Carolina or roundabout via Ohio and Indiana. The Friends church at Salem in Henry county was known far and wide as the "Abolition Meeting House"² and their settlement at Springdale, as already noted, was John Brown's rendezvous, previous to his attack on Harper's Ferry. There was at least one representative of the Quakers on the delegation to Chicago, Senator M. L. McPherson of Winterset. He was a North Carolinian and an Abolitionist. One of the most interesting men among Iowa's delegates at Chicago was Rev.

¹ The following extracts from an able speech of John Edwards of Charlton in the Constitutional Convention of 1857 illustrate the paragraph above:

"I am glad that I have an opportunity here of speaking upon this slavery question. Born in a slave State [Virginia], educated with all the prejudices of a slaveholder, I have been contending for twenty years with the institution of slavery. It was slavery that drove me from my native State." *Debates*, vol. II, p. 681.

"There were Democrats in my section of the State who took the ground that slavery was right; that it was a great moral and political blessing and that it ought to be extended throughout the Union." p. 683.

"... slavery is a foul political curse upon the institutions of our country; it is a curse upon the soil of the country, and worse than that it is a curse upon the poor, free laboring white man. . . . they have been driven away [from Virginia] in consequence of the degradation attached to labor as the result of this system of slavery. That is the reason that Virginia is becoming depopulated. . . ." p. 682.

See also speech of George Ellis of Davenport, March 2, p. 907.

² See testimony and arguments of attorneys in "An Iowa Fugitive Slave Case" *Annals*, VI, pp. 16, 27, 30-31.

John Johns of Border Plains, Webster county. He was a native of Kentucky, an old line Whig, a Free Will Baptist preacher and an Abolitionist. From his youth he had steadfastly promulgated his views, at camp-meetings and on the hustings, alike, in Ohio and Indiana before coming to Iowa in 1848.

But Abolitionists were extremists and did not dominate in Iowa's southern stock. The preponderant number was hostile alike to the extension of slavery and to its abolition and the resulting Negro Equality involved or dreaded. "We hated an abolitionist as we hated a nigger," wrote a pioneer preacher of Iowa to the writer a short time since.¹ Grimes was keenly alive to this stubborn prejudice in 1854 when he sought the suffrages of the people in his candidacy for Governor. He took pains to guard against the imputations of his opponents to the effect that he would echo "the mad-dog cry of abolitionism."² The heated debates in the Constitutional Convention of 1857, over the admissibility of the testimony of negroes in courts, their rights to property, their admission to the State and the Franchise, show us how deeply rooted and potent were the prejudices of the southerners in Iowa's public opinion. The proposal to strike "white" from the Constitution and thus admit the negro to the Franchise was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls. It obtained a majority in but two thinly settled counties, Humboldt and Mitchell, the former near and the latter on the border of Minnesota and the latter over fifty miles back from the river; receiving approximately, in the State at large only 14,000 votes out of 64,000 cast.³

The numbers and political significance of the southern stocks is indicated forcefully in the following observations of Daniel F. Miller a Marylander, who played a conspicuous part in the pioneer politics of Iowa from 1839 to 1860, being the first

¹ The correspondent quoted above, was born in Newark, Ohio, near the center of the State. His parents were Virginians. He told the writer once that he had almost attained his majority before he began to realize that people were or could be born elsewhere than in Virginia, if not in Ohio.

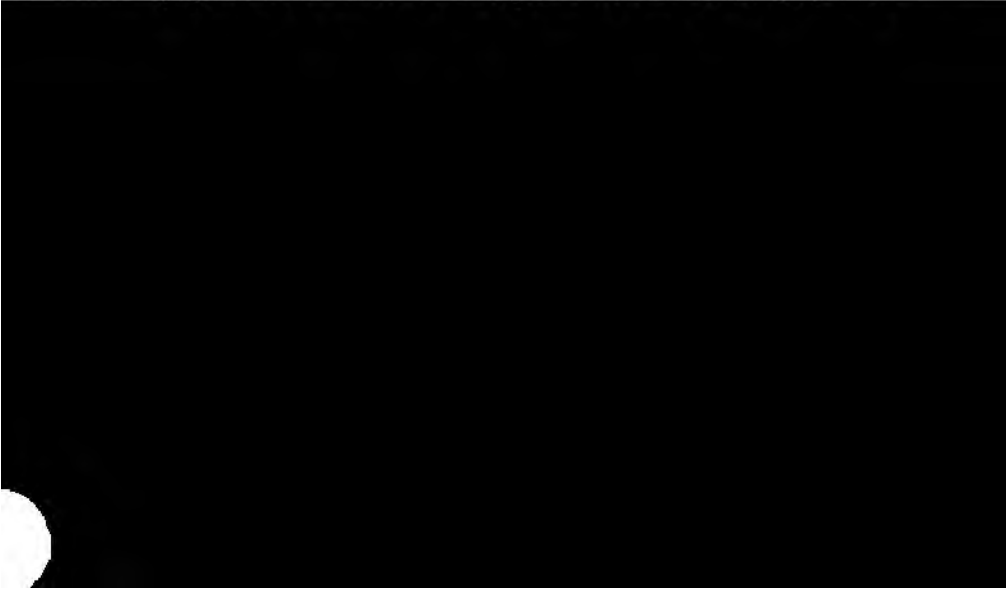
² Salter's *Grimes*, p. 49.

³ The exact figures cannot be given as the returns from some of the counties seem to be incomplete. See "Record of Elections" on file in the office of the Sec. of State.

Whig Congressman from southern Iowa,¹ one of the organizers of the Republican party and the party's first Presidential elector in the Fremont campaign. His communication was indited near the close of the Fremont campaign in 1856:

When you are informed, sir, that full one-third of all the voters in this (Hall's²) district were born in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and other slave holding States, and that in fact, a very large majority of this portion of our voters are the most ardent and active Republicans, and fought best for the defeat of Hall, you will be able to properly appreciate how much of the non-slaveholding portion of the South hate the extension of slavery, and will speak out their sentiments on the subject where they can do it with safety. Having come to Iowa to enjoy the blessings of free labor and progressive industry and by experience learned how superior are Free Institutions to those of Slavery, we never can nor will consent, but oppose to the bitter end, every effort of the Slave Oligarchy to extend Slavery over our Sister Kansas. The Missouri Compromise was the common charter of Freedom for both Iowa and Kansas, and, though the letter of it has been violated as to Kansas, you may rest assured we will maintain the equity and spirit of it at all hazards.³

Three instances of the potency of southern prejudices in Iowa's politics in *ante bellum* days may be cited because they exhibit in an interesting fashion the practical consideration given them by some of the men who played prominent roles not only in the struggles between 1856 and 1860 but at Chicago. Mr. Charles C. Nourse, a Marylander by birth, was one of the original advocates of Abraham Lincoln's nomination among the Iowa Delegation, and he ascribes the original impetus to his career in State politics to the adverse prejudices



You see a great number of the people of Davis and Van Buren counties had moved to Iowa when they supposed that region was a part of Missouri. In the contest over the boundary, the decision was largely in our favor. The fact that those southerners were in Iowa, did not, however, reconstruct their notions or ways of thinking. A Free Soiler to them was an abolitionist—an equal suffragist who proposed to force on us negro equality, both political and social. I worked manfully on behalf of French but I could not disabuse their minds and I was beaten. It was my defeat that induced my friends to make me Clerk of the House of Representatives in 1854 as a sort of compensation or consolation prize.”¹

Mr. John A. Kasson, although a New Englander, had spent six years in law practice in St. Louis, 1851-57, before coming to Iowa (hence his prior preference for Judge Bates for President in 1860). His political sagacity and capacity for generalship were so soon exhibited that in 1858, he was made chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. In the gubernatorial canvass of 1859 he planned an extended itinerary for Kirkwood in the counties of southern Iowa and writing him July 18th, about the pitfalls to be avoided and local prejudices to be dealt with, he advised: “You are doubtless informed that the population of the southern tier [of counties] generally, commencing with Davis and Wapello and west, embrace people from southern Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, some from Kentucky and Maryland, a few from Tennessee. . . . Those people are generally scared at the idea of abolitionism, particularly in Davis, Appanoose, Decatur and Wayne. It will be well for you to run your Maryland birth a little down there and to pitch into Democracy, the real agitators of the slavery question who have thrust it upon the country perpetually since 1844, and have refused to leave it quiet in any part of the country not even north of 36:30.”²

Six months later the correspondent of Horace Greeley’s *Tribune* writing from Des Moines (Jan. 9, 1860) concerning


¹ Interview with Mr. Nourse, *Ibid.*

² The citations above and others subsequently given unless otherwise stated are to be found chiefly in MSS., correspondence, memoranda and newspaper files in the Aldrich Collections of the State Historical Department at Des Moines.

Governor Kirkwood's Inaugural Address, a copy of which he had secured in advance of the delivery, observes: "His remarks on the John Brown matter are satisfactory and are all that could be expected from a Marylander by birth; a Democrat by association up to 1854, and a successful canvasser before the people. . . . His sentiments, I think, are reflective of the tone of feeling in the northwest in the Republican party."

4. *Smouldering Fires in 1857-1858.*

In the Constitutional Convention of 1857, the irritation and suspicions incident to Know-Nothingism, smouldered and on occasion blazed out. Members charged each other with adherence to its creed and with being beneficiaries of its propaganda. It is clear from the debates that the local groups or lodges were then inclined to affiliate or fuse as readily with the Democrats as with the Republicans, depending upon local conditions. When the Committee reported Article 3 on "Right of Suffrage," recommending almost no change in the preliminary residence required, Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke urged that the time be increased from six months to one year in the State and from twenty days to six months in the county. In his speech, we find a distinct echo of Senator Harlan's well known views. "Within the next ten years," he said, "it is more than probable that we shall have an influx of population into our State of those who have no interest with our people, and who will leave us when the public works [R. R.'s] are completed, which induced them to come here.



guarantee liberty of conscience and equality of rights," and they explicitly declare their opposition to "all legislation impairing their security."¹ In a practical way, they exhibited their solicitude by nominating Mr. Oran Faville as their candidate for first lieutenant-governor under the new Constitution, as a "compliment" due the many estimable foreign citizens in the party in the State. But despite their anxious care, the thing would not down. In Burlington, the election went "disastrously" for the Republicans. No less a notable than the brilliant Fitz Henry Warren was defeated in his candidacy for the legislature, because Judge Stockton wrote Clarke, "The Americans generally voted the Democratic ticket. This was caused in part by having a German on the ticket and by a great lukewarmness on the part of our friends."

In his last message to the General Assembly, in January, 1858, Governor Grimes urged the passage of a law for the registration of voters to protect the ballot box and to preserve the "elective franchise in its purity." He closed his recommendation with these significant observations: "With such a law, and with the strict and honest enforcement of the naturalization laws, we shall cease to see parties arrayed against each other on account of the birthplace of those who compose them, and every *bona fide* citizen will be secure in his just weight in the affairs of state. Without such a law, judging from recent events, it is feared that popular elections will become a reproach." The effort to secure a registration law was fruitless. The measure introduced was apparently very mild; "the odious section" (No. 13) merely required the naturalized citizen when challenged, to exhibit his papers to the Judges of Election. Its effect, however, would have been unequal. The opposition was intense. The passage of the bill was defeated under the leadership of D. A. Mahoney of Dubuque, who resorted to the desperate procedure of having the opponents leave the House of Representatives in a body, thus breaking a quorum.² In their platform that year, the Republicans were discreet—that is, silent. They denounced

¹ Fairall, *Ib.*, p. 44.

² See account of *The Herald of Dubuque*, September 21, 1859.

the Buchanan administration, the "infamous Lecompton Constitution" and with perfect abandon, insisted upon economy in the State administration and liberal appropriations for internal improvements.¹

The smouldering fires of discontent and suspicion, however, did not subside. Smoke was everywhere and flashes and spurts of flame were seen. Far inland, among the towns and settlements along the Cedar, Iowa, Skunk, Des Moines and Raccoon rivers, Know-Nothingism or antipathy to the foreign born was the animus of much discussion. The open advocacy of exclusion or of severe restrictions upon their political privileges was manifest although the expediency of avowing the purpose was felt to be doubtful. The two parties tacked and veered, each charging the other with subterranean alliances and fell designs. In Boone, Hamilton and Webster counties, the air was split with exploding charges and counter charges thrown by the highly suspicious patriots. The press bristled with such gracious references as "bog trotters," and "whiskey bruisers," "wooden shoes," and "beer guzzlers." "Freedom to the Nigger," and "Begone you dog!" to the foreigner were twin phrases that the Democratic press rang the changes on with great gusto.² "It is the same sentiment," continues the address to our "Adopted Citizen" that "gives a negro a vote in Connecticut and tramples your brethren in the dust for twenty-one years. For shame!"³

¹ Fairall, *Ib.*, pp. 46-47.

² *Ft. Dodge Sentinel*, September, 4, 1858.

This backfiring and bushwhacking took place in the western parts of the northern, or second Congressional District, comprehending nearly two-thirds of the State. That year the Republican congressional candidate was Wm. Vandever of Dubuque, who from 1856 to 1859 was pelted with the charge that he had joined a Know-Nothing Lodge in Dubuque, in 1856, becoming an officer thereof.¹ Evidently he suffered a change of heart, due either to deliberation or discretion or discipline, for French, Germans, Irish and Swiss swarmed in Dubuque. The suspicions of the Germans of Davenport, however, were not wholly allayed by his discreet and favorable utterances, for one of their most distinguished representatives, Hans Reimer Claussen, a one-time member of the German Parliament, demanded a more specific statement from Mr. Vandever. On September 8, 1858, he submitted and asked replies to the following questions:

"1. Are you willing, when a member of Congress, vigorously and with all your power to oppose any attempt to change the laws of Naturalization so as to extend the time of probation?

"2. As any legislative measures which prevent a naturalized citizen, after his naturalization for a certain length of time from voting, are equivalent to the extension of the time of probation, are you willing to act for or against such measures?"

Mr. Vandever forthwith replied (September 11th) explicitly: "In reply I have to say that I am content with the period now prescribed by law for the naturalization of persons of foreign birth, and were I a member of Congress, I should not hesitate to oppose any effort that might be made to extend the time.

County Convention in a resolution which was offered by the Hon. C. C. Carpenter. . . . Can you do it *Irishmen*? Can you do it *Germans*? Can you do it *Norwegians*? Can you do it *Swedes*? Will you lick the dust from the feet of your Tyrants? . . . Arouse! Awake! & &

(Signed) A Foreigner.

An examination of the files of *The Freeman* does not disclose any such statement as *The Sentinel* refers to. Mr. Aldrich informs the writer that it was not uncommon for his partizan critics in those days to suffer from delusions that induced them to assume that he must have said or probably would say sundry things alleged against him.

¹ *The Herald* of Dubuque, September 18, 1859, and the *Mississippi Valley Register*, of Guttenberg, May 26, 1859.

"In reply to the other inquiry, I have to say that I deem it peculiarly a subject for state legislation, but I am free to confess that when admitted to citizenship, I know of no reason why a man should be subjected to further probation as a qualification for voting. I certainly would not discriminate in this particular, between citizens of native and citizens of foreign birth."¹

5. *The Blaze over the Massachusetts Law.*

The inattention of the Republicans in 1858 respecting the status of foreign born citizens was not permitted in 1859. The subject loomed up so suddenly and hugely that neither leaders nor party managers were allowed to dodge or hedge or take to the woods. The Republicans of Massachusetts had by legislative act, proposed to increase the limitations upon electoral privileges of foreigners by adding two years to the probationary period. The prominence of Massachusetts in the Nation's affairs immediately made the measure a matter of keen national interest. Iowa was then or later fondly called "The Massachusetts of the West," because of the prominence of New Englanders and Puritanic principles in the State.

The Republican press of the middle and western States seems at first to have maintained silence as regards the enactment. In March a German, "An Iowa Farmer and True Republican," having looked "in vain" for "disapprovement of such a breach of plighted faith," and fearful that such silence meant approval wrote Greeley's *Tribune* protesting against the "unjust illiberal and offending conduct of the party in New England." He was not unmindful of the evils in elections and favored a "good registry law" based upon "strict equality" of treatment of foreign born. He urged that the naturalization period be reduced to three years but that the right to vote be withheld for two years. He did not blame the party for what was done in one State, but New Jersey was then apparently about to follow Massachusetts and "we have cause for suspicion" that the Republican party

¹ For the letters of Messrs. Claussen and Vandever quoted above the writer is indebted to Dr. August P. Richter, now and for many years past editor of *Der Demokrat* of Davenport. Dr. Richter's kindness and painstaking in the recovery of data in response to inquiries are but scantily acknowledged in this brief note.

"everywhere might attempt to treat us in the same manner as long as we hear not a single voice in our defense." He declares that "Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, New York and perhaps Pennsylvania can be counted Republican through the strength of the German Republican vote." If the Republicans think that they can ignore the just claims of the Germans "I will only remind them of the fact that Caesar's legions were smashed in the woods of Germany." His vigorous letter drew an editorial on "Naturalization and Voting" from Greeley who denied that the law of Massachusetts was arbitrary in purpose: it was "based on a sound principle but wrong in going further than the principle requires." The *Tribune* concurred in the writer's suggestion of naturalization after three and electoral privileges after five years.¹

Meantime the Germans of Iowa all along the Mississippi were aroused and became belligerent. They proceeded aggressively to discover and to expose the attitude of the Republicans towards the policy of the party in Massachusetts. They exhibited alike, good tactics and good strategy. Their reconnaissance in April took the form of a letter to the Congressional leaders. Three interrogatories were addressed to them which in substance were (1) Were they in favor of the laws of Naturalization then in force and opposed to all extension of the probation time; (2) Was it the duty of Republicans to "war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted between the native born and adopted citizens, as to right of suffrage; and (3) Did they condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature?² The prominent signers were Mr. John Bittman and Dr. Carl Hillguertner of Dubuque, Messrs. Theodore Alshausen, Theodore Guelich and Henry Lischer, of Davenport, and others of Burlington, Ft. Madison and Keokuk.


Senator Grimes first responded (April 30th) declaring concisely, the measure of Massachusetts "false and dangerous

¹ *N. Y. Tribune* (w.), April 16, 1859. For the citations given in the paragraph the writer is indebted to Mr. John F. Schee of Indianola, who courteously granted him permission to examine his file of the weekly *Tribune*.

² See Salter's *Grimes*, pp. 119-120.

in principle" and condemning it "without equivocation or reserve." Senator Harlan's reply (May 2nd) was an extended discussion of the matter in issue.¹ His letter was reprinted in broadside for general distribution, the author mindful, no doubt, that his re-election to the Senate would be a matter of lively public interest in January, 1860. Colonel S. R. Curtis of Keokuk responded (May 13th) at considerable length, but plumply saying "as to two years additional probation, I am utterly opposed to it." Mr. Vandever, answering (May 21st) was no less explicit, being opposed to any action adverse to the rights of adopted citizens under the laws then in force, and deploring the action of Massachusetts. He called attention to his letter to Mr. H. R. Claussen, written in 1858. It is not insignificant here that Abraham Lincoln's letter¹ (May 17th) to Theodore Canisius of Illinois was reprinted in *Der Demokrat* of Davenport, in which he expressed himself in clear, strong terms upon this issue, saying, "as I understand the Massachusetts provision, I am against its adoption in Illinois or in any other place where I have a right to oppose it."²

Meantime, Mr. John A. Kasson, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, who always could quickly distinguish a hawk from a handsaw realized the danger to Republican supremacy in Iowa imminent in the intense, belligerent feelings of the Germans and had acted. He and his confreres of the committee made public a resolution adopted by them April 18th, refusing all countenance to the Massachusetts law



INFLUENTIAL REPUBLICAN EDITORS OF IOWA 1856-1860.



JAMES B. HOWELL*
THE GATE CITY, Keokuk

JOHN TEESDALE*
IOWA STATE REGISTER,
Des Moines

CLARK DUNHAM*
THE HAWK-EYE, Burlington

JOHN EDWARDS*
THE PATRIOT, Chariton

THOMAS DRUMMOND*
THE EAGLE, Vinton

A. B. F. HILDRETH
THE INTELLIGENCER, St.
Charles

WM. W. JUNKIN*
THE LEDGER, Fairfield

ADDISON H. SAUNDERS
DAILY GAZETTE, Daven-
port

JOHN MAHIN
THE JOURNAL, Muscatine

FRANK W. PALMER
THE TIMES, Dubuque

JACOB RICH
THE GUARDIAN, Independ-
ence

CHARLES ALDRICH
THE HAMILTON FREEMAN,
Webster City

* Deceased.

ment among the Republicans. A bitter not to say virulent discussion was precipitated, that did not end until the close of the campaign in the Fall. In the first place, as the Democratic press was alert and prompt to point out, the action of the State Central Committee was adversely regarded by many Republican editors, *The Oskaloosa Herald* declaring that "the Committee have usurped its authority, and by its late pronouncement, compromises the Republican party of Iowa."¹ Simultaneously with the disapproval of the action of Massachusetts, such influential papers as *The Hamilton Freeman*, *The Muscatine Journal*, *The Vinton Eagle*² and *The Independence Guardian*, were advocating a Registration law which the foreign born citizens knew was aimed chiefly at them. In addition to these irritating causes, Senator Harlan's letter contained not a little that aroused criticism and recrimination. Instead of replying briefly to Messrs. Hillguertner, Alshausen *et al*, Senator Harlan discussed at length the general considerations involved, the evils of unrestricted immigration and the grave dangers possible in the future. More than this, he dealt with the problem of negro slavery as well as with the problem of naturalization and electoral privileges. One can find little or nothing in his discussion of the subject against which objection will lie on abstract or philosophical grounds. He was lucid, forceful and conservative and considerate of pros and cons, both as to the future and the present. There were evils and Congress and the States must some time deal with them. Nevertheless, he concluded by rejection of the action of Massachusetts. Still his letter brought upon him sharp rejoinders. The immediate cause, doubtless, was the fact that he was Iowa's senior Senator, whose term of office was about to expire, and he had already achieved fame at Washington. Further he was prominent in the Methodist church, a factor of no mean power in politics. The immediate causes of the debate his letter produced were the adverse inferences his critics could easily draw from his philosophical generalities. All persons "who possessed requisite virtue and intelligence" should be permitted to vote; but it was "very

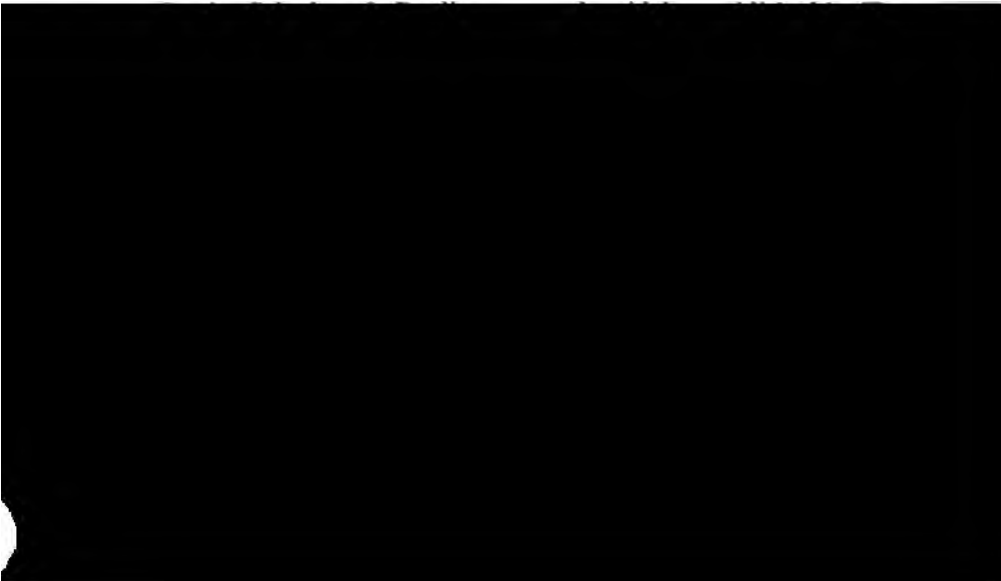
¹ Quoted in *The Express and Herald*, Dubuque, May 8, 1859.

² *The Express and Herald*, May 1, 1859.

difficult to establish a standard": "yet the latter object can be partially attained by indirection." He refers to "the mass of foreigners" and "mendicants, vagrants and criminals" that come with them. The rules of "restriction should be general" but "the length of the probationary residence must ever remain an open question"; for his mind's eye foresaw a time when "our relations with the hordes of Asia" might result in an immigration of a "crude population of millions," sufficient, if admitted to citizenship, to inundate our cities, and eastern and western States.¹

The criticisms of Mr. J. B. Dorr, editor of *The Herald* of Dubuque, were perhaps typical of those in the Democratic press. He commented caustically upon the generalities of Mr. Harlan's argument. If the matter should be treated as an "open question" and the best results were to be obtained by "indirection" he necessarily squinted favorably upon the measures of Know-Nothingism. "They [the Republicans] endeavor first by the false cry of 'nigger, nigger' to enlist against the Democracy the free white sons of Europe and when the Democratic party is put down they then turn round and call their allies 'mendicants, vagabonds and criminals' as Senator Harlan does. Nor is this all, but they proscribe them and place above them in political rights the greasy runaway negroes from southern plantations as Republican Massachusetts does."²

Perhaps the most telling arraignment of the Republicans anent the Massachusetts law was put forth in a letter of Col.



licans and Americans or Know-Nothings of New Jersey and New York in 1858 had made agreements to extend the probationary period and he cites Horace Greeley's approval. He then pays his respects to the letter of Mr. Harlan "Republican Senator, Bishop of the Methodist church *in spe*, some years ago a good Know-Nothing¹ and also a Negro Equality Apostle" whose references to the "mass" of foreigners, "mendicants," etc., and "Asiatics" arouse his ire. The Yankee and his blue laws, his Puritanism and Pharasaism receive his finest scorn. The "Maine law" he observes "like everything intolerant and despotic originated in New England. . . . The Republican party was started in New England, the brains, shoulders and head of the party are in New England. What New England commands the Republicans of other States obey."² He says pointedly that an ignorant negro after one year's residence in Massachusetts could cast his ballot, but a residence of seven years would be required of a Carl Schurz.

These arguments of *The Herald* and Colonel Schade were given added pith and point by the spread of a substantial rumor in May that plans were under way in some of the northern States to people the unsettled counties of northwestern Iowa with negroes, emigrants and refugees from the south. Fat was added to the flames when a Republican alderman of Keokuk flippantly asserted that "he would rather see Iowa colonized by negroes than by . . . Dutch and Irish."³

The alignment and morale of the Democrats were thrown into confusion, however, by a heavy rear fire from their own ranks and from the national citadel itself. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, on May 17th, had written Felix Le Clerc of Tennessee, that naturalization in this country would not "empty" him from claims of France for unfulfilled military service avoided by his emigration should he return to his

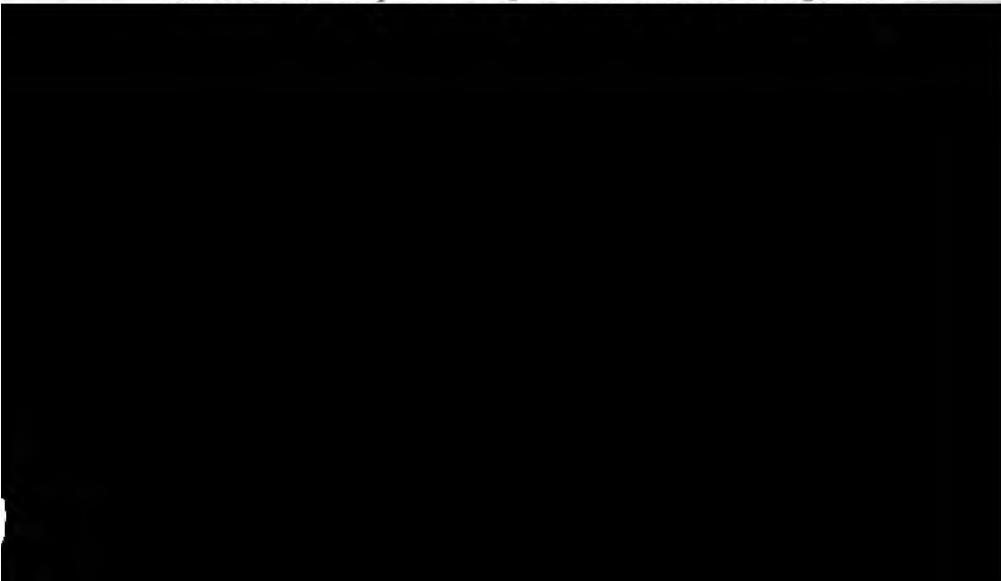
¹ Colonel Schade refers to a common charge that in 1856 at Dubuque Senator Harlan was initiated in a Know-Nothing lodge along with Wm. Vandever. See *The Herald*, Dubuque, on editorial page, May 26, 1859. Reasserted September 15th, in editorial on "German Republicans of Iowa and Wisconsin." The writer has seen neither denial nor proof of the charge.

² "What Massachusetts does is felt from the Atlantic to the Pacific," Carl Schurz on *True and False Americanism*, an address delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, April 18, 1859. See *N. Y. Tribune* (w.), April 30th.

³ *The Herald*, May 26, 1859, following of *The Keokuk Journal*.

native land.¹ The dismay and fury of the anti-administration Democrats was great indeed, for *The Herald* exclaimed that the "worst Know-Nothing in the country never conceived of a depth of humiliation for the naturalized citizen equal to that proposed by Gen. Cass as the organ of the Administration," and in most peremptory terms Mr. Dorr demanded the summary dismissal of Cass from the cabinet. With this protest, a call for a county Democratic convention was issued and the anti-administration forces asked to convene with a view to prevent an endorsement of Buchanan's administration at the approaching State Democratic Convention. The *Le Clerc* letter aroused the Germans as well as the French. Secretary Cass was bombarded with inquiries and protests. His letter of June 14th, to Mr. A. V. Hofer of Cincinnati, and his instructions to Minister Wright at Berlin (July 8th), in which he said the American government would protect naturalized citizens against all adverse claims arising subsequent to emigration were eagerly declared by the Democrats to be a "back down" on the part of the administration.² A close scrutiny of the two letters, however, shows that there was no inconsistency and no modification of Secretary Cass' first announcement—a view which was originally set forth by Wheaton and incorporated in the Bancroft treaty of 1868 with Germany, and to-day governs the diplomacy and foreign relations of the United States.³

In the midst of the discussion the people were afforded an illustration of the practical significance to Iowa's foreign born



gation and decision would be "proceeded with *in contumacium*."¹

6. *The Campaign of 1859.*


Notwithstanding the gross faults, misconduct and internal discord of the Democratic party with respect to its national administration the Republicans of Iowa prepared with anxiety for the campaign of 1859. There were grave reasons for alarm. The administration of Governor Lowe, or rather the general developments just preceding and during his term, were not satisfactory. It began with commotion over a serious scandal in the location of the capitol site in Des Moines. There had been scandalous mismanagement and perversion of the school funds in the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Multitudinous grief prevailed in the affairs of the Des Moines Navigation Company that aroused fierce animosities among the land claimants along the river. The air was split with charges of corruption in the location and construction of the Insane Hospital at Mt. Pleasant. The reformers of the party under the pressure of "progressive" ideas had augmented appropriations beyond income and a deficit or debt above the constitutional limit loomed up. So obviously haphazard and expensive was the State's financial administration that the Republicans confessed judgment. The legislature provided for a Commission of three to investigate and report upon the condition of affairs and recommend beneficial reforms. Of the three appointed by Governor Lowe, Messrs. John A. Kasson and Thomas Seeley were the party's members, the former being chairman. The dissatisfaction arising from the party's financial administration was intensified by the general industrial distress then prevalent as a result of the excessive speculation in private and public local improvements that collapsed with the panic of 1857.

Plus their financial worries the Republicans were anxious over "moral issues." The Germans were aroused by the action of Massachusetts and irritated by the restrictions of the enfeebled "Maine law." The Democrats in their State platform flatly declared the prohibitory law "unjust and burdensome in its operation and wholly useless in the sup-

¹ *The Express and Herald*, Dubuque, June 16, 1859.

pression of intemperance," and demanded its repeal. But the Republican party leaders knew that they dare not capitulate to such demands for they had already aroused the disgust of the extreme advocates of prohibition and further retrocession would cause a revolt among the militant Baptists, Christians, Congregationalists, Methodists and Quakers such as nearly defeated John H. Gear in 1877 in his first race for governor. Finally on the subject of slavery the party confronted many pitfalls. Although the outrages in Nebraska and Kansas had served their purposes well, from 1854 to 1858 there was a lull in the public indignation. There were many signs of reaction. Commercial interests were crying out against further agitation. The southerners in Iowa were as certain to balk at abolitionism as at the extension of slavery and they wanted to believe and for the most part inclined to make themselves believe that the matter could be dealt with as Stephen A. Douglas contended. Perhaps a sign of this feeling was the defeat of Mr. J. B. Grinnell in his contest for renomination to the State Senate in 1859. He had drafted the original address of the Republicans to the voters of Iowa in 1856. He was conspicuous as an abolitionist. The Democrats conceded that he was a man of "decided talents and energy." His defeat was therefore pronounced by them a rebuke to abolitionism.¹ It is clear that turn which way they would the Republicans were between Scylla and Charybdis.

The Democrats still felt that Iowa was normally within their own domain and its reconquest was a matter of more



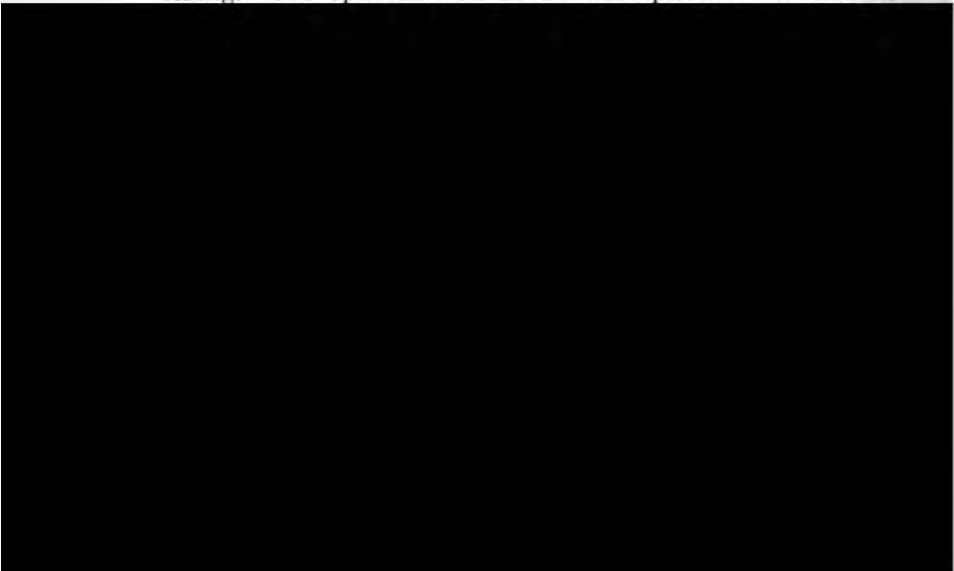
tion we may well suspect concert and pre-arrangement at Washington. The earnest, set purpose of the Democrats may be inferred from the charge commonly made and believed by the Republican leaders that a sum approximating \$30,000 had been raised chiefly in Washington and in Wall street, wherewith to carry the Democratic ticket in Iowa in 1859.

The Republicans realized the seriousness of the situation and they went about vigorously to deal with it. Governor R. P. Lowe desired a second term and normally would have had a second nomination accorded him, but the leaders knew that the struggle was to tax their party strength to the utmost. They therefore set him aside and chose Samuel J. Kirkwood, who had lived in Iowa but four years. Although at the time an unpretentious farmer and miller near Iowa City, and incidentally a State Senator, he had been a leader in central Ohio a few years before and here immediately demonstrated that he was a man of extraordinary mental and moral potency in public affairs, an adroit canvasser and a profound and straightforward reasoner. Governor Grimes regarded Kirkwood as the strongest all-round man in point of mental ability moral courage and physical endurance, in meeting the rigorous exigencies of campaigning in Iowa. The Convention "cordially" approved the action of the State Central Committee relative to the Massachusetts law and made a similar declaration. As an earnest of their sincerity Senator Nicholas J. Rusch of Davenport, who had worked in the legislature for the modification of the Maine law was nominated for lieutenant-governor. At that time he spoke English with marked difficulty and the critical partizan press had much sport over the fact. A paper in central Iowa with American notions which, in the main, supported the "plow handle" ticket¹ but could not stomach his candidacy, declared that Mr. Rusch "would not have received a nomination if it had not been for the course recently taken by Massachusetts in relation to the naturalization of foreigners. His nomination was made the salve to heal the wounded feelings

¹ Messrs. Kirkwood and Rusch were farmers and much was made of the fact at the barbecues and rallies.

of his countrymen in this State. His nomination was demanded as a condition of their future fidelity."¹

The debates of the ensuing campaign were sharp and strenuous. The Republicans were buffeted with charges of Abolitionism and Know-Nothingism, corruption and paternalism and recreancy to temperance. Kirkwood was charged with being a "renegade from the dark lantern fraternity" still tainted with the vices of Know-Nothingism.² The discussion of the temperance question became positively vicious in its virulence; not even the State's representatives in the United States senate were exempt from gross attack. The junior Senator was openly charged with being the owner of a beer garden in Burlington³ and the senior Senator was flouted as "the mighty Ajax of the Maine law" with the assertion made on the stump that he was found imbibing in a saloon in Des Moines at the Republican State Convention.⁴ An instructive illustration of the ticklish conditions that exasperated and taxed the wits of party leaders may be given. The incident occurred at the opening of the campaign. A Reverend Mr. Jocelyn, a Methodist minister, had been engaged to deliver a series of lectures, sermons or speeches upon temperance before the congregations of churches or members of temperance organizations in central Iowa roundabout Des Moines. He evidently viewed the prospects with a gloomy eye, and with reason. The reaction which follows drastic sumptuary legislation such as the Maine law had set in strong. The open as well as the surreptitious violation of



SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES.

CHICAGO CONVENTION, MAY 16-18, 1860



J. F. BROWN, Lawyer
JOHN W. THOMPSON, State Senator
MICAJAH BAKER, Lawyer

W. A. WARREN, Merchant
BENJAMIN RECTOR, Lawyer
E. G. BOWDOIN, Lawyer

rather vote for the most ultra-slavery propagandist than to vote for Rusch." His hard hitting had immediate effect. The Republican leaders both local and State became alarmed for grumbling and threats were heard among the faithful. The queries and rejoinders were: "Are Methodists to cut the ticket? We will make it *cut both ways*. If you cut Rusch we cut *Methodist*." The latter meant Senator Harlan. His friends were informed that if Mr. Jocelyn was not stopped the friends of the ticket supporting Mr. Rusch would fight Senator Harlan's re-election the following January.

The Republicans in all their party history in Iowa have probably waged no more vigorous campaign than they conducted in 1859. They had a phalanx of effective speakers, energetic workers and shrewd managers, many of whom afterwards gained interstate and national fame and some international distinction.¹ Their work was aggressive and well organized. They had a cause that was worthy of their enthusiasm. The aggressions of the Slavocrats both in and out of Congress "the unparalleled profligacy of the [national] administration, the enormous increase of expenditures from forty odd to over eighty million per annum and the consequent hard times"² under which the people were laboring made Buchanan's regime odious in the north, and discord sundered the strength of the Democrats in the State. Despite all these favoring conditions Kirkwood's majority was less than 3,000 in an aggregate vote of 110,048. Grimes' majority of 1,823 in 1854 represented a margin of advantage of 4.1 per cent. of the total vote, while Kirkwood's majority of 2,964 gave him a surplus of only 2.6 per cent. of the aggregate vote cast.

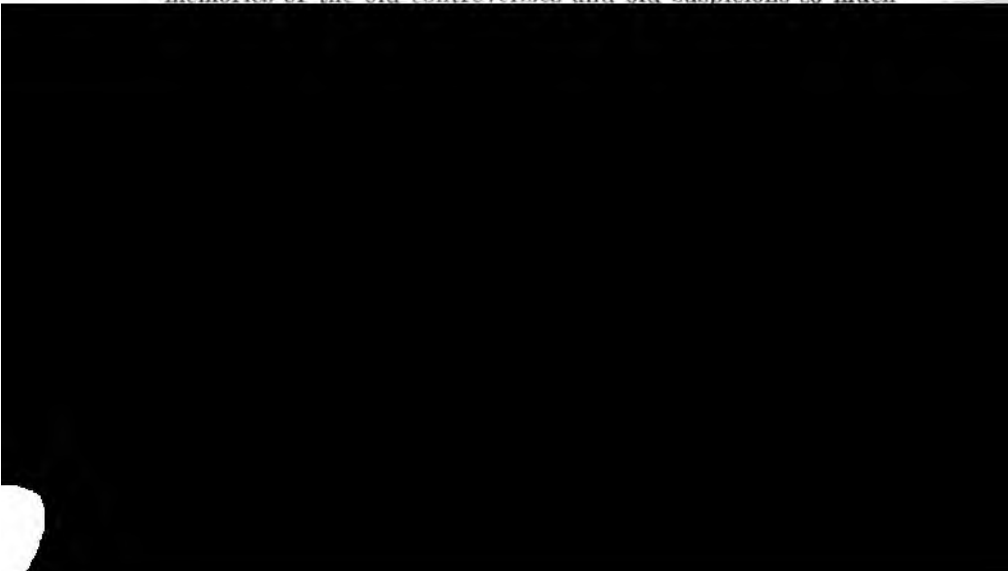
¹ Among the leaders earnestly supporting Kirkwood were Senators Harlan and Grimes, Messrs. Filtz Henry Warren, Samuel F. Miller, Timothy Davis and James Thorington, Francis Springer and Hiram Price, James B. Howell, Clark Dunham, John Teesdale and John Mahin, Addison H. Saunders, F. W. Palmer, Charles Aldrich, Jacob Rich and A. B. F. Hildreth, Col. Alvin Saunders, Wm. H. Seevers and James F. Wilson, Josiah B. Crinnell, Judge Wm. Smyth, Eliphalet Price and Reuben Noble, Samuel R. Curtis, Wm. Vandever, Charles C. Nourse and John A. Kasson, Grenville M. Dodge, Caleb Baldwin, Ed Wright and C. C. Carpenter, Henry O'Conner and Jacob Butler, Joseph M. Beck, John W. Noble and John W. Rankin, Henry Strong, George W. McCrary and Hawkins Taylor, Moses M. Cold, R. L. B. Clarke and James W. McDill, George G. Wright, Henry P. Scholte and James B. Weaver, N. D. Carpenter and N. M. Hubbard, John Edwards, S. A. Rice, W. P. Hepburn and William Loughridge, A. W. Hubbard and H. Clay Caldwell, William Penn Clarke and Coker F. Clarkson, John H. Gear and William B. Allison.

² Senator Harlan's letter last cited.

7. *The Conditions of Republican Success for 1860.*

In the immediate clinch and tug of politics it is not necessarily the merits of one's case or the justice of his cause that is decisive in securing the immediate favor of political leaders and party managers but rather the amount of trouble one can make or seem to threaten. Their power for immediate good or ill depends upon the ratios of two conditions: first the degree of balance or equipollence between the major parties, and second, the degree of co-ordination or unity found within each party's separate alignment. In 1855 the Democratic platform observed that the Republican party of Iowa was made up of "discordant elements." The assertion as we have seen was true when made and it was largely true in 1859-60. Holding their supremacy by a narrow margin of excess popular support Iowa's delegates at Chicago knew full well that Abolitionism, Know-Nothingism and Prohibitionism were subjects of very high potential, to be let alone so far as practicable if their party was to win a victory in the State in the ensuing campaign. Moreover they were like surly dogs not less dangerous because asleep or drowsy-eyed.

Before 1860 Know-Nothingism was an exploded fallacy and its methods or tactics but little approved or followed. The American party was also a moribund body made up chiefly of "dry hearts and dead weights" as the late Carl Schurz hit them off. Nevertheless, in January, 1860, native anti-foreign prejudices were still so pronounced in Iowa or the memories of the old controversies and old suspicions so much



ruary the remnants of the party sent Mr. William L. Toole, of Mt. Pleasant, an influential pioneer citizen of Iowa as a delegate to Washington where the Americans formulated the manifesto that constituted the ground work whereon was built the Constitutional Union party which nominated Bell and Everett in May following,¹—a ticket that perplexed the party leaders in Iowa in the ensuing campaign. Later in March, it was in Scott county that originated the movement that had some part, and there is reason to suspect a major part, in thwarting the well laid plans of Horace Greeley of *The Tribune* and the Blairs of Maryland and Missouri.

The political conditions in Iowa on the eve of the great contest of 1860 have been described with what may seem undue detail with a view to demonstrating four facts:

First, The political conditions in Iowa in 1860 were like those obtaining in what were called the "battle ground States," viz.: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois.

Second, Neither Horace Greeley's assertion (February 8, 1860) that like Ohio, Michigan and Minnesota, Iowa was "Republican anyhow," nor Senator Harlan's declaration at Washington (February 12th) that Iowa was "strong enough to carry *any good man*," was warranted; but on the contrary the statement of *The New York Herald* (March 7th) that "The States which the Republicans consider doubtful in the ensuing campaign are Pennsylvania, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana and New Jersey. The delegates, then, from these States hold a balance of power . . ."—was more nearly the correct forecast.

Third, In view of the narrow majority by which the Republicans of Iowa held control of the State and the pronounced inability of the party by reason of the bitter animosities of abolitionists and negro-phobists, the sharp antagonisms of foreigners and natives, the antipathies of Catholics and Protestants, and the contentiousness of the advocates and opponents of radical temperance legislation, the nomination of a candidate for President whose character or career would irritate or inflame those prejudices—prejudices in some cases

¹ See *N. Y. Herald*, February 21, 1860.

so deep set that as Kirkwood put it in February, 1860, "fire would not burn" them out—such a nomination would have been unwise in the extreme.


Fourth, If the foregoing conclusions are well-founded then Grimes' advice to Wm. Penn. Clarke in 1856, viz.: "We cannot elect Mr. Seward or any other old politician against whom there are old chronic prejudices which you know are hard to be conquered. To build up and consolidate a new party we must have men who have not been before the people as politicians"—was equally sound on May 18, 1860.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA,
ADMIRAL OF NEW ENGLAND.

BY REV. WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.


Upon the discovery of America, the new world was divided by the Pope between Portugal and Spain. The first attempt to make a European settlement on the continent was by Portugal in Brazil; the next, by Spain in Cuba, Mexico, and Peru; later, the French came into Canada; afterwards, England attempted to plant colonies on the North Atlantic coast.

In 1585, Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the noblest men in British history, fitted out an expedition to the Carolina coast,




Captain Smith was not originally at the head of the Virginia colony, but the mismanagement of those who were, and the hostility of the Indians, and the want of food, would have brought it to ruin, had not his bravery and skill averted the disaster.

He was born on the east coast of England, near the sea, of worthy parents, who gave him a fair education: In his ninth year the Invincible Armada of Spain was hovering over England, to dethrone Elizabeth, and bring the country back to Rome. Fears of a Spanish invasion were in many an English home. Amid the agitations of the time the boy grew up in loyalty to the Queen's supremacy, and in dread of Spain and popery. His parents dying a few years afterwards, he was indented as an apprentice, but disliking the situation, and longing for a roving and adventurous life, he ran away, and enlisted in the war of the Netherlands against Spain. In that service he acquired skill in the use of arms, and became adroit in horsemanship and feats of valor. Determined to see more of the world, he set out to try his fortune against the Turks, then the terror of Europe. Going through France, he embarked at Marseilles for Italy. All on board the ship were Roman Catholics but himself, and in a furious storm they threw him overboard as another Jonah, but he swam ashore to a little island, whence he was rescued by another ship, on which in a voyage up the Mediterranean he did valiant service in the capture of a Venetian argosy, loaded with a rich cargo, and for his share in the fight he received a good award. He next ventured into Hungary and Transylvania, and fought the Turks. He engaged in single combat with three of their captains, and cut off their heads. For that daring feat King Sigismund gave him a coat of arms, on which the three heads are indicated. He was afterwards captured by the Turks, taken to Constantinople and made a slave, but he rose upon his keeper, and killed him, and after many perils escaped to England. He wrote an account of these adventures, but they seemed incredible to many, and the grandiose style of his narrative subjected him to ridicule. A severe critical investigation, however, has led to general confidence in the veracity of Captain John Smith. He was now twenty-four years of



age. Inflamed with a desire to see still more of the world he went into North Africa, and afterwards served on a French privateer, about the Azores, in making captures at sea. Returning to England in 1606, he shared in the enthusiasm which then prevailed, to plant a colony in Virginia, especially to find mines of gold and silver, like those of Mexico and Peru. He put a little money into the enterprise, and joined the expedition which reached Jamestown April 23, 1607. He was one of the seven men named by King James as Council for the government of the colony. He was superior to his associates in capacity for the work, and they were jealous of him, and intrigued against him, but his resolute spirit and his native force of character triumphed over them, and he became the leading man in the colony. He explored the James river to the falls, where is now the city of Richmond, and was the first to trace the whole coast of Chesapeake Bay and the mouths of the Potomac, the Susquehanna and the Delaware rivers. He cultivated friendship with the Indians, but they proved treacherous, and he was taken prisoner by Powhatan, who was about to kill him, December 16, 1607, when Pocahontas, the chief's daughter, interposed, and saved him from the fatal blow. "She hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine," says Smith, and he paid many a glowing tribute to her noble act in after years.

After many miscarriages and much distress in the colony, Smith was elected President of the Council, September 10, 1608, and by his strong hand as Governor brought about some



disclosed. Smith lost favor with the "Merchant Adventurers and Planters" in London. He never returned to the colony.

In 1614, he sailed on a fishing voyage along the coast of New England. It proved a very profitable and pleasant voyage, and gave him a most favorable impression of the country. In the summer of that year he explored the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod in an open boat.

The next year he sailed again for New England, but was driven back by storms. In 1616, being assisted by "Merchant Adventurers" of Plymouth, who made him Admiral of New England, he sailed again, but was overtaken by pirates, and by a French ship of war, and taken prisoner, and after countless hazards in sea-fights with pirates and Spaniards, was landed in France, and got back to England.

Afterwards he attempted to get up another expedition. But the fates went against him. Former associates and helpers distrusted him. He appealed to Lord Bacon and others of the nobility in vain for assistance in planting a colony in New England. Henceforth he could only labor with his pen to awaken his countrymen to the great opportunity which New England afforded them to make new homes and gain wealth.

A Description of New England, which he published in 1616, with a map, gave a glowing account of the country, of its many good harbors, and the superior quality of the fish in those waters. Captain John Smith has the honor of giving to New England its name, and of being the first to call attention to its prospective advantages. His language shows the vision of a prophet and a seer. In a generous spirit, upon his own motion, and at his own expense, he gave his book and map a wide circulation among the hardy sea-going fishermen of Devon and Cornwall, and called them to advance the honor and glory of England, and the Protestant religion, in the new world, by removing thither. He not only circulated his writings, but prosecuted the desire of his heart by personal visits and talks among the people. He said that New England was not an island, as some had conjectured, but "stretching

into the main, God does know how many thousand miles, and one of the great empires that would one day arise."

He spoke of the pleasure, when men were tired of planting and building. they might find "to recreate before their own door, in their own boats, upon the sea, where with a small hook and line, by angling, man, woman and child may take divers sorts of excellent fish." He described the country as—

* * * a most excellent place for health and fertility, and of all the four parts of the world I have seen not inhabited, could I have means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than anywhere. The main staple hence to be extracted for the present is fish, which may seem a mean commodity, yet who will take pains and consider the sequel, will allow it well worth the labor. Who doth not know that the poor Hollanders, chiefly by fishing in all weathers in the open sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious, and by vending this commodity are made so mighty, strong, and rich, as no State but Venice is so well furnished with so many fair cities, strong fortresses, abundance of shipping, and all sorts of merchandize, as well as of gold, silver, precious stones, silks, velvets, and cloth of gold? What voyages and discoveries, east and west, north and south, yea, about the world, make they? What an army by sea and land have they long maintained, in despite of one of the greatest princes of the world; and never could the Spaniard with all his mines of gold and silver pay his debts, his friends, and army, half so truly as the Hollanders have done by this contemptible trade of fish. This is the chiefest mine, and the sea the source of those silver streams of all their virtue, which hath made them the very miracle of industry, the only pattern of perfection for these affairs; and the benefit of fishing is the *primum mobile*, which turns all to this height of plenty, strength, honor, and exceeding admiration.

In 1619, says the *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, Smith "offered



kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing so great a work."

Afterwards, Captain John Smith in his *General Historie*, 1624, wrote somewhat reproachfully as well as honorably, of the Pilgrim Fathers. He called them "Brownists, self-willed, whose humorous ignorance caused them for more than a year to endure a wonderful deal of misery with an infinite patience." To the last he kept up his faith in Virginia and in New England. He revised and republished what he had previously written. His writings are verbose, tedious, overloaded with vanity and pride and repetition, nor are his narratives always consistent with each other. These things have discredited the memory of one who is nevertheless entitled to honor as first and foremost in promoting the exploration and settlement of those portions of the continent where our national life began. He died in 1631, aged 51 years. His motto was *Vincere est vivere*. "The Epitaph to his Memory," in the church where he was buried in London shows the appreciation of his friends for his heroic character:

Here lies one conquered, who hath conquered Kings,
Subdued large territories, and done things
Which to the world impossible would seem,
But that the truth is held in more esteem.
Shall I repeat his former service done
In honor to his God and Christendom;
How that he did divide from Pagans three
Their heads and lives, types of his chivalry;
For which great service in that climate done,
Brave Sigismundus, King of Hungarian,
Did give him as a coat of arms to wear
Those conquered heads got by his sword and speare;
Or shall I tell of his adventures since,
Done in Virginia, that large continuence;
How that he subdued kings unto his yoke,
And made those Heathen fly, as wind doth smoke;
And made that land, being so large a station,
A habitation for our Christian Nation
Where God is glorified, their wants supplied,
Which else for necessities might have died?

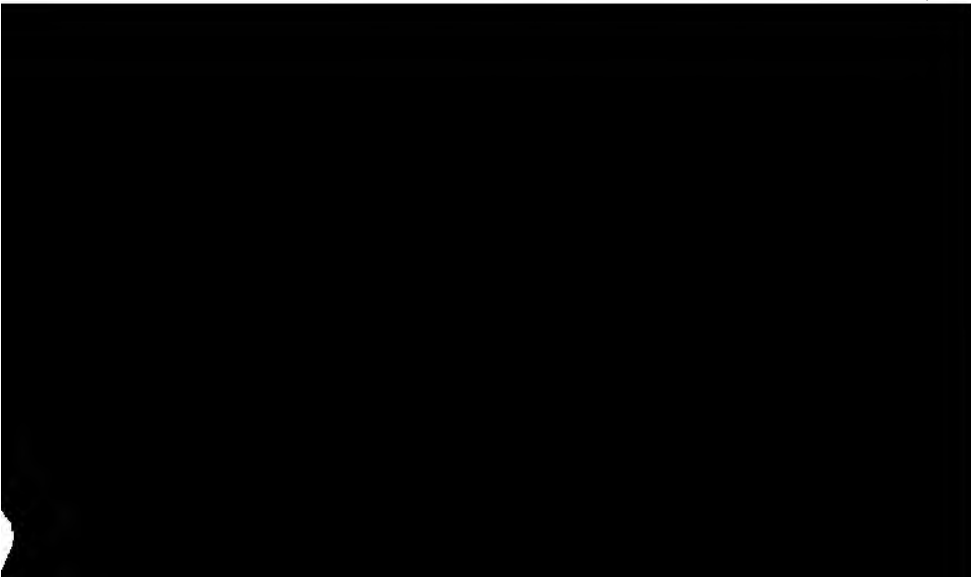
ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

THE ROSTER OF IOWA SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

Observing readers have been aware for many years that a demand was springing into existence for the publication of a roster of our men who served the Territorial, State or Federal Governments, in their wars either on land or sea. This agitation continued until it culminated in an act by the last legislature providing for the work. This act was approved April 10, 1907. It provides for the creation of a Board, to consist of the following persons: The Governor, Attorney General, Adjutant General, Curator of the Historical Department, and a soldier of the Civil War, to be appointed by the Commander of the Iowa Grand Army of the Republic. Col. George W. Crosley of Webster City was appointed the soldier member of the Board by Col. Charles A. Clark, Commander of the Iowa Department, G. A. R., the other members holding their places ex-officio. This Board assembled in the office of the Governor, May 25, 1907. Upon the organization of the Board Colonel Crosley was selected for the performance of this work, under the authority of the Adjutant General. He entered upon its performance at once and it is now in progress.

The roster, when complete, will fill many volumes, depending, of course, upon their size. It is to contain the record of each officer and soldier serving as above stated. The act pro-



pleted it is provided that 10,000 copies shall be printed and bound by the State Printer and Binder, and provision is made for their fair distribution and proper preservation.

Aside from their great measure of usefulness these publications are very necessary as an act of justice to the soldiers who sustained the credit of the State and Government on so many bloody fields. So far as we are aware this act has met with very general approval throughout the State, though we are of the opinion that the funds provided for it will prove insufficient. This, however, should cause no further delay. The work is universally demanded, and its completion will be hailed as a proud event in the history of Iowa.

SCARCITY OF HELP.

Newspapers in Iowa and throughout the country indicate a scarcity of help along all lines. The condition is measurably the same in Europe. This can not be held to be from an extraordinary season of the year, nor is there any considerable disturbance in trade or labor circles. History records many crises from both lack and overplus of labor, but perhaps every instance can more nearly than the present be accounted for from local or temporary causes. The "want ad" departments of the newspapers denote calls from our Government for men to fill up its establishments. Municipalities ask for men on their public works. Calls appear for from one man to bodies of hundreds of men. The latter are desired to aid in fulfilling the great contracts in Alaska and elsewhere, and often come from the bureaus through which much labor is obtained. True, the "situations wanted" departments are strong along the Atlantic seaboard, but these are for individual places and often reflect a desire for changed or advanced employment. Help both indoors and out is needed. Domestic circles, the trades and professions as well as the industrial fields appear in need of help. The farm, streets, carrying lines, mines and structural enterprises predominate in calls for male help, while households, hotels, shops, stores, offices and the trades call for female help or for both. In Iowa the situation has existed for several years and has been a factor in

an evolution in agricultural and in domestic processes. Devices and methods which have been exploited as "labor saving" have in fact been of necessity labor substitutes. Herewith is presented a showing from leading newspapers in and out of Iowa of the number of classified "help wanted" advertisements appearing in their respective editions of September 15, 1907.

E. R. H.

**"HELP WANTED" ADVERTISEMENTS APPEARING IN IOWA
NEWSPAPERS, SEPTEMBER 15, 1907.**

Newspapers	For Male Help	For Female Help
Burlington Hawk-eye.....	18	10
Cedar Rapids Republican.....	10	6
Council Bluffs Nonpareil.....	25	27
Davenport Democrat.....	24	5
Des Moines Daily News.....	63	36
Des Moines Register & Leader.....	92	50
Dubuque Telegraph-Herald.....	10	10
Dubuque Times-Journal.....	23	10
Sioux City Journal.....	62	40

**"HELP WANTED" ADVERTISEMENTS APPEARING IN AMERICAN
NEWSPAPERS, SEPTEMBER 15, 1907.**

Chicago Tribune.....	918	644
Detroit Free Press.....	297	196
Lincoln State Journal.....	81	52
Louisville Courier-Journal.....	75	25
Minneapolis Journal.....	197	70
New Orleans Picayune.....	103	71
New York Sun.....	21	5
Omaha Bee.....	133	59
Portland Oregonian.....	190	172
Saint Louis Globe-Democrat.....	797	328

their families, where the subjects are either too poor or have passed away. Asking Mr. Thwaites, the distinguished Secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, some years ago how he had managed to collect the nearly three hundred oil portraits which had found lodgment in their great historic art gallery, he instantly replied: "Beg them, Sir! Would you like to see my begging-paper?" and he handed the writer a small circular which he was wont to send out in soliciting portraits. This circular was terse, but very comprehensive. It asked that the recipient favorably consider the State's request for a certain portrait, and to its use, no doubt, is due most of the fine oil portraits now owned by the people of Wisconsin.

Our attention was directed to this subject upon reading in an Iowa City paper a statement to the effect that the State University has begun the very praiseworthy work of making a collection of the portraits of men who have distinguished themselves in building it up to its present proud position among the great educational institutions of the country. It is a good beginning. The list is as follows:

Christian W. Slagle, President of the State University. Painted by Charles A. Cumming, Des Moines; presented by Mrs. J. G. Berryhill.

Oliver M. Spencer, President. Painted by Miss Nicholls; presented by R. R. and A. A. Spencer.

John W. Harriman, Professor State University. Painted by Felix Schurig; presented by students of the College of Medicine.

Amos N. Currier, Acting President State University. Painted by Felix Schurig; presented by Class of 1905.

Nathan R. Leonard, Acting President. Painted by Felix Schurig; presented by Levi, Charles and Frank Leonard.

John C. Shrader, Professor State University. Painted by Felix Schurig; presented by the Medical Faculty.

Samuel Calvin, Professor and State Geologist. Painted by Felix Schurig; presented by Alumni.

Thomas H. Macbride, Professor State University. Painted by Felix Schurig; presented by Class of 1886.

Samuel F. Smith, Author of "America." Presented by his son, S. F. Smith.


There can be little doubt that this State University Collection will grow with the years. The pride of professors and students in their associates, during a college career, as well as a proper sense of justice, will prompt a gradual but con-

stant increase. And it is very likely to be enlarged by gifts in the direction of historic art. Its commencement is a fortunate event in the history of the University.

PUBLIC POLICY TOWARD HISTORICAL WORK.

Patrick Henry spoke of experience as alone illuminating his pathway; but with equal truth that may be said of states and nations. Change in the order of the lives of men and in the course of states and nations comes largely from considerations of experience. Men turn to memory for lessons of experience and to other men for counsel. States and nations consult their archives or those of other states and nations. Historical libraries and museums disclose the waste and error suffered in the past. They show the deviations in the course of a people. Such institutions inspire to better effort.

The providing of means for original research by future peoples has not long been a popular matter. When the bequest of James Smithson was available to this country Congress debated for ten years before deciding to accept the gift and lay the foundations of an institution which now illuminates our darkest places and fructifies our fields of scholarship. We observe with a sort of alarm that the chance might have fallen the other way and congratulate ourselves that the congressional delay and deliberation of 1846 is the spirit of



ment of historical work has come not from the people but from their servants in official relation to the work. Success in the accumulation of valuable materials, the favor with which such enterprises are looked upon by men of local prestige as well as those of wider influence and more extended fields of endeavor, together with the remarkable popularity the institutions meet at the hands and in the attentions of the ordinary, practical, substantial tax-paying citizen, invariably removes official discouragement and entrenches the institutions and their administration in the public policy. Even the educational institutions do not enjoy more freedom from the hazards of local or temporary conditions, and are no more remote from the exigencies of politics and personal design.

The policy of the State of Iowa seems now to be firmly and happily fixed in this respect. Ample equipment is almost complete for the present advantageous handling and accessible arrangement of our priceless historical library and the collection in art portraiture and museum materials. Financial support now corresponds with the favor these meet in the esteem of scholar and lay patron. They are rapidly attaining a high value in the estimation of the public. They will prove valuable stores for future Iowa peoples. This growth, from its origin in the mind of one man who had approvingly observed the similar efforts of other states and nations a quarter of a century ago, has been little short of marvelous. With popular support grown from a few scattered but far sighted patriots in editorial and legislative places to a purpose common in all the State's positive forces where none condemn, few gainsay and a rich and generous people highly applaud, the prospect is little less than inspiring. Former meagerness of official support is now changed to positive zeal in a large number of the best and strongest men in official life to discharge a recognized obligation to the present and future Iowa public.

E. R. H.


AN EARLY IOWA MILITARY HOSPITAL.—The following interesting item appeared in the *Iowa Religious News-Letter*, published at Dubuque, in the issue of August, 1862:

Having a leisure hour the other day, at Keokuk, we went with a friend through the different wards and apartments of the Military Hospital in

that place. Those of our readers who have friends there will be glad to know that though there are twelve hundred patients in the Hospital, they are all provided for with the utmost possible comfort. Perfect cleanliness is apparent throughout the establishment, and the building is so admirably ventilated that we perceived far less of the peculiar odor of the sick room than is common in connection with sickness in the best ordered private dwellings. Would that all the sick and wounded soldiers of the country were as well cared for as those at Keokuk.

PHINEAS M. CASADY.

After a long and successful business career, this venerable gentleman has resigned the presidency of his bank and retired to private life. When he first came to Iowa he settled in Des Moines, and has been very successful, participating in its business affairs, and proving himself in all respects an important element in the development of its varied interests. He was chosen to the State Senate in 1846 and served the regular term of four years. During the second session he was chairman of the committee on township and county organization, and had the honor to report the bill which named fifty counties in the western half of the State. Many of these counties bear names which were suggested by Judge Casady. He was in all respects a useful senator and the record which he made during his four years' service is one which will endure. He was also elected district judge, but he resigned before entering upon active service on the bench. He has seemed ever to prize the station of a private citizen devoted



NEW PUBLICATIONS.

McDonald of Oregon, A Tale of Two Shores, by Eva Emery Dye, Author of "*The Conquest*," "*McLoughlin and Old Oregon*." A. C. McClurg & Co. 1906. pp. 395.

The hero of this book was born at Astoria; the son of a Scotch Highlander, his mother a Chinook squaw. She died while he was an infant, and the care of him fell into other hands, so that he was reared not as a "Flathead," but with an oval face, and a fair countenance, and he was trained in the ways of civilization. His life of seventy years, 1824-94, covered those great events which transformed a vast and savage wilderness into the large and prosperous States of Oregon and Washington, with their enormous wealth of forests and mines and the fish industry and wheat-fields and orchards, and such cities as Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, and Spokane. He did a good part in the transformation, and also led the way in carrying the honor and fame of the United States to Japan, so that the book is "a tale of two shores," the western shore of America and the eastern shore of Asia.

The author tells the story of various Indian tribes, their manners, customs, and cruel wars, of the downfall of the Hudson Bay Company, the rush of American immigration, the building of wagon-roads and of the railroad over the mountains, of the establishment of civil government, of McDonald's going with a crew of shipwrecked Japanese to their country, establishing a school there, and preparing the way for the expedition of Commodore Perry, in the graphic and vivid style of her earlier books, noticed in *The Annals* (iv. 624, vi. 74). Accounts are given of the Indian chiefs, Seattle and Spokane, whose names remain in the cities which bear them. Romantic stories of love and adventure, pleasing and tragic, are interwoven in rapid sketches. Mrs. Dye had the opportunity of obtaining from McDonald his personal reminiscences, and has taken pains to verify everything that she has recorded. The history itself is more wonderful than any romance. It should be familiar to every American who feels a just pride in the honor and growth of his country.

W. S.

AN ANECDOTE OF GOVERNOR STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD.

It is an amiable, pleasant face that looks out from one of the portrait frames in the Iowa Historical Art Gallery which bears the name of Stephen Hempstead, second Governor of the State of Iowa. He held this position four years, following Governor Briggs, first Governor of the State, and preceding James W. Grimes, the third. In the days when Governor Hempstead flourished there were no railroads west of the Mississippi and even stage coaches had reached no very remarkable development. The good Governor resided in Dubuque and whenever he visited Iowa City, the then capital, he was accustomed to make the journey on horseback. On one of these journeys he stopped for the night at the little village of Cascade, some twenty miles from Dubuque. When he arose in the morning the very unwelcome intelligence was communicated to him that his horse had been stolen in the night. This was a great disappointment to Governor Hempstead, for good saddle horses were not very plentiful in that region. The legend does not tell how he

succeeded in reaching Iowa City, but he some way or other made his way. Soon after the executive office was opened the following morning a lady dressed in deep black sought and obtained admission to the Governor's room. He received her very kindly as was his wont, for his was a polite and genial personality. After she had taken the proffered seat, she removed her veil and commenced her story of grief and woe. She told the Governor that she had called to make a request for the pardon of her husband who was then languishing in the penitentiary at Ft. Madison. "Of what offense was your husband convicted?" queried the Governor. "He was charged," said the lady, "with stealing a horse." The Governor's countenance changed on the instant from a smile to as near a frown as he was ever capable of putting on. "Madam," said he, "I cannot pardon horse thieves. I know too much of those gentlemen myself," and while he listened to her story he was incorrigible as to letting the man out of prison.

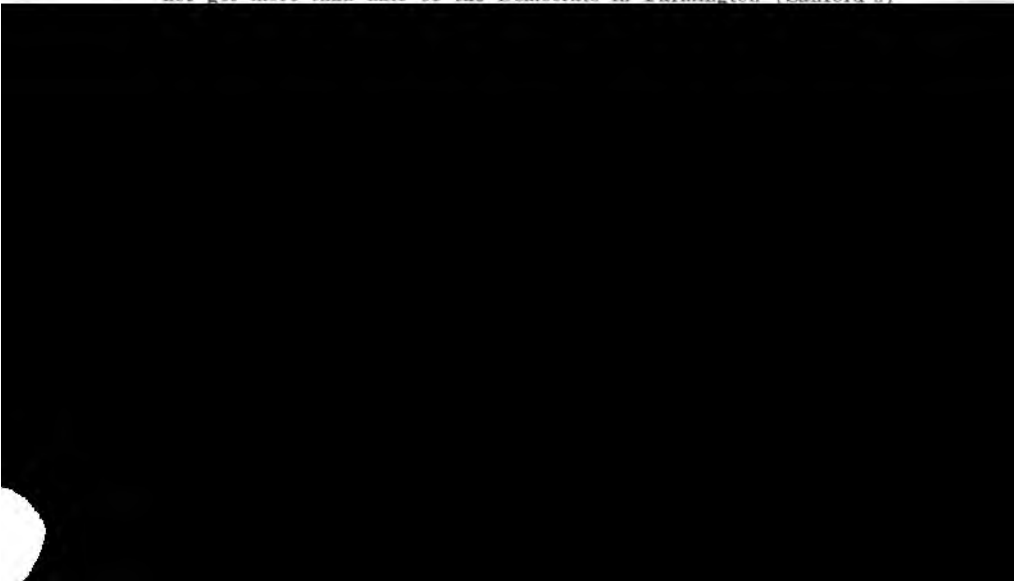
This story shows the meager means of transportation in those days and how a Governor could not avail himself of an automobile, or even of a stage coach, much less of transportation by railroad.

AN OLD POLITICAL LETTER.

An interesting letter was recently presented to the Historical Department by Mr. John M. McPherrin of Polk county, Iowa. The writer was an active whig of wide influence. The Knapp to whom he refers was Judge Joseph C. Knapp. Steele was a merchant and joint manager with Knapp. The addressees were the Van Buren county members of the Iowa House of Representatives, and Senate, respectively. E. R. H.

KEOSAUQUA, IOWA, January 18, 1847.

MESSRS: I have nothing more important to write than that the Dodge faction has got up a large petition instructing you to vote for Dodge. If you want anything more than the last election we will set up a petition to the reverse. There may be some Whigs on the petition who signed under false representations. I am of the opinion they can not get more than half of the Democrats in Farmington (Sanford's)



NOTABLE DEATHS.

JOHN GRIMES WALKER, son of Alden and Susan Grimes Walker, was born in Hillsborough, N. H., March 20, 1835; he died at Ogonquit, York Beach, Maine, September 16, 1907. He was of Scotch-Irish descent. Among his paternal ancestors were the defenders of Londonderry in the siege of that city, 1689, so graphically described by Macaulay (*History of England*, chapter XII). His mother, a daughter of John Grimes, was an older sister of James W. Grimes by thirteen years. She died in 1846, and the next year he came to Iowa, and lived with his uncle at Burlington, and upon a farm in the northern part of Des Moines county. Appointed to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, he graduated at the head of his class in 1856. His earliest sea-service was in the Pacific and upon the coast of Brazil. Promoted Lieutenant, 1858, he was instructor in mathematics in the Academy, 1859-1860. He served with Farragut and Porter in the opening of the Mississippi, in the capture of New Orleans, and the siege of Vicksburg. While in command of the ironclad Baron DeKalb on an expedition up the Yazoo river to destroy stores of the enemy, his vessel passed over a sunken torpedo, and was blown up, officers and men barely escaping with their lives. Afterwards, he commanded one of the naval batteries that aided in effectuating the surrender of Vicksburg. Subsequently assigned to duty on the Atlantic coast, he served in the Blockading Squadron, and assisted in the capture of Wilmington, N. C. Upon recommendation of the Board of Admirals, July 25, 1866, he was promoted to the office of Commander "for gallant and meritorious service during the War of the Rebellion." He was next assigned to duty at the Naval Academy under Admiral Porter, and in 1869 took the graduating class on the frigate Sabine for a course of instruction. At different periods he served on the Lighthouse Board and in the Bureau of Navigation. He rendered valuable aid in creating the new navy with all the modern improvements of steel plates, heavier guns, and applied electricity. He was intrusted with the command of expeditions to Central and South America and to Venezuela when there were disturbances in those waters, and the presence of a U. S. fleet was demanded for the protection of American commerce, and in the interest of pacification generally. Promoted Commodore in 1889, he commanded the White Squadron which by its gallant show, and the skill and drill of its manoeuvres surprised and delighted both sides of the Atlantic. Commissioned Rear-Admiral in 1894, and put in command of the Pacific Squadron, he guarded the interests of the United States and of the Hawaiian Republic as against British intrigue and the restoration of the ex-Queen. President Cleveland, however, took the part of the Queen, and ordered the retirement of the naval force from Honolulu. The matter excited much anxiety both in Hawaii and in the United States. It was investigated by the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs, and a naval force was returned to Honolulu; the authority of the Hawaiian Republic was sustained and its annexion to the United States duly followed, as advocated by Admiral Walker. Placed on the retired list in 1897, at the age of 62, he was made President of the Nicaragua Canal Commission, and in 1899 of the Isthmian Canal Commission. Walter Wellman said (*Review of Reviews*, April, 1904): "Much of the skillful handling of the Canal propositions, which led the French Panama Company to reduce its price from one hundred to forty million dollars was due to Admiral Walker. That was a delicate period in the negotiation; a mistake might have been fatal. Admiral Walker is probably more familiar with Canal con-

ditions than any other living American. He has made many trips to the Isthmus, and personally inquired into all the plans and routes. He has virtually lived with the Canal problem these last ten years. He is a strong executive and a diplomatic manager of men." In fit recognition of his qualifications and services, President Roosevelt placed him at the head of the Commission for the construction of the Panama Canal. With firmness and dignity of character Admiral Walker united suavity and grace in his manners, which won the admiration and esteem of all who were under his authority or shared in his counsels. An adept and master in the naval profession, his mind was large and generous, affluent in knowledge of the arts and sciences, and thoroughly versed in the history and public affairs of his own country and of the world. His distinguished and multifarious services in war and in peace have given splendor and renown to his name, and add to the honor of Iowa, as he always remembered that his original appointment to the Navy was "from Iowa." Closely related and especially endeared to the third Governor of the State, and of kindred independence and loftiness of character, their names enrich and ennoble the Annals of Iowa. The funeral of Admiral Walker took place from the home of his daughter, Mrs. Fitzgerald, in Boston, September 18, and from All Souls Church, Washington, D. C., September 21. The interment was in Arlington Cemetery with high military honors.

W. S.

ALFRED WILSON LEE, one of Iowa's most successful and best known editors and publishers, was born in Johnson county, Iowa, July 8, 1858; he died in Nottingham, England, July 15, 1907. He was a son of John B. and Elvira Lee. He obtained the rudiments of his education in the public schools of Iowa City, and at the age of 13 entered the State University of Iowa. He took two years in the preparatory department and two in the collegiate course. He chose journalism as his profession, identifying himself with *The Muscatine Journal*, his brother-in-law, Hon. John Mahin being editor and publisher. In 1885 he was admitted into the management of *The Journal*, and soon thereafter he married Mary Ingalls Walker, eldest daughter of W. W. Walker, of Cedar Rapids. Four years later he accepted the business management of *The Hutchinson (Kansas) News*. Soon afterward, he identified himself with the advertising department of *The Chicago Times*. In 1890 he bought *The Ottumwa Courier*, and later he erected a commodious and admirably arranged building and equipped it with new and costly

capabilities of young and untried men. Among the many sorrowing friends who followed his remains to the grave none were more truly mourners than the young men with whom he had been associated, to all of whom he had been a father and friend. Three children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Lee. His two sons, William Walker and Alfred William, died in childhood. His daughter, Laura Anna, now 11 years old, survives.

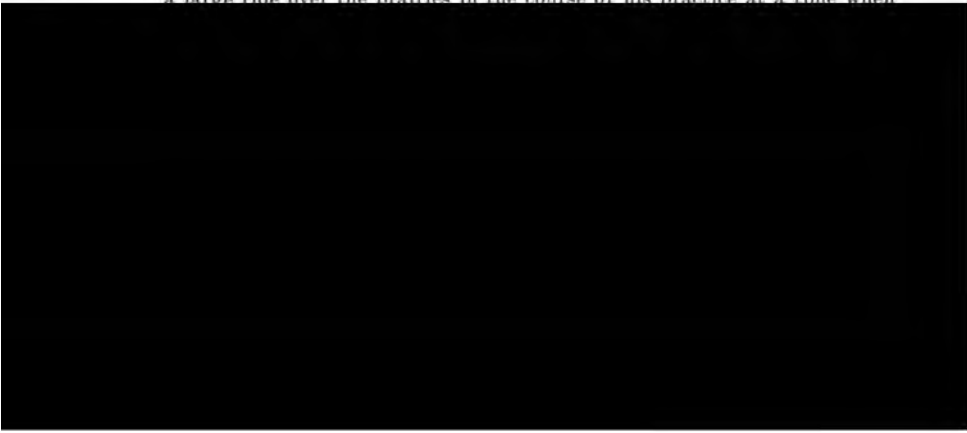
J. B.

JOHN HORNSTEIN was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., May 8, 1847; he died in Chicago, September 8, 1907. The family remained in Brooklyn until he was 7 years of age, when they removed to Washington county, Wisconsin. It was in this place that he afterwards learned the printing trade in the office of *The Washington County Democrat*. He worked for a number of years as a printer, when he returned to New York City and engaged in the printing business, entering one of the largest offices in that city. It is said to have been one which had most of the city work during the reign of "Boss Tweed." He was there some years, but came to Boone, where he settled in 1870, and entered the newspaper field. He purchased at first an interest in *The Boone County Democrat*, which up to that time had had a difficult struggle for existence. While he was but a part owner at the start, he soon afterwards purchased the whole business and succeeded in building it up to a respectable patronage and establishing it on a permanent basis. He was appointed postmaster of the city in 1896 to serve out an unexpired term. After serving out this term, he engaged in a real estate business, and also became connected with the Boone County Bank. He remained but a short time in the bank, when he removed to Chicago, where he entered into a partnership with his brother George in establishing an office for commercial printing. This was understood to be a very successful venture, and he remained in it until his death. He had been ill for some months and had been gradually fading away. Mr. Hornstein was a good printer, a versatile and able editor, a kind-hearted, excellent gentleman, and a useful member of the community. He was at one time mayor of Boone, when he performed a most important work in securing the services of Col. George E. Waring, Jr., the illustrious sanitary engineer, to establish a system of drainage which is not even yet completed. So far as this has been carried forward it has been very successful, and will probably ere long span the whole city. In all matters of public improvement Mr. Hornstein was ever ready to do his best, not only through the columns of his paper, but in every other possible manner. He was a man of many friends, and few, if any, enemies, dying widely lamented. On his removal to Chicago he presented, in durable binding, a file of his paper for twenty-five years, to the Historical Department of this State. That file and the volumes of *The Standard*, published in Boone during the same period, present the best history of the rise and progress of the flourishing city and county of Boone.

OLIVER MILLS was born at Gustavus, Ohio, February 1, 1820; he died at Lewis, Iowa, August 18, 1907. Harlow Mills, his father, was of pure New England stock and a native of Hartford county, Connecticut. He was a prosperous farmer and dairyman. In 1819 he emigrated to what was known as the West, and located in northeastern Ohio. That beautiful region was then known as the "Western Reserve." Here Oliver was born and grew to manhood. He attended the district school until he was 14 years of age, when he went for a time to Farmington Academy

to complete his education. When old enough to enter into business for himself he engaged in farming and stock raising, in which he was eminently successful. In 1850 he removed with his young family to Lee county, Iowa, and settled at Denmark. He resided there eight years, when he took up his residence at Lewis, Cass county, where he was destined to spend his days. His live stock operations were very large, comprising transactions in horses, cattle and swine. In this direction he became one of the foremost operators in Iowa. He was especially active and conspicuous in his efforts to promote the interests of the State Agricultural Society, and no man among its directors early and late has been more often referred to. He may be regarded as one of its most distinguished and influential founders. In enlarging its operations and extending its influence he had few equals and no superior in the State. Mr. Mills was a man of rare energy and earnestness in whatever engaged his attention. In the old days, before the Civil War, his home was a station on the underground railroad, where many fleeing slaves were fed and sheltered and sent on their way toward the land of freedom. In one instance he protected two slave girls for whom a reward of \$1,000 had been offered. Old John Brown shared his hospitality not long before his attack on Harper's Ferry. He was a man who was widely known throughout the State. He held several minor offices in his county, and was chosen a member of the Fourteenth General Assembly, representing the counties of Cass, Adair and Montgomery, then forming the Twentieth Representative District. During this session he served on the committees on Agriculture, Agricultural College, State University, Roads and Highways, and Federal Relations. He joined the Congregational church at the age of 14 and continued in its membership throughout his life.

MARK A. DASHIELL was born at Moore's Hill, Dearborn county, Indiana, October 2, 1826; he died at Indianola, Iowa, July 3, 1907. His father was a native of Baltimore, Maryland, and came to Indiana before it was a State. Dr. Dashiell was one of fifteen children, two brothers surviving him. He graduated from the Indianapolis High school, and later from the local academy in Indianapolis, and finally from the Medical College of Indianapolis. He practiced medicine two years in his native county. Dr. Dashiell resided in Warren county continuously for fifty years, and was a pioneer physician and also a law maker. He had a large ride over the prairies in the course of his practice at a time when



OWEN BROMLEY was born in the county of Denbyshire, North Wales, May 20, 1825; he died at the Home for the Aged in Des Moines, August 9, 1907. He came to America in 1852, but did not settle in Iowa until 1860. He thereafter resided in Fairfield, Jefferson county, up to 1874, when he removed to Des Moines. While a resident of Fairfield he was elected to the Iowa House of Representatives, serving in the Tenth General Assembly. He enlisted in the Union Army, but was rejected on account of his infirm health. In 1880 he was made Sergeant-at-Arms of the Iowa House of Representatives, in which position he served four years. Some time later—having been a practical miner for several years—he was Secretary of the State Board of Mine Examiners and Mine Inspectors. He was an ardent Republican, and as such served in the various positions to which he was chosen. He was an especial friend of Hon. James F. Wilson, member of Congress and U. S. Senator, and stumped the southeastern portion of the State in company with him. Mr. Bromley was an eloquent and effective speaker, and always a favorite whenever he appeared before an audience. As a public officer he was honorable and straightforward in all his dealings, and never subjected to any sort of criticism touching his character or capacity for efficient work. Some five or six years ago, his health having failed, his friends made a successful effort to place him in the Home for the Aged in the city of Des Moines. In this institution he spent his remaining years, and it was understood he was well pleased with the treatment he received. He was a favorite with all who knew him.

ROBERT McNULTY was born in Lebanon, Indiana, July 8, 1839; he died at his home in Des Moines, Iowa, August 9, 1907. The greater part of his youth was spent on a farm in Polk county, Iowa, where he worked very hard, and received little or no school privileges. When General Dodge's Fourth Infantry was raised, McNulty enlisted in Des Moines, in Company E, and served until after the battle of Kenesaw Mountain, Georgia, when he was discharged for disability. At that battle he was shot through the left wrist, the bullet shattering the bones in that portion of the arm and rendering it useless, excepting as he wore a strong leather bandage on it during the remainder of his life. The records show that he participated in thirty-six battles. He was a favorite janitor about the capitol and historical building until overtaken by a paralytic stroke, which rendered him unable to work. This occurred about two years ago, since which time he has been an invalid in his home, slowly passing away. He was very proud of his service in the army, and it especially elated him to be recognized by Gen. G. M. Dodge whenever he met him in this city. General Dodge could not remember his name, but always recognized him as one of his men. McNulty was a member of Kinsman G. A. R. Post and of the local lodge of I. O. of O. F., in which institutions he took great pride. While he was uneducated, he had read much, and in his later years was a man of very good information. The old soldier was esteemed by all who knew him.


GEORGE E. CLARK was born at Sangerville, Piscataquis county, Maine, March 19, 1845; he died at his home in Algona, Kossuth county, Iowa, August 12, 1907. He came of English stock and the ancestral home in revolutionary days was in Massachusetts Colony, many of the name being prominent leaders of the forces for independence. Mr. Clark's father

was a leading lawyer in Piscataquis county, and his four sons became strong members of the bar. All except the subject of this sketch, who was rejected on account of youth, fought in the Union Army. Mr. Clark taught school before leaving his native state, as also in the state of Illinois, whence he removed at the age of 20. He became a resident of Red Oak, Iowa, in 1866, where he engaged in teaching and reading law. On his admission to the bar, he entered the practice at Webster City with his brother, Charles A., at present Commander of the Iowa Department, Grand Army of the Republic. In 1869 he removed to Algona, where his home afterward remained. He was one of the strongest lawyers in northern Iowa. For a long time he served as the principal attorney for the Chicago, Milwaukee & Saint Paul Railway in that section. He was first married to Miss Lucy E. Hawkins, of St. Charles, Ill., in 1870, who died in 1875. He was again married to Miss Caroline A. Straw, of Maine, who survives.

ANTHONY LIMBACK was born May 18, 1834, at Wheeling, West Virginia; he died at Dyersville, Iowa, September 21, 1907. He was a farmer and banker, having been associated in the last-named business with Bart E. Linehan, whose sudden death is recorded elsewhere. Mr. Limback served Dubuque county in the Iowa House of Representatives in the Twenty-second General Assembly. He had also held several local offices in Dyersville, and was a progressive and public-spirited man.

BART E. LINEHAN was born in Dubuque, Iowa, June 11, 1853; he died in Memphis, Tenn., July 22, 1907. He became an active and successful business man, chiefly interested in water transportation and kindred enterprises. He was a brother of the late Bishop Lenihan, of Cheyenne, Wyoming; and of Bishop Lenihan of Great Falls, Montana. A few days before his sudden death he had unveiled fine portraits of these two bishops in the Iowa Historical Art Gallery at Des Moines.

AARON CUSTER was born in Pennsylvania, in 1845; he died at his home in Monroe, Iowa, August 18, 1907. He came to Iowa in 1868 and was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives in the Twenty-first







THIRD SERIES.

VOL. VIII. NO. 4.

JANUARY, 1908.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE
HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

CHARLES ALDRICH, Curator.

PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR. SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS.

DES MOINES, IOWA.



ANNALS OF IOWA.

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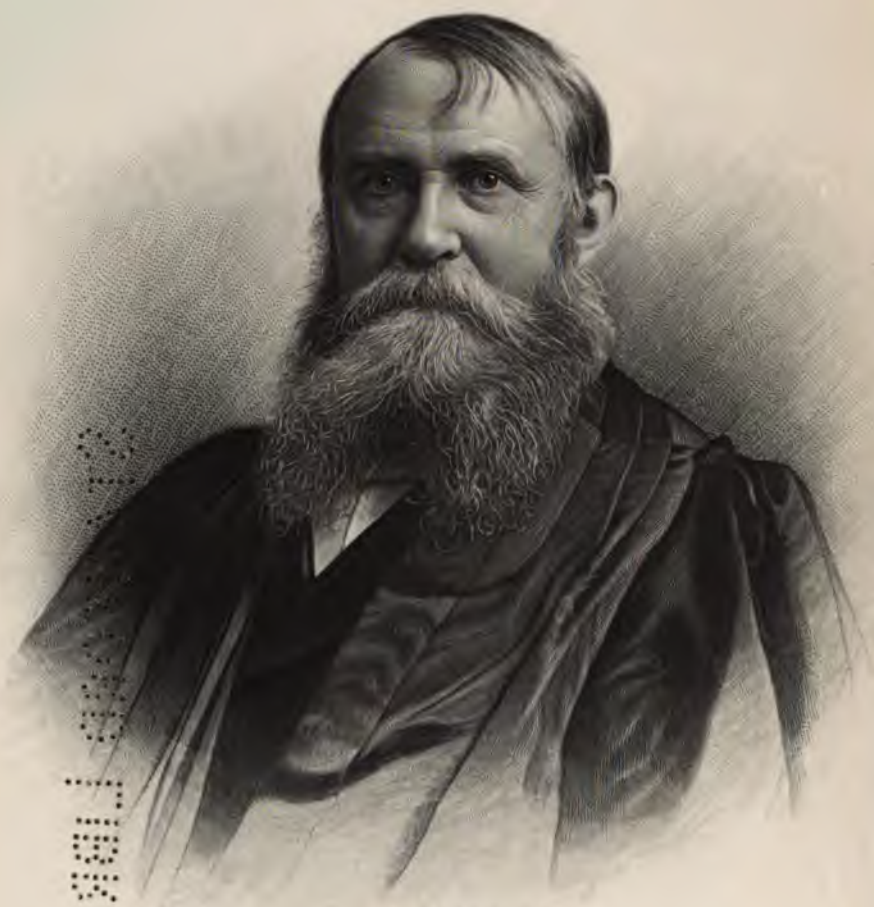
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Eng. by J. C. Butler Co. N.Y.

Yours Truly
Henry C. Caldwell



Yours Truly
Henry C. Caldwell

ANNALS OF IOWA.

Vol. VIII, No. 1. DES MOINES, IOWA, JANUARY, 1888. 37 STILES.

HENRY CLAY CALDWELL.

BY EDWARD H. STILES.*

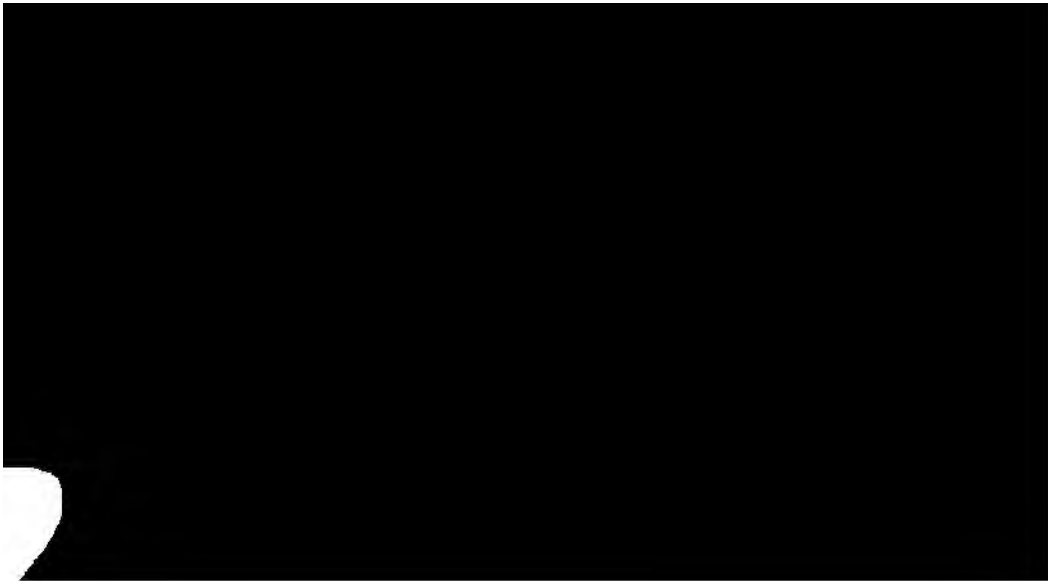
Biography is the soul of history, and biography in its turn must properly rest upon facts, incidents, and achievements attendant upon the person, and to some extent on the consensus of public and private opinion in relation thereto, rather than upon the mere statement or estimate of the biographer. In this wise I shall endeavor to corroborate by particular facts what I may say in a more general way concerning the subject of this sketch.

Of all the distinguished men I have known in my time, none stand out as strikingly along the line of remembrance as Henry Clay Caldwell. It is nearly a half century since I first saw him. He was then twenty-five, I was twenty. It was at Ottumwa, Iowa, while I was being examined for admission to the bar by the committee appointed by the court for that purpose, according to the usage then prevailing. The committee consisted of Christian W. Skagle of Fairfield, Amos Harris of Centerville and Edward L. Burton, who afterward became a distinguished judge in that district—all were able lawyers and all have passed away. The committee and myself disagreed in respect to a nice question that was put to me. Mr. Caldwell turned abruptly from an adjacent table where he was writing, and in that decidedly energetic manner characteristic of him, exclaimed, "The young man is right." Thus

* Edward H. Stiles was born in Granby, Conn., Oct. 8, 1838. He removed to Iowa in 1857 and settled in Ottumwa. While a resident of that city he served a term in the Iowa House of Representatives and was afterward elected to the Senate. While serving as State Senator he was elected Reporter of the Supreme Court. His labors extended through sixteen volumes, which were published and may now be found in the Iowa State Law Library. In 1868 he removed to Kansas City where he has since resided. He has enjoyed a large legal practice and for some years served as Master in Chancery.

incident early impressed me with him, and I refer to it for that purpose, as well as to illustrate the natural quickness of his mind and his vivid personality.

I next saw him engaged in arguing a question of great public interest before Henry B. Hendershott, the then presiding judge of the Ottumwa district. The case was that of the State of Iowa ex rel. vs. The County of Wapello, reported in 13th Iowa, 388, in which it was held for the first time by an undivided court that counties had no power to subscribe stock to build railroads, overruling the prior decisions of the court holding a contrary view. The case has ever since been regarded as a leading one on that subject throughout the entire country. Though quite young, he had already attained the reputation of being one of the brightest and ablest lawyers of the State. Associated with him in the argument was James F. Wilson of Fairfield, afterward a Congressman and United States Senator, whose distinguished services and great ability shed a permanent lustre on the State. Senator Wilson paid the debt of nature some years ago. Judge Caldwell, full of years and full of honors, retired from the Federal bench in 1903, after continuous service there of forty years. His service had been the longest of any Federal judge then on the bench, and it had been as illustrious and beneficial to the country as it had been long. It would have been a national blessing could it have continued. He exerted all of his great powers to hold the judicial course to just and proper lines. His wonderfully strong personality, his high character, his keen and exalted



It has been said: "From a great man, subtract all that he owes to opportunity, and all that he owes to chance; all that he has gained from the wisdom of his friends and the folly of his enemies, and our Brobdingnagian would often turn out a Lilliputian." But this statement has no application to him, for his early years lacked opportunity, and chance took little part in his success. He exemplified the old saying, that every man to a great extent is the architect of his fortune, for by his own forces he compelled what opportunity did not offer, and his successes were mainly wrought as results of his own efforts and individuality. Of him it has been well written that "He furnishes one of the most notable examples to be found at the bar of this country, of the triumphs of intellect and industry over grave and discouraging obstacles."*

Had he remained at the bar he would have undoubtedly attained as great distinction in the field of practice as a lawyer as he did on the bench as a judge; for he strikingly displayed, while young, the essential qualities necessary for that purpose.

In addition to his accomplishments as a lawyer and judge he possessed those of a varied kind. Though not a collegiate or schoolman, his insatiable thirst for knowledge had impelled him to read widely, and made him conversant with history and general literature. His productions give evidence of a cultivated mind; but above all, they give evidence of intellectual and reasoning forces of the highest natural order. Every line teems with vigor. The productions of most men, on grave subjects, are sometimes tedious and require special cause to make them interesting. Not so with his. About them, and upon whatever subject, there is a lively quality, an intellectual fire, that at once fixes attention and kindles interest. Nor were his productions confined to judicial opinions. His diversified qualities made him a favorite at bar meetings and banquets, and on various occasions his presence and speech were sought after. What he said or was expected to say never failed to evoke interest, and his audiences were rarely disappointed.

* *Distinguished American Lawyers*. N. Y., 1991.

Among his most widely known addresses and papers are:

"Railroad Receiverships in the Federal Courts." Before Greenleaf Law Club, St. Louis, 1896. Pamphlet.

"Trial by Judge and Jury." Before Missouri Bar Association. *American Law Review*, Vol. 33, 1899.

"Receiverships and Preferential Debts." Before Colorado Bar Association. *American Law Review*, Vol. 37.

"The Relation of Debtor and Creditor." Before Arkansas State Bar Association. 1886. Pamphlet.

"The Insecurity of Titles to Real Estate." Pamphlet.

"The American Jury System." Pamphlet.

"A Lawyer's Address to a Lay Audience." Pamphlet.

Address, Dedication Hot Springs County Court House. 1889. Pamphlet.

Address, Monticello Fair Association. 1886. Pamphlet.

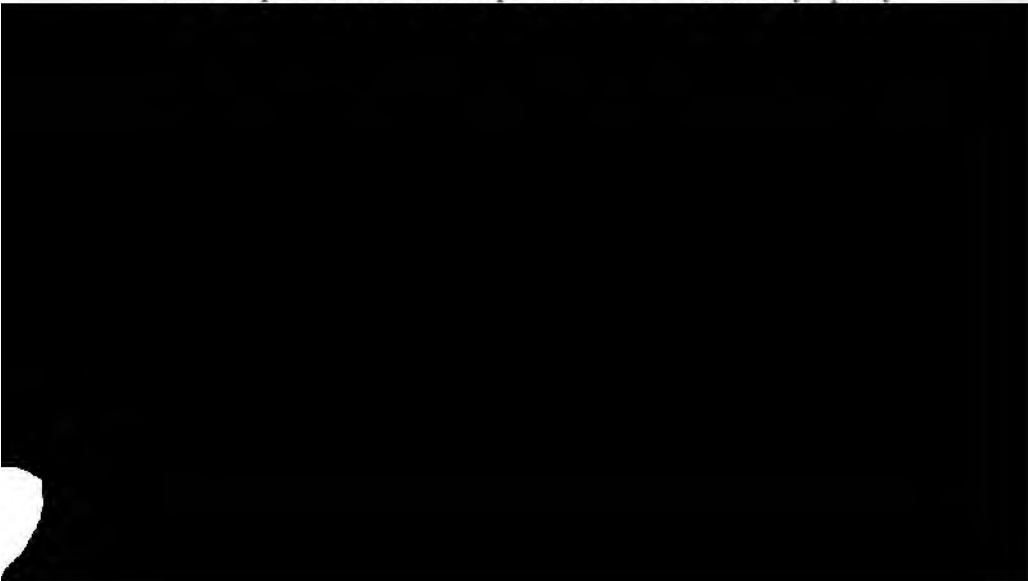
Address, Before New England Society. St. Louis. 1895. Pamphlet.

Address, Old Settlers Association. Van Buren County, Iowa. 1889. Pamphlet.

Address, Pine Bluff Banquet.

Address, St. Paul Bar Banquet. 1892. Subject, United States Court of Appeals.

Viewed as an individual from a social standpoint, no one could be more interesting or charming: interesting, in his reminiscences, in his wonderful memory of early events, in his graphic narration of incidents connected with the Iowa frontier, under the shadow of whose primeval forests he was reared amidst the struggles of the hardy pioneer, and from these deep surroundings imbibed that love of nature and drew that inspiration of divine protection and human sympathy



It was these traits that endeared him to the people of Iowa, where he lived for nearly thirty years, to the soldiers of his command, and especially to the people of Arkansas, of whose federal court he was the judge, of whose capital he was a resident of nearly forty years, and whose civic institutions he helped to rescue and rebuild from the smouldering ashes of civil war. Though he was viewed at first by them with suspicion, if not actual aversion, as a northern intruder and soldier who had actively and directly aided in encompassing their defeat, and who at the head of his conquering command had been the first to enter Little Rock, they soon came to know and respect, and finally to revere him, for his manly qualities, his unspotted character, and his very able and absolutely impartial administration of justice, untrammelled by senseless impediments; for, though deeply learned in the law and intimately familiar with its history and the course of judicial decisions, he had no patience with mere quibbles and stale precedents when interposed to thwart the course of substantial justice.

As an Iowa soldier and officer he served with conspicuous gallantry, and was on the point of being made a brigadier-general for distinguished service when he accepted from Mr. Lincoln his appointment as Federal judge.* Had he remained in the service and been given a wider field of operations, he would doubtless have attained still greater distinction. In this connection I cannot refrain from quoting as apropos the following extract from General Davidson's official report of the capture of Little Rock:

"Lieutenant Colonel Caldwell, whose untiring devotion and energy never flags night nor day, deserves, for his varied accomplishments as a cavalry officer, promotion to the rank of a general officer."

Coming, as already indicated, to judge among a people with whom he had been actively at war, and who were naturally

* At about this period or not very long after, James F. Wilson wrote Colonel Caldwell from Washington:—

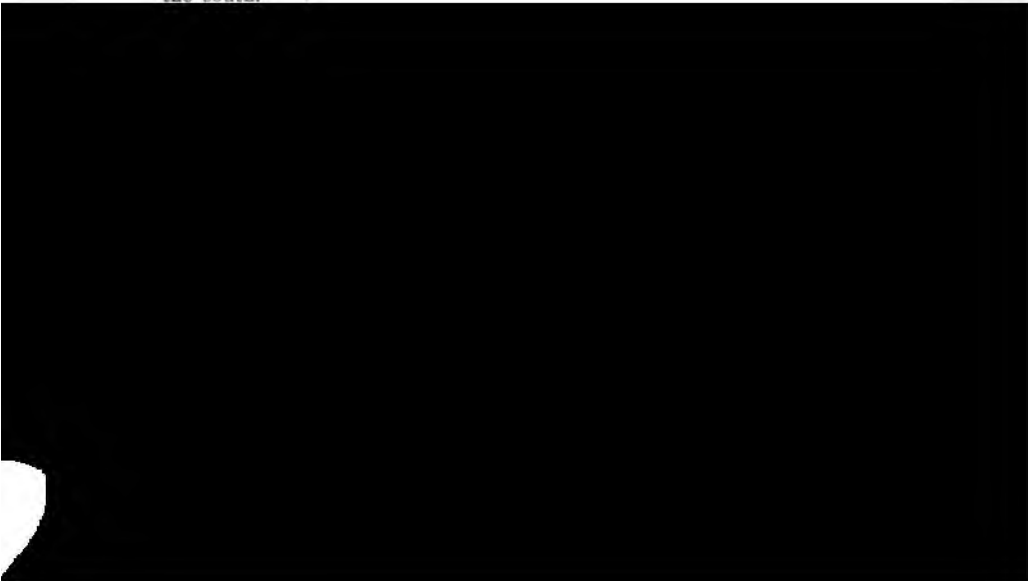
"You can be a Brigadier-General or a United States Judge. Which do you prefer?"

I heard it said, at the time, that Wilson had been instrumental in securing the Judgeship for Colonel Caldwell, because he feared his rivalry, and wanted to thus shelve and get him out of his way to the United States Senate. There is nothing in this letter, however, to show this, but it would seem rather the contrary, as his promotion to a Generalship, which he might have chosen, would have added still more to his strength and popularity.

stirred by resentment and distrust, it seems strange that he so soon and thoroughly gained their entire confidence and esteem. His extraordinary personality and high sense of justice furnish the explanation. That such was the case is shown by the following correspondence and references. In response to a communication addressed by me to one of the foremost lawyers and citizens of Arkansas, George B. Rose, of Little Rock, he writes:

It is a great pleasure for any citizen of Arkansas to testify to the immense service which Judge Caldwell rendered to this state. It is probable that Arkansas never had a citizen to whom it was more deeply indebted. He came here during the civil war, as an officer in the northern army, and was appointed almost from the saddle to the bench. It was expected that he would carry into his new office the animosity which the war had engendered; but it was found that as a judge he had neither friend nor foe, and that his one purpose was to do justice between the parties. Shortly after his appointment the policy of reconstruction was inaugurated, all citizens who had participated in the late rebellion or sympathized with the rebels were disfranchised, and the state was ruled by a horde of adventurers who came down for the purpose. In those evil days it was almost impossible to get justice in the state courts, but if any man could obtain admission to Judge Caldwell's court he was sure to receive a fair and impartial hearing and an honest judgment. His court, therefore, became the refuge for every one who by any means could gain admission under the Federal laws.

During the six years that the Carpet-Bag regime lasted he was the greatest protection that the people of the state had. He remained all the time a strong Republican, but did not carry his politics upon the bench, nor did he permit himself to be drawn into any of the machinations of his party, as unfortunately did some of the Federal judges of the south.



judicial reform, and has left imperishable traces upon our statute books. He was largely instrumental in securing the adoption of the code of civil practice. At first, our courts were disposed to look upon it with disfavor and to construe out of it all of its vitality. Judge Caldwell, however, always gave it in his court a most liberal, beneficent construction, as indeed he gave to all acts; and finally he infused into all our tribunals and into our bar the same contempt for technicalities which he himself felt. In consequence, Arkansas is, of all the states, the one which has, I believe, the most liberal system of practice; the one which looks most exclusively to the justice of the case, and which cares least for the forms of procedure.

The women of the state are particularly indebted to Judge Caldwell. He felt very strongly the injustice which was done them by the common law, and through his exertions acts were passed securing them in their rights to enjoy their property and earnings and to dispose of them, which are as liberal as could possibly be devised.

He was also a friend to honest debtors, and procured the passage of statutes giving them the right of redemption from sales under foreclosure and the like. During a part of his early tenure, there was no limitation in this state upon the interest that might be exacted, and he witnessed a great many abuses by the descendants of Shylock which he was powerless to prevent. This gave him a strong distaste for usury, and he induced the legislature to adopt strong laws against contracting for interest in excess of ten per cent. At first the usurers set up a cry that money could not be lent at that rate, but the result has been that money has been more plentiful and more easily obtained than before, while the fangs of the usurer have been drawn.

There are a great many other reforms in our law of which he is the author, but it would perhaps be too tedious to enumerate them all.

As a judge, he was not only fearless and honest, seeking only to do justice, but he was also conspicuous for his learning, particularly in the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.


When Judge Caldwell left the state, it is safe to say that his departure was looked upon with regret by every person within its borders. So far as I know he had not an enemy; while the members of the bar regarded him with the strongest personal attachment. He was sometimes hasty of speech but never unkind in intention. He was particularly kind to young lawyers, and always took care that their clients did not suffer in consequence of their inexperience, and he did this in so gentle a way that they felt no humiliation. Whatever success I have had at the bar has been largely due to his teaching. But my sense of personal attachment has not led me to exaggerate in any degree his incalculable public services to our state.

Judge Jacob Trieber, judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, writes concerning him: "You have no idea of what a warm place he has in the hearts of the people of this State."

The following extracts along the same line are from Democratic newspapers, and cannot therefore be supposed to have been influenced by any political bias towards Judge Caldwell. This is from the *Arkansas Democrat* of January 7, 1884:

In place of Judge McCrary, recently resigned from the bench of the Eighth Circuit, we know of no man upon whose shoulders the judicial ermine could so justly and so fitly be placed as upon those of Henry C. Caldwell, the present Judge of the Eastern District of Arkansas. There is no district judge who has had so many novel and interesting questions of first impressions before him, and who has so rarely been mistaken in dealing with them.

When he first went upon the bench, now nearly twenty years ago, he had to deal with the acts of Congress confiscating the property of Confederates. These laws were designed to act upon the principle and follow the usages and procedure of Admiralty courts, where no juries are allowed, and nothing was said in the act in regard to jury trial. Hence most, if not all, of the District Judges, in administering these laws, held that causes under them were admiralty causes, and no trial by jury should be allowed. But Judge Caldwell, then newly administering Federal procedures, saw through the fallacy of this reasoning, and held that under the constitution they were common law causes, and their issues triable by jury; in which he was sustained by the United States Supreme Court. He then had to pass upon the perplexing question of the statute of limitations growing out of the closure of the courts during the war and the construction of the limitation act of Congress of 1863—in all of which he was correct, and his rulings sustained by the Supreme Court.



issues and the new application of legal principles. Besides these, the administration and construction of the revenue and bankrupt laws of the United States, both of which were new.

In the construction and application of this long array of new statutes, great caution, sound judgment, clear, precise and accurate knowledge of legal principles were necessary, for there were few, if any, precedents to guide the steps of the traveler in these then unexplored regions of the law. To evolve just conclusions from all these various and momentous issues, required a clear intellect, great grasp of mind, and thorough familiarity with legal principles and their analogies to enable the Judge to safely thread his way through the mazes of this legal *terra incognita*. It is safe to say that no judge upon the Federal bench has had so many nice and difficult questions to pass upon, and made so few errors. It may truly be said that Judge Caldwell, though sitting on the bench with such distinguished jurists as Justice Miller, Judge Dillon and Judge McCrary, has never appeared to a disadvantage in such august presence. His moral qualifications for the position are as full and high as the most scrupulous and exacting moralist could desire. He has as a judge kept his ermine pure and unspotted, against which no breath of calumny has ever breathed. And this, though his judicial career for ten years was surrounded by all the temptations, opportunities and corruptions prevailing at the close of the war and in the demoralization of reconstruction. The inducements for political preferment and wealth held out to the weak, the avaricious, the ambitious and corrupt during that trying period, swerved him no jot from the path of duty and honor. Though an inflexible republican he has so justly and discreetly performed the functions of his office among a people who were for years strongly opposed to the legislation he was enforcing, that he has convinced all parties and all shades of opinion, of his justness, integrity and wisdom, and endeared himself to the profession of the law and to the people. The government could in no way so well honor, protect and uphold its interest and its dignity, as by his appointment.


The following is from the *Helena News*:

A soldier serving his country on the field of battle, he sheathed his sword and was appointed to a Federal judgeship by Abraham Lincoln. No man could have been placed in a more trying position. The Carpet-Baggers looked to him to reward their devotion to the Republican party by sustaining all of their attempts to plunder the people of the south. The southern people, smarting under the sting of defeat, which Caldwell had helped to administer, naturally looked upon him as an enemy. But quickly they realized that in Judge Caldwell they had a just and honorable judge: a man only to be feared when they were guilty of wrongdoing. He has commanded and still commands the love and respect of the people of the entire south, of all political parties, though no oppor-

tunity ever escaped his quick perception and masterly use of language, to score unmercifully the highest as well as the lowest for their misdeeds.

In the field of judicial reform, in addition to the instances pointed out in the foregoing references, his views, orders and opinions in respect to railroad receiverships, stand out conspicuously, and have operated as powerful factors, especially in respect to claims that should be deemed preferential to mortgages securing the bondholders. It is not very long ago that the doctrine that claims for operating supplies furnished railroad companies were preferential to those of the mortgage bondholders, was unknown. The doctrine is comparatively new, because railroads are new. It was supposed and so held that such mortgages were superior to any and all subsequent debts that the railroad might incur. After a time this rule became so softened as to admit as preferential claims of this kind which had arisen just before, or a very short time before, the receivership. Judge Caldwell may be properly regarded as a pioneer in this field, and the first to declare and carry out by appropriate orders the doctrine that such mortgages must give way to the claims of creditors for supplies and labor necessary to the operation of the road, without regard to any special limitation as to time, other than that fixed by the order appointing the receiver.

To avoid the confusion that had arisen in the courts as to what claims were or were not preferential, and as to the time within which they must have arisen, he made it an invariable rule in all proceedings to foreclose such mortgages, where a



Through and by what processes of reasoning he came to these conclusions is clearly shown in his response to the toast, "Coon-Skin Cap Law," given at a banquet of the Colorado Bar Association a number of years ago, which has been rescued from oblivion and from which I must be allowed to make the following liberal quotations, as it so completely covers the case:

MR. TOASTMASTER: I am persuaded that you are possessed of some occult power. In no other way could you have knowledge of the legend of the "Coon-Skin Cap Law."

To those not blessed with the occult power of the toastmaster, the toast implies a comedy, but in fact it relates to a tragedy, and to the saddest of all tragedies—a tragedy directly traceable to judicial ignorance and error, and which "revives the memory of a rooted sorrow, which weighs upon the heart."

Mr. Ruskin says, "The greatest thing a human soul ever does is to see something and tell what it saw in a plain way." I will essay that task.

A man entered into a contract with a railroad company whose road ran through two or more states, to furnish wood and ties to the company, to be taken from the timberlands in the Mississippi river bottom, which at that point was fifty miles wide and annually overflowed from five to twenty feet in depth. In this bottom, perched upon stilts, he built a log cabin, and, with his wife and an old negro man who assisted him in his work, lived there, except during the periods of overflow, when they were driven to the hills.

He was engaged in this work about four years, during which time the company, which was in a chronic state of impecuniosity, only paid him on account a sum barely sufficient to buy enough meal and bacon to subsist upon.

The annual overflow drove him out of his cabin to the hills. Sickness ensued, and it was nearly a year before he was ready to resume his work; and just as he was ready to do so, the railroad went into the hands of a receiver, upon a bill filed to foreclose a mortgage upon it.

All of this happened more than a quarter of a century ago. When the bill was filed the timid and callow judge [alluding to himself] found some authority for treating as preferential, claims for labor and materials that had accrued within three or four months; and he stretched this to six months, and made an order accordingly.

Presently a petition of intervention was filed in the case, and when it came on for hearing, the intervenor appeared in person to represent his claim. He wore a coon-skin cap, with the tail hanging down the back, coarse cotton shirt, and pants and shoes to correspond. He was long past the meridian of life; his hands were calloused by toil, and his face wore

the "shadowed livery of the burnished sun." But the wrinkles, the sun-burn and the unkempt beard could not conceal from view that ineffaceable and unfading charm that always marks the face of the man of honest good will. The poet took no liberty with truth when he said "Honest labor bears a lovely face." It was evident that he had earned his bread according to the divine decree, "in the sweat of his face."


In a plain, modest manner he told how he had worked getting out wood and ties for the road, and how the company had made small payments from time to time, always promising payment in the near future. The balance due him for wood and ties amounted to over \$700.00, a sum which to him was a fortune, and all his fortune.

At the close of his testimony, with deference and modesty, he said: "When I sold wood to steamboats on the Mississippi river I had a lien for its price, on the boat, ahead of mortgages, and I suppose there is no difference between wood sold to run a steamboat and wood and ties sold to run a railroad!"

But the Supreme Court had said they could not find that the rule which has obtained in admiralty from the dawn of commerce, which prefers such claims over mortgages, had ever been applied to railroads; and this, of course, was true, for there had been no railroads to call for its application; they were a modern invention. The court might have fortified its opinion by citing a case in point: A suit was brought before a justice of the peace in Vermont by one farmer against another for breaking his churn. The justice took time to consider, and then said that he had looked through the statutes carefully, and could not find that any action had ever been brought before for breaking a churn, and gave judgment for the defendant.

It is a curious fact that the errors and mistakes of great men and great tribunals are proportioned to their greatness. When they do err, the error is colossal. * * *

The last item in the account was eleven months old when the road went into the hands of a receiver. The judge decided that this was



ties." While his wife and the old negro man gave way to tears and sobs, the coon-skin cap man sat silent and dejected. Presently he rose up and went out of the cabin.

His wife prepared their frugal meal and called her husband. There was no answer. No answer coming to repeated calls, his wife and the old negro went out to search for him. They found him—hanging to the limb of a tree, dead. The coon-skin cap was lying at the root of the tree.

No lesson is lost to us if it doesn't come too late. The specter of that man of honest toil hanging from that tree, the vision of that cap, and an uneasy and alarmed conscience, imposed upon that judge the burden of prayerfully enquiring whether the judgment that produced this awful tragedy was just, and upon making that inquiry he found that there was a close analogy between ships and railroads; that both were instruments of commerce; that neither could perform their functions or be of any utility to the public, or of any value as a security, unless they were kept running, and that they could not be kept running without labor, materials and supplies, that were not and could not be paid for at the time they were procured or purchased; and that every one taking a mortgage on such property knew this, and must therefore be held to have impliedly consented that such claims should have preference over his mortgage.

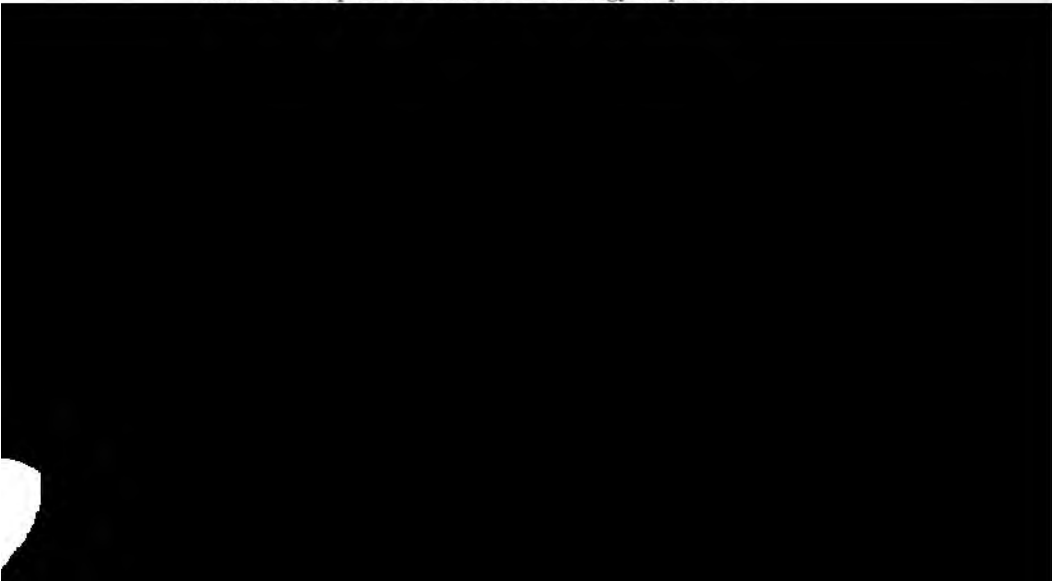
He found that there was just as much law for saying that such claims were valid if they accrued within six years, as there was for saying that they must have accrued within six months; that the length of time depended on the length of the chancellor's foot; in a word, that all of the law on the subject was judge-made law; and that judge thereupon determined to measure out equity according to the length of his own foot instead of that of some other judge, and to make a little judge-made law himself, and he then and there made it a rule of his own court that no railroad receiver would be appointed except upon the condition that all claims for labor, supplies and materials, necessary to keep the road in operation, and all claims for damages resulting from its operation that were not barred by the statute of limitation, should have preference over mortgages. And this rule is what the toastmaster has been pleased to call the "Coon-Skin Cap Law." This rule was without any precedent to support it, but it was sublimely just. It was its own precedent, and it would be happy for mankind if all judicial precedents had the same everlasting and impregnable foundation. Since the adoption of that rule no citizen of Arkansas has had occasion to commit suicide for the same reason that the coon-skin cap man did. * * * After all, the human skull is but the temple of human error, and judicial clay, if you analyze it well, will be found to be like all other human clay.

At first the "Coon-Skin Cap Law" was not in favor with most judges, but its author consoled himself with the reflection that great truths commonly dwell a long time with minorities. But it is a gratifying fact that the sun sets every night on an increased number of support-

ers of the "Coon-Skin Cap Law." Through legislation in some states, and by judicial decisions in others, it is fast becoming the law everywhere. Like John Brown, the body of the man with the coon-skin cap "lies mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."

In relation to the limit of time and the character of supplies to entitle to a preference, there is a total want of uniformity in the decisions of the courts, and even in the decisions of the same court. Claims six years old have been allowed by the Supreme Court, and at another time it has said that only claims which accrued "some short time" before the receiver was appointed could be paid, which is exactly as definite as to say that a certain thing is as big as a piece of chalk. The equity is admitted by allowing any debt to be preferential for ever so short a time. The principle being established, the equity should be complete. There is no difference in principle whether such a debt is six days, or six months, or six years old—if it was a preferential debt in its inception that equity inheres in it until it is barred by the statute of limitation. There is no rule of law or equity to the contrary; there is only the varying and conflicting opinions of judges. It is a legislative function to make a statute of limitation, and every state has such a statute, which is applicable to preferential debts as to any other.

It has also been said that there is no difference between a mortgage on a farm and a mortgage on a railroad. Before a mortgage on a railroad can be likened to a mortgage on a farm the farm must be put on wheels and, propelled by steam or other motive power, be under obligations to the public to carry passengers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and enjoy the high privilege of running over every other farm on the line of its route between the two oceans, and from the nature of its business be compelled to obtain on credit the labor and materials essential to keep it moving, and enable it to discharge the duties it owes to the public. * * * The whole doctrine is bottomed on the essential difference between a railroad and all other kinds of property except a ship; between a ship and a railroad the analogy is perfect.



“Why has not a man a microscopic eye?
For this plain reason, man is not a fly.”

In time of war it is permissible to send out a column of cavalry with orders to “subsist on the country,” but courts of justice ought not to decree that railroads can, either in peace or in war, “subsist on the country” through which they run for the profit of their bondholders, who are always practically their owners.

That this was an important step in judicial reform which has redounded greatly to the benefit of the people in the correction of a crying evil there can be no question. What this crying evil was is clearly told in the following excerpt from his paper on Railroad Receiverships:

Another benefit inuring to the railroad company and its mortgage bondholders from a railroad receivership was the opportunity it afforded to escape the payment of all obligations of the company, for labor, supplies and materials, furnished and used in the construction, repair and operation of the road. Whenever a railroad company became so largely indebted for labor, material and supplies, and other liabilities incurred in the operation of its road, that it could profitably pay the expense incident to a receivership and foreclosure, for the sake of getting rid of its floating debt, it sought the aid of a friendly mortgage bondholder through whose agency it was quickly placed in the hands of a receiver, and immediately a court of equity was asked and expected to do the mean things which the company itself was unable or ashamed to do. The president of the company was commonly appointed receiver, and the work of repudiating its debts was swiftly and effectually accomplished through the aid of a court of equity. The floating debts incurred in improving and operating the road, for the benefit of the company, and its security holders, were repudiated, and the road formally sold under a decree of foreclosure to a new company in name, organized by the owners of the stock and bonds of the old company. By this process a railroad company was enabled to escape the payment of its debts by what was little more than a mere change of its name.

He also adopted a rule of court providing that such receivers might be sued. Generally, leave to sue a railroad receiver in a court of law was rarely given. The result was that all of the litigation growing out of the operation of a railroad, which might be hundreds of miles in length, was concentrated in the court appointing the receiver, and on the equity side of that court, where the suitor was denied a trial by jury, although his demand was purely a legal one. This

mode of procedure was attended with great delay, costs and inconvenience to the claimant. To remedy this condition was the object of his rule, giving the right to a claimant to establish the justice and amount of his demand, by the verdict of a jury in a court of the county where the cause of action arose and the witnesses resided.


Among his many decisions enforcing his views on the subject of railroad receiverships, those in *Dow vs. Railroad*, 20th Fed. Rep., and *Farmers' Loan & Trust Company vs. Railroad Company*, 53rd Fed. Rep., may be mentioned; and in the paper above referred to—*Railroad Receiverships in the Federal Courts*—his views on the whole subject, enforced with all the powers of his mind, will be found.

That the value of his judicial services in the direction mentioned was highly appreciated by the country, was fully shown by the press and other publications of the times. As illustrative of this, in 1894 there was presented to Congress a paper bearing the following title:

“Memorial of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina to the Congress of the United States in the matter of receivers of railroad corporations, and the equity jurisdiction of the courts of the United States.”

In the course of this memorial the following language is used:

There have been instances in which judges of federal courts have refused to appoint receivers of a railroad. Appalled at the power that such an appointment would place in the hands of the court, and with a




In the *American Law Review* of August, 1893, Vol. 27, will be found an article entitled *The Court Management of Railroads* from the pen of that distinguished lawyer, judge and legal writer, Seymour D. Thompson, with whose name the profession is familiar. He was for some years a judge of the Missouri Court of Appeals, and the strength of his opinions attracted the general attention of the bench and bar. He afterward became generally known as one of the ablest law writers of his time, giving to the profession among other works, *Thompson on Negligence*, and later *Thompson on Corporations*, considered the most elaborate and best treatise that had been given on that subject. In the article referred to, after touching upon the action of Judges Miller and Dillon in refusing to grant a receiver of the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railroad, and take the property out of the hands of the railroad company pending the foreclosure, he thus refers to Judge Caldwell:

Proceeding on similar views, Mr. Circuit Judge Caldwell when Judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, and *ex officio* Circuit Judge, persistently refused to allow his court to go into the general railroad business, and granted receivers of railroads on a principle of necessity, and then, only upon equitable terms. * * * The Supreme Court approved his policy. One of the equitable conditions imposed by him on bondholders soliciting the appointment of a receiver, was that they should consent in advance, that the receiver might be sued in the state court, and that they should appoint an agent within the jurisdiction, on whom the process of said court might be served. His decision in *Dow vs. The Memphis, etc., R. R. Co.* (20th Fed. Rep., 260), is one of the best judgments that has ever been delivered on the subject of railway receiverships. One cannot read it without acquiring the impression that if other judges had pursued the same policy, the disciplinary act of congress, passed in 1887, authorizing actions against receivers of railroads appointed by the federal courts to be brought without obtaining leave of court, would not have become necessary. * * * One cannot read the decision of this eminent judge without feeling regret that he has not long before this, been transferred to a seat on the highest Federal bench. His long experience as a Federal judge, his clear perception of legal principles, his strong sense of justice, his well known firmness of character, and especially the entire absence of any unsteadiness in his judicial work, point to that place as his proper sphere.

His decisions upholding the rights of the public, against powerful interests, are numerous and may be found in the reported cases of the Federal Court covering a period of nearly four decades. I feel privileged to refer to just a few of these in corroboration of my statements. The first relates to the rights of persons under contracts with life insurance companies, some of whom it must be confessed display more energy in soliciting business and collecting premiums than they do in paying losses. The case of *McMasters vs. New York Life Insurance Company* was tried in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Northern District of Iowa, whence it was taken to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, where it was held by a divided court that the plaintiff was not entitled to recover—Judge Sanborn delivering the opinion for the court, and Judge Caldwell a dissenting one. Both are exhaustive, and taken together constitute a masterful review of the authorities on the subject. That of Judge Caldwell illustrates his powers of keen discrimination, close analysis, and forceful statement.

The pivotal question in the case was whether preliminary statements of the soliciting agent, and one contained in the application, as to when the policy was to commence, as affecting the time within which the premium must be paid, should control, or the express terms of the policy itself in that behalf as it was finally written up. *McMasters* signed an application for insurance. It was dated December 12th, 1893. It was the express oral understanding and agreement between him and



the policies as of December 18th, 1893, and provided for the payment of the annual premiums from that date, and also provided that after the policy had been in force for three months, the assured should have a grace of thirty days for the payment of the next premium. These policies were taken by the agent to McMasters, December 26th, 1893, who asked him if they would insure him for the period of thirteen months (the one year with the period of grace added), to which the agent replied that they did so insure him, and thereupon McMasters paid him the full amount of the first annual premium, and *without reading the policies*, received them and placed them away.

Calculating from the date of the policies, and the time for the payment of the premium expressly fixed therein, the thirteen months period would expire January 11th, 1895; but calculating from the date the policies were delivered and the premiums paid, it would not expire until January 26th, 1895. McMasters died January 18th, 1895. It was contended by the company and so held by the court, that the express terms of the policy fixing its duration and the time within which the premiums must be paid, must govern, and that all prior acts and negotiations between McMasters and the agent, were merged in the policy—the final written agreement of the parties—the express terms of which could not be changed by extraneous evidence; and that the operation of this rule was not varied by the fact that McMasters, relying on what had taken place between himself and the agent, did not read the policies, as there was nothing to prevent him from so doing. Judge Caldwell took the opposite view and fortified it by a thorough review of authorities on the construction of life insurance contracts, which he contended should receive a more liberal construction than that applied to ordinary contracts. To one reading the able opinion of Judge Sanborn, it seems perfectly invulnerable, until he reads the dissenting one of Judge Caldwell, 99 Federal Reporter, 856. The case was taken on a writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court of the United States, and that court sustained the contention of Judge Caldwell, reversed the majority opinion, and ordered

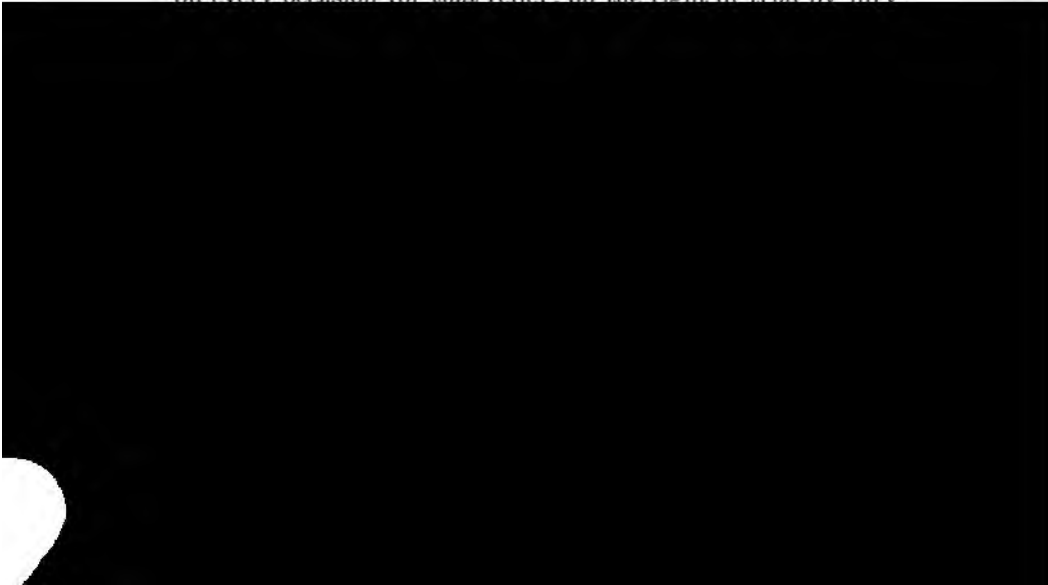
judgment to be entered for the plaintiff. 183 U. S. Reports, 25.

The case is one of public interest as protecting the rights of the citizen under insurance contracts, and defining the duties of insurance companies in the respect referred to.

The next case of public interest I desire to notice, and in which grave constitutional questions were presented, is that of the Pacific Express Company vs. Seibert, Auditor of State, 44th Fed. Rep., 310, in which was involved the constitutionality of the statute of Missouri providing for the taxation of the property of express companies, defining what should be regarded as such and prescribing the mode of taxation and the rate thereof.

The district judge had granted an injunction staying the collection of the tax. Judge Caldwell held that the act was valid. The case went to the Supreme Court of the United States. That court affirmed the judgment, 142 U. S. Rep., 339, and in the concluding words of its opinion, specially commended both the reasoning and the language of Judge Caldwell's opinion in these words: "The opinion of the court below on this branch of the case is elaborately argued, and is conclusive. We concur in the reasoning of it as well as in the language employed, and refer to it as a correct expression of the law upon the subject."

His views on what is termed "Government by Injunction," and the growing tendency to fly to the equity side of the court on every occasion for that relief: on the right of trial by jury:



by them and the railroad company before it went into the hands of the receivers, at once drew upon him the attention of the whole country, and though criticised by mortgage bondholders and those in that line of interest, they were hailed with general approval. I should greatly desire to enter into the details of these cases and exhibit his views by quoting from his opinions, but as limitation of space forbids, I must content myself with this passing reference. Suffice it to say, that in my opinion they present as powerful arguments as were ever used in support of the rights of the people, of the rights of trial by jury, and against its insidious infringement by the too frequent appeals for the writ of injunction.


As illustrating his natural disregard for mere technicalities tending to impede the course of justice, and his favor towards legislative and judicial reforms tending to facilitate its attainment, as well as his aptness and pungency of expression, the case of *McDonald vs. State of Nebraska*, 101 Fed. Rep., 171, may be referred to. The case was originally brought in the name of the State Treasurer of Nebraska in his official capacity. An amendment was sought and allowed to change the name of the plaintiff by substituting the State of Nebraska in place of that of the treasurer. The defendant had insisted that the treasurer of state in his official capacity, was not, and the state was the proper party to maintain the suit, and it was contended that the substitution of the State of Nebraska as plaintiff in the action was a change of the cause of action, and was equivalent to the bringing of a new action, and that, as the statute of limitations had run against the plaintiff's claim before the substitution was made, the cause of action was barred. On this subject Judge Caldwell in his opinion said:

A defendant has an undoubted right to insist that the person entitled to recover on a cause of action set forth in a petition, shall be brought on the record as the plaintiff in the action, to the end that he shall not be compelled to respond twice to the same demand; and that the one suit shall bar all others for the same cause of action. But it has come to be the settled law that where, either by mistake of law or facts a suit is brought in the name of a wrong party, the real party in interest, entitled to sue on the cause of action declared on, may be substituted as

plaintiff and the substitution has the same legal effect as if the suit had been originally commenced in the name of the proper plaintiff.

There are in the history of the jurisprudence of every country certain epochs which mark the beginning of distinct trains of legal ideas and judicial conceptions of justice. There was a time in England and in this country when the fundamental principles of right and justice which courts were created to uphold and enforce were esteemed of minor importance compared to the quibbles, refinements, and technicalities of special pleading. In that, the great fundamentals of the law seemed little, and the trifling things great. The courts were not concerned with the merits of the case, but with the mode of stating it. And they adopted so many subtle, artificial, and technical rules governing the statement of actions and defenses, that in many cases the whole contention was whether these rules had been observed, and the merits of the case were never reached, and frequently never thought of. Happily for mankind, and for the law itself, that epoch is past in England and in this country, and we now have an epoch in which substance is more considered than form, in which the justice and right of the cause determine its decisions. * * * There, as here, every error or mistake in the pleadings which does not affect the substantial rights of the adverse party may be cured by amendment; and what is meant by substantial right, is a right going to the actual merits of the case. Such a right is not acquired by a mistake or error in pleadings, which has not mislead the other party to his prejudice. And the prejudice must be actual and irreparable and not merely theoretical. At this day, the party who seeks to profit by an error or mistake in pleading, must be able to invoke the principle upon which the law of estoppel is founded. And the emotion of surprise once so assiduously cultivated by lawyers, has lost its virtue. Extreme sensitiveness to that emotion no longer avails to turn a suitor out of court, or to delay justice.

In epigrammatic expression he has rarely been excelled. I



of a Republic. A despot without faith may govern by force, but a free people cannot successfully govern themselves without faith in God.

The school-house symbolizes the education of the youth to qualify them to discharge the duties of citizenship, but these three corner-stones are not of themselves adequate to support the social fabric.

The lessons that teach the reward of virtue and the woes of vice are lost on many men.

For the perverse and wicked, who break away from the teachings and restraints of moral agencies, there must be something stronger than moral suasion.

The contests of passion and selfishness render it necessary that authority should exist somewhere and always be at hand to do justice and to repress and punish crime.

This necessity gives rise to the laws regulating the conduct of man as a member of society. These laws require him to do right and punish him for doing wrong, but they would be of no utility without a tribunal clothed with authority to compel obedience to them, and which has a fixed time and place of meeting for that purpose; and the court-house is that place. The court-house therefore symbolizes the law and its enforcement.

The most fearful and wonderful thing about man, is the imperious sway of superstition over his mind; it overpowers all sense of reason and humanity, and renders cruel and ferocious the mildest people on earth.

Sincere and kind-hearted christians delighted in burning the living bodies of heretics and witches, but would not permit physicians, in the interest of science and humanity, to dissect the dead body of saint or sinner.

A lawsuit may be likened to a labyrinth into which the parties enter full of hope and confidence, but from which they are likely to emerge weary and broken in spirit and estate.

The discharge of the supremely important duty attaching to the judicial office requires varied talents. These are some of the qualifications a judge should have: He must know some law—no man can know all the law—and have a strong and unerring sense of justice which is better than learning in the hair-splitting technicalities and refinements of the law, which often defeat rather than promote justice; he must have moral courage and be indifferent alike to censure and applause; he must be serene and tranquil under all circumstances, for emotion is the grandest of levelers, and impairs the force and dignity of magistracy; he must not believe without reason, nor hate on provocation; his constant contact with the injustice and wickedness of men must not shake his faith in the virtue of mankind; he must be mild and compassionate, but firm, inflexible and just; he must hear before he decides, for Solomon says, "He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame unto him."

Clean, plain justice, honestly administered, in blunt English, is just as good as the polished article, and is likely to have about it a stronger flavor of common sense.

One who looks solemn and wise, usually enjoys a reputation for superior wisdom, whether he possesses it or not. Mr. Fox speaking of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, said his aspect was so solemn and imposing that it proved him to be dishonest, since no man could be so wise as Thurlow looked.

Prosperity and contentment will be the happy lot of the children who inherit broad acres, if they have the good sense to keep them, when the poverty, vice and crime of the city will make the nation mourn.


Macaulay has left on record a prophecy that the great cities will breed the barbarian who will some day destroy modern civilization. Recent events in some of our large cities give significance to this prophecy.

Reduced to its last analysis the intelligent and impartial administration of justice is all there is of a free government. It is the public justice that holds the community together. It is to the court that all must look for the protection of their liberty, person, property, and reputation.

The conflict and confusion in the law is past all remedy by the court. The only remedy is codification, and the people can bring this about. The lawyers have no power to do it. Beside, all great reforms must proceed from the people, from the non-professional to the professional, or from below, upward.

The courts are not to be censured for the continuance of chaotic conditions in the law. They made the reports but they cannot codify them. They cannot obviate the hardship of compelling a citizen to go to law to find out what the law is.

Corporations formed for business purposes are useful and necessary agencies, as a general rule. They furnish a convenient method of aggre-




eyed and acute of hearing, or blind and deaf accordingly as the one or the other of these conditions would best subserve its interest. Though a legal unit, it is infected with all the mean and plausible vices of those who act only in bodies, where the fear of punishment and sense of shame are diminished by partition. It never toils, but its money works for it, by that invisible, sleepless, consuming and relentless thing called interest. It never dies; and, unlike the man who lends money, has no heirs to scatter its gain. In the eager and remorseless pursuit of the object of its creation it turns mothers and children out of their homes with the same cold, calm satisfaction that it receives payment of a loan, in "gold coin of the present standard of weight and fineness." They have agents whose offices are embellished with a flaring placard reading "Money to loan." Over the door of every such office there ought to be inscribed in characters so large that none could fail to read, the startling inscription that Dante saw over the gates of hell:

"Abandon hope, all ye who enter here."

His happy blending of wit and wisdom in his lighter vein of speech and conversation to which I referred in the outset, is well illustrated in his remarks at the St. Louis New England dinner, and in his address before the Pine Bluffs Banquet. From the former I cannot refrain from making the following brief extracts:

An after-dinner speech is a kind of intellectual skirt-dancing that I know nothing about. To prevent misapprehension, I will take the precaution to add that I don't know anything about any kind of skirt-dancing. * * * I have no business here anyway. I am not a New Englander, but very far removed from them. Norse on one side and Scotch on the other, the reason that I am a dead failure at the intellectual skirt-dancing is apparent. The Norse in me is too stupid to make that kind of a speech, and the Scotch too religious. I never was in New England but once in my life, and then I got lost in the labyrinths of Boston and had to give a man a dollar to take me to my hotel. I had not forgotten the name of my hotel, however, and I was that much better off than the Colonel from Missouri who forgot the name of the suburb near Boston he wanted to go to. He said to the hotel clerk: "It runs in my head it is something like 'Whiskey Straight,' though that is not it exactly." "Oh," said the clerk, "I know. You mean Jamaica Plain." "Yes, that's it," said the Missouri Colonel, and immediately ordered a whiskey straight for the clerk and himself.

Undoubtedly the Puritan was a grand man. He was a Christian as he understood christianity. Religion was a very solemn thing with him. He believed that much feeling was synonymous with sin. Among scenes of pleasure there was no joy in his smile, and in the contests of ambi-



tion there was no quicker beat to his pulse. He rather endured than enjoyed life. His religion was so solemn, that singing, except when out of tune, was a sin, and dancing a device of the devil. A tuning-fork was the nearest approach to a musical instrument he could tolerate. He was infected with that curious and almost incurable infirmity, infallibility. He was sure of his creed, and a man who is sure of his creed, is sure of his own infallibility. The consciousness of his infallibility gave him splendid moral courage, which is the only kind of courage that elevates our character. * * *

The New Englander of to-day is much more tolerant than his ancestors. He has learned that there is more good in bad men, and more bad in good men, than his puritan ancestors ever dreamed there was. But while the Puritan thought a great deal about the next world, he did not lose his interest in this. He was frugal and thrifty and never mistook his capital for his income. When his conscience pricked him for owning slaves, he quietly unloaded them on the Virginia tobacco planters and immediately organized an abolition society to set them free, expiating the sin of trafficking in slaves himself by freeing the slaves of others.

He worked zealously for the conversion of the heathen. He had the happy faculty of mingling business with his missionary work, and when he sent a ship-load of 5,000 casks of New England rum to the heathen Africans, he sent on the same vessel a missionary; and the world has wondered ever since what the heathen with 5,000 casks of New England rum wanted with so much missionary. * * *

A cynic has said of him, that he was entitled to little credit for his virtues, because he had neither money enough to be extravagant, nor leisure enough to be dissipated. He believed in the providence of God, and his faith gave him splendid courage. He had the merit to conceive and the courage to execute grand things, but he did everything in the name of the Lord, to whom he gave the credit. He never was troubled

come to a country where they could "swear and chew tobacco," and yours left to come to a country where they could pray as they pleased and make everybody else pray as they did.

In 1896 he was seriously considered as a candidate for the Republican nomination for president. It was thought by a considerable following that he would make a great president, in whose hands the country would be safe, and its laws enforced with the same **unswerving** strength, wisdom and justice that he had displayed in their administration from the bench.

But while his advanced views along judicial lines and his heroic treatment of growing evils, had endeared him to the people, they had not done so with the most influential leaders of his party, and especially those of the east. In short the very things that made him popular with the former had a contrary effect with the latter. The movement was purely spontaneous, and without the least participation on his part. While it was a tribute to his fitness, it lacked, as already indicated, the conditions to give it any assurance of success.

In 1900, his views favorable to the double-money standard, which had always prevailed, and in the support of which the leaders of both parties had vied with each other on all occasions, and which he took no pains to conceal, put him somewhat at variance with his party when it suddenly, and to most people unexpectedly, changed its policy by declaring for the single gold standard, at the St. Louis convention, when Mr. McKinley was nominated.

In consequence of this, and because of his great ability, and his well known views on the subjects hereinbefore referred to, he was prominently mentioned for the vice-presidency by those opposed to the new policies declared by the Republicans. There was quite a strong pressure brought to bear for the purpose of inducing his consent to accept a nomination for vice-president on the ticket with Mr. Bryan. I personally know that this was not at all agreeable to him, and against all his notions of propriety as a judge. The following interview reported through the press of the time, expresses his views and is perfectly characteristic of him:

The Associated Press correspondent called on Judge Caldwell to-day and said to him: "An Associated Press dispatch from Minneapolis is authority for the statement that you have declined to permit the use of your name for Vice-President. Is the statement in the dispatch true?"

The Judge replied:


"Yes. Several weeks ago I received letters from some of the leading and influential members of the party intimating that it might become desirable to nominate me for Vice-President. I paid no attention to the previous loose talk on the subject, but learning from these letters that the matter of my candidacy was assuming somewhat of a serious aspect, I immediately advised these gentlemen by letter that I could not under any circumstances consent to the use of my name for that position. A brief extract from one of these letters will disclose my reason. 'No federal judge should become a candidate for any political office and continue to hold his judicial office. It would subject him to merited criticism, and impair his influence and usefulness as a judge. Moreover, I esteem the office of United States Circuit Judge of equal dignity with that of Vice-President, and of more practical importance and authority. The Vice-President has nothing on his mind except the state of the President's health, and nothing to do but to be the guest of honor at big dinners that kill. He is more ornamental than useful. The position would not suit me.' "

It only remains for me to mention some facts connected with his birth, parentage and rearing, and some general ones not included in previous mention.

He was born in Marshall county, Virginia, on the 4th day of December, 1832, and was brought by his father to Iowa when but four years of age.

His father was Van Caldwell,* who deserves a passing notice.

He was born in Virginia in 1799. He came with his family to



the other members of the family passed when the robbery of the grave was discovered. At my request he afterward sent me a written account of it, which I here produce as it preserves an interesting historical episode, and an important and impressive incident in the early life of my subject:

Our relations with the Indians during the time we lived in their country were of the most friendly character. Once only we came near having a deadly encounter with them. Black Hawk's grave was half a mile from our cabin and in plain view from our back door. From the time he was buried up to the time his grave was violated, a squad of Indians would, at intervals of a week or more, visit the grave, pluck the weeds from the bluegrass sod that covered it and sprinkle over it corn soup or other food to sustain him on his journey to the Happy Hunting Ground.

The year after he was buried a squad of seven Indians visited the grave to perform the usual ceremony, when they discovered that the puncheon roof over the grave had been torn down and Black Hawk's head and his medals and many other things buried with his body taken.

It is a curious fact that Indians have even a greater reverence and regard for the graves of their dead than the civilized man has for the graves of his dead. The violation of an Indian grave, particularly of a chief's, is the highest offense that can be committed against his family or tribe, and when the desecration of Black Hawk's grave was discovered by the seven Indians who had come to perform the accustomed solemn rites over it, their savage passions were aroused to the highest pitch. They knew at once that a white man had done the deed, and according to the Indian's idea of retaliation and justice, some members of the white race must be made to atone for the wrong, without regard to the question whether the persons punished had perpetrated the wrong.

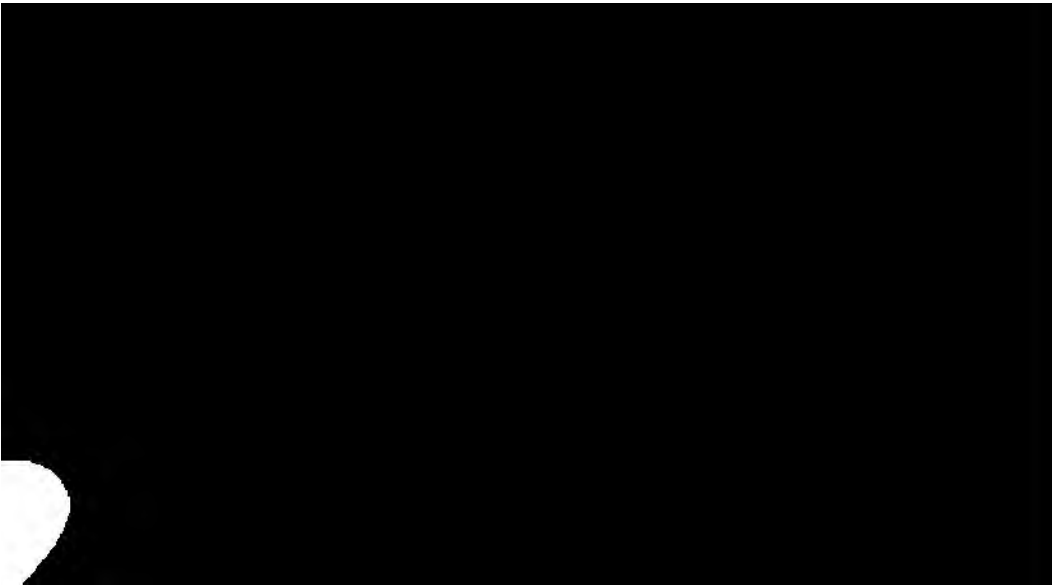
Looking in the direction of the grave, my father perceived unusual actions on the part of the Indians indicative of great excitement and divined at once that Black Hawk's grave had been violated.

Mounting their ponies they started for our cabin with their tomahawks and knives flashing in the sunlight. Half way between the grave and our cabin was a fence, and the road followed the fence to the river bank and thence at right angles up to the cabin, but the Indians scorned to follow the road and springing from their ponies threw the rails right and left until the fence was leveled to the ground, and mounting their ponies pursued their course in a straight line through the growing corn to our cabin.

In the meantime my father perceiving our danger took orders for our defense. The double-barrel shotgun was hastily loaded with slugs of lead and the daubing and chink knocked out at a suitable place to

make a port-hole, and I was given this gun at full cock and told I must take deliberate aim and bring down an Indian with the contents of each barrel, but not to touch the trigger until ordered to fire. My father and brother, each holding an ax in his hand, stood just inside of the cabin door. My father said no blow must be struck except to repel an attack by the Indians, that if a blow was once struck we should probably all be killed in the struggle, but that we must sell our lives as dearly as possible.

On reaching the cabin all the Indians, with the exception of one, dismounted, and one of them who appeared to be the leader, approached the door flourishing his tomahawk in a most menacing manner, exclaiming that the white man had robbed Black Hawk's grave. The door of the cabin was very low, so low that the Indian, who more than once raised his tomahawk in an attitude to strike, could not deliver an overhead stroke that would be effective, and but for this obstacle he probably would have delivered the blow. We told them we did not rob the grave and that we were their friends and would go up to the Indian Agency and get General Street, the Agent, to send the dragoons down and catch the bad man who did it. Our pleading seemed to exasperate rather than pacify them, and matters had reached such a pitch that a deadly struggle appeared inevitable, when the Indian who had remained motionless on his pony suddenly dismounted and running up sandwiched himself in between the belligerent Indian and my father, turned to the Indians and with great emphasis repeated what we had said and much more to the same effect; for a time they disputed with him, but finally they acquiesced in what he said, quieted down and metaphorically we smoked the pipe of peace, but as soon as they did so they demanded that some one go to the Agency with them to get the dragoons. My father wrote a letter to General Street, the agent, reciting what had happened and telling him what we had promised as a peace offering and begged him to send down a squad of dragoons. Mounting my pony I rode to the Agency, a distance of ten miles, with the Indians, and delivered father's



country, when becoming satisfied that further pursuit would be useless they returned, and our friendly relations with the Indians were re-established.

The story of the subsequent recovery of Black Hawk's head and its destruction by fire when the building in which it was stored in Burlington was burned, has been often told.

I observe a curious mistake (probably the result of a clerical or typographical blunder) in a volume entitled: *John Brown Among the Quakers*, and bearing the imprint of the Historical Department of Iowa, —it is there stated at page 100 that Black Hawk died "at his lodge on the Iowa river," and the implication is that he was buried there. He died at his palatial bark wigwam on the left bank of the Des Moines river and was buried on a slight elevation in the prairie, half a mile back from the river. He died and was buried on the land of the Indian trader, Capt. Jim Jordan, and a wagon-load of stone placed there for the purpose by Captain Jordan marks the spot where he was buried.

Van Caldwell was celebrated throughout the Des Moines valley for his hospitality. He was an ardent Whig and a great admirer of Henry Clay, for whom the subject of this biography was named. He was one of the highest types of the early pioneer; tall and commanding in figure; sympathetic and generous to a fault. Like father like son. No man in trouble was ever turned comfortless from his door. Strong in common sense and heroic in character, his counsel and advice were often sought by his neighbors. His memory was fragrant of good deeds in that part of the valley when I went from New England to Ottumwa in 1857. His warm personality and his interest in public affairs made him a favorite with the people, and his home was frequently visited by leading men of the Territory and State. It is more than likely that the influence of these visitations had the effect of firing the intellect and ambition of the son; for though without the continuous advantages of even a common school, he soon became a student at home, and eagerly devoured all the books that came within his reach. Judge Caldwell studied law in the offices of Judge J. C. Knapp, and George G. Wright—afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court and United States Senator from Iowa. Both Knapp and Wright were distinguished lawyers. Young Caldwell was admitted to the bar in 1851. Besides the older ones, he had young compeers in his profession to contend with worthy of his steel; among them

Charles C. Nourse, who afterward became distinguished as a lawyer of great ability. He should also have been a historian; he was, for he delivered the address of Iowa at the Centennial Celebration at Philadelphia in 1876, and among the addresses of all the different states that of Judge Nourse, in my judgment, was the best in the narration of historic events and general features. At the age of twenty-four Mr. Caldwell was elected prosecuting attorney of Van Buren county, and in 1860 a member of the State Legislature. He was made chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and his display of talents attracted general attention. Upon the breaking out of the war he resigned his seat in the Legislature to enter the military service. He served successively as Major, Lieutenant Colonel, and Colonel of the Third Iowa Cavalry. It is not my purpose to refer to the details of his military career any farther than I have in the prior part of this article, and in the note below,*

* Colonel Odon Guitar who commanded the Federal forces at the battle of Moore's Mill (July 28th, 1862) says in his report:

"Captains Duffield and Cook (Third Iowa Cavalry), were upon the right; Major Caldwell was upon the extreme left. The buckshot rattled upon the leaves like the pattering of hail. I could not see our line forty feet from the road on either side, but knew that Caldwell, Cook, Duffield, Glaze and Dunn were at their posts and felt that all was well.

Of the conduct of officers and men I cannot speak in terms of too high commendation. Where every man discharged his whole duty it would seem invidious to discriminate. It is enough to say that with such officers and men I would never feel doubtful of the result upon an equal field.

The following is a summary of our loss: Third Iowa Cavalry, killed 2, wounded 24. We lost twenty-two horses killed, belonging almost entirely to the Third Iowa Cavalry." (*Rebellion Records*, Series 1, vol. 13, pp. 187-189.)

General Davidson, commanding Cavalry Division, in reporting the operations of his Division on the march from Pilot Knob to Little Rock, from August 1st to September 1st, 1863, referring to his staff officers says, "they have efficiently aided me, especially Lieutenant-Colonel Caldwell, Third Iowa Cavalry, whose accomplishments and gallantry as a soldier deserve acknowledgment." (*Ib.*, pp. 485, 486.)

General Schofield in his report of the operations of the army in Missouri,

for they are given in Stuart's *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* and Ingersoll's *Iowa and the Rebellion*.

On the 20th of June 1864, he was appointed Judge of the United States District Court of Arkansas. In 1890 he was appointed United States Judge for the Eighth Circuit. In 1903 he resigned that office to spend the remainder of his days in the quietude of private life.

The announcement of his retirement was received with the most profound regret, not only by the profession, but by the nation at large. From the many communications touching it, which his family have placed in my possession, I must be privileged to refer to the following :

On receipt of his resignation the President and Attorney General of the United States wrote him over their own signatures, respectively, the following letters :

WHITE HOUSE, Washington, June 8, 1903.

Sir:

It is with sincere regret that your resignation as United States Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit, to take effect June 4th, 1903, is hereby accepted as tendered.

I desire to take this occasion to congratulate you upon your long and faithful service upon the United States bench with such distinguished usefulness, and to assure you of the high esteem which your ability and integrity have always commanded. The impartial administration of law and justice which has marked your judicial career should bring a serene satisfaction to you in your remaining years which I trust will be many and full of health and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Henry C. Caldwell,
Wagon Wheel Gap, Colorado.

Office of the Attorney General,
Washington, D. C., June 8, 1903.

Hon. Henry C. Caldwell,
Wagon Wheel Gap, Colorado.

Sir:

I regret to find upon my return to Washington your resignation of the office of United States Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit. You have filled the office of federal judge for so long a period and with such distinguished usefulness that it is indeed a matter of the most sincere regret that you feel constrained to retire.

I will present your resignation to the President for formal acceptance.

Very respectfully,

P. C. KNOX,
Attorney General.

The following is from John W. Noble of St. Louis, a former Iowan, a lawyer and statesman of national reputation, and who was Secretary of the Interior during the administration of President Harrison:

Dear Judge Caldwell:

Your retirement from the United States Bench, impresses me deeply with a sense of your long and most worthy service for our country. From the forum to the field, and from the field to the court, your course has been marked by a single purpose to do your duty; and this you have done with marked fidelity to every trust and with usefulness to all.

To have been associated with you in those early days and to have been at the bar over which you have presided, are sufficient to call forth my expression of continued friendship and admiration.

You have already the thanks of the Republic through the President of the United States—please accept this faint tribute of affection from an old comrade and friend.

JOHN W. NOBLE.

And this, from U. M. Rose of Little Rock (father of George B. Rose hereinbefore referred to), one of the most accomplished lawyers and scholars in the country; for a period President of the National Bar Association, Representative of our government to the recent Hague Conference, and whose appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States was warmly urged a few years ago:

Little Rock, Arkansas, June 28, 1903.

Dear Judge:

I have had something of a feeling of sadness since I learned that



Hon. H. C. Caldwell,
Wagon Wheel Gap, Colorado.

And this, from the distinguished Colorado lawyer, Charles J. Hughes of Denver:

Denver, Col., March 19th, 1903.

Dear Judge:

A rumor has reached us here that you have determined to retire from the Circuit Bench within the next few months. Many of us have entertained the hope that you would not feel either the necessity or inclination for this step, for years to come, and have seen no evidences of any reason why this step should be taken. * * * I could not permit an occasion like this to pass without expressing the deep appreciation I have felt for your many courtesies, and also express my opinion, shared in universally by the bar, of the distinguished services you have rendered to the Bench, to the Bar, and the country, by your conscientious, devoted and unswerving discharge of singularly high, trying and delicate duties.

Yours very truly,

CHARLES J. HUGHES.

And this, from Henry D. Estabrook, of New York, General Solicitor of the Western Union Telegraph Company:

New York, June 10th, 1903.

My Dear Judge:

It has been many years since I have seen and talked with you, nor was my practice ever so large as to bring us into frequent relationship. But now that you have retired, full of years and honors, I want to tell you how often I have thought of you, and always admiringly. I admired your legal attainments, of course, but I particularly admired your native sense of justice, your hatred of wrong-doing, your sympathy with the friendless, the tempted, the unfortunate. I shall never forget how, during enforced idleness in Little Rock one day, I was permitted to see, through the magistrate, the heart of a man; to learn that a certain curt gruffness of manner, and which was wont to discourage me, was after all the outward defense to a susceptible generosity.

You take with you in your retirement, the affectionate remembrance of all who knew you.

Sincerely,

HENRY D. ESTABROOK.

And this, from the *American Law Review*:


Judge Henry Clay Caldwell has recently resigned the office of Circuit Judge of the United States for the Eighth Judicial Circuit. * * * Like Jesus of Nazareth, Judge Caldwell at every turn, in every act, on every occasion, "had compassion on the multitude." The consciousness of having, on every occasion where it was possible, done good, and having, on every occasion where it was not possible, endeavor-

ored to do good, is a rare jewel for a judge to take with him into his retirement.

He remembered and revered the past, the scenes and personages of his early years; the hardships of the pioneer, the struggles of the wilderness. He remembered and revered its plain mannered and heroic men; its faithful and devoted women; its deep woods, its flowing streams, its stretching prairies, and all the natural bounties which Heaven unfolds to serious men.

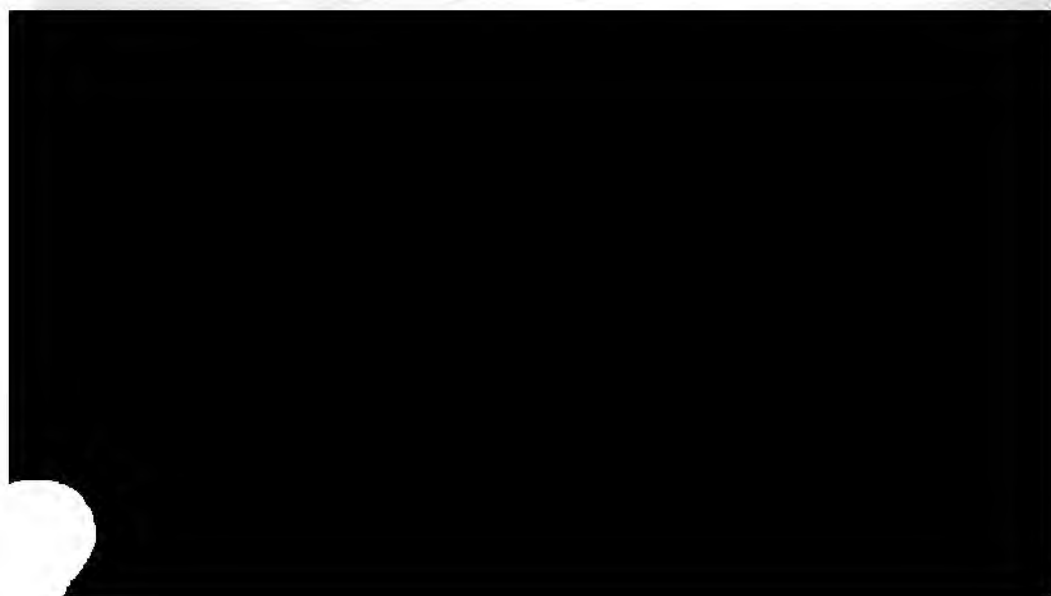
In his later years he decided to make his summer sojourns in Colorado; he selected an isolated mountain glade near Wagon Wheel Gap, which furnished a broad and beautiful open space at its foot, narrowing as it ascended into the mountains. Through it coursed a clear brook which took its rise in the mountain side. There, away up the narrowing glen, towards the source of the rivulet, in the midst of a natural park luxuriously wooded, and with the timbered mountains rising on either side and at the rear, he built a commodious summer abode, amply supplied with water piped from the brook, and in the large sitting room of which he erected a huge fireplace—such as he had seen in his father's house and warmed his youthful limbs before. To make the reminiscence more complete, he equipped this fireplace with a long iron crane like those of the olden time, provided with a hook on which constantly hung a teakettle over the fire which was never suffered to die out.

“Here”—using the language of another—“at a stated hour





Front and West view of Edwin James' home near Burlington, Iowa. Photographs by Karl R. Wundt.



Caldwell sat in his door at the cool of the day and breathed the wonderfully bracing mountain air; and great marches of mountain and valley spread out before him."

I lay down my pen with a feeling that I have not done justice to my subject, and with a regret that the work had not been wrought by an abler hand. I trust, however, and believe, that the simple facts I have related will be found to carry the highest eulogy in themselves, and fully justify all I have written.

DR. EDWIN JAMES.

BY L. H. PAMMEL, PH. D.,

Professor of Botany, Iowa State College, Ames.

(Concluded from October *Annals*.)

Doctor James was considered excellent authority upon all matters relating to the American Indians, and Mr. Bancroft, in preparing his *History of the United States*, relied greatly upon the articles by him which appeared from time to time in various periodicals. In the twentieth edition of the history, acknowledgment, in the form of marginal notes, is made of this debt. An article published in the *Philadelphia Transcript*, for instance, was the source of the following in Bancroft:

Materialism contributed greatly to the picturesque brilliancy of American discourse. Prosperity is as a bright sun or a cloudless sky; to establish peace, is to plant a forest tree, or to bury a tomahawk; to offer presents as a consolation to mourners, is to cover the grave of the departed; and if the Indian from the prairies would speak of griefs and hardships it is the thorns of the prickly pear that penetrate his moccasins. Especially the style of the Six Nations was adorned with noble metaphors, and glowed with allegory.*


The grammatical formation of the Indian languages differs greatly from that of English. In an article in the *American Quarterly Review*, Doctor James speaks of the difficulties encountered in arranging the paradigm of a Chippewa verb. Bancroft draws largely from this paper in the following,

* Bancroft's *Hist. of the U. S.*, vol. 3, p. 257.

which we quote in order that we may estimate more clearly the task which Doctor James had undertaken :

There are in the American dialects no genuine declensions: it is otherwise with conjugations. The verbs have true grammatical forms, as fixed and as regular as those of Greek or Sanscrit. The relations of number and person, both with regard to the agent and the object, are included in the verb by means of significant pronominal syllables, which are prefixed, inserted or annexed. The relations of time are expressed by the insertion, in part, of unmeaning, in part, it may be, of significant syllables; and, as many supplementary syllables may not always be easily piled one upon another, changes of vowels, and elisions, take place; and sometimes, also, unmeaning syllables are inserted for the sake of euphony. Inflection, agglutination and euphonic changes, all take place in the conjugation of the Chippewa verb. Of varieties of terminations and form the oldest languages and those of the earliest stage of development, have the most.

But not only does the Algonquin verb admit the number of forms required for the diversity of time and mode; it has also numerous conjugations. An action may be often repeated and a frequentative conjugation follows. The idea of causation, which the Indian does not conceive abstractly, and can express only synthetically, makes a demand, as in the Hebrew, for a new conjugation. Every verb may be used negatively, as well as positively; it may include in itself an animate object, or the object may be inanimate; and whether it expresses a simple action, or, again, is a frequentative, it may have a reflex signification, like the middle voice of a Greek verb; and every one of these accidents gives rise to an entire series of new forms. Then since the Indian verb includes within itself the agent and the object, it may pass through as many transitions as the persons and numbers of the pronouns will admit of different combinations; and each of these combinations may be used positively or negatively, with a reflex or causative signification.



article on Tanner as the source of his material, writes as follows:

The hunting tribes have the affections of men; but among them also, extremity of want produces like results. The aged and infirm meet with little tenderness; the hunters as they roam the wilderness, desert their old men; if provisions fail, the feeble drop down, and are lost, or life is shortened by a blow.* * * *

Solemn rites precede the departure of the warriors; the war-dance must be danced and the war-song sung. They express in their melodies a contempt of death, a passion for glory; and the chief boasts that "the spirits on high shall repeat his name." And with the pride which ever marks the barbarian, each one adds, "If any man thinks himself a great warrior I think myself the same."† * * *

The woods, the wilds, and the waters, respond to savage intelligence; the stars and the mountains live; the river, and the lake, and the waves, have a spirit. Every hidden agency, every mysterious instance, is personified. A god dwells in the sun, and in the moon, and in the firmament; the spirit of the morning reddens in the eastern sky; a deity is present in the ocean and in the fire; the crag that overhangs the river has its genius:‡

These excerpts from Bancroft indicate clearly the reputation that Doctor James had established as a close observer and reliable authority in regard to all pertaining to Indian life.

CHANGE OF LOCATION AND MORE ABOUT THE CHOLERA.

In those days as now, it was necessary for appointments in the army to come from Washington. Doctor James wanted to be stationed in the east, and the following letters have to do with this desired change:

Annapolis, Aug. 4th, 1832.

My Dear Brother:

Yours of July 27th gave me great satisfaction. We have felt the deepest anxiety for you, knowing that you must be called to very severe trials whilst the pestilence is at work in your city and in the midst of your friends and associates. We rejoice to hear that in your own case it has been mild, and we infer that our other relatives have escaped it altogether. I hope you will soon find yourself so much at leisure that you can favor me with farther hints of practice as I cannot and do not expect that we shall be exempted altogether from its visitations at this place. You will probably have observed that it has broken out with

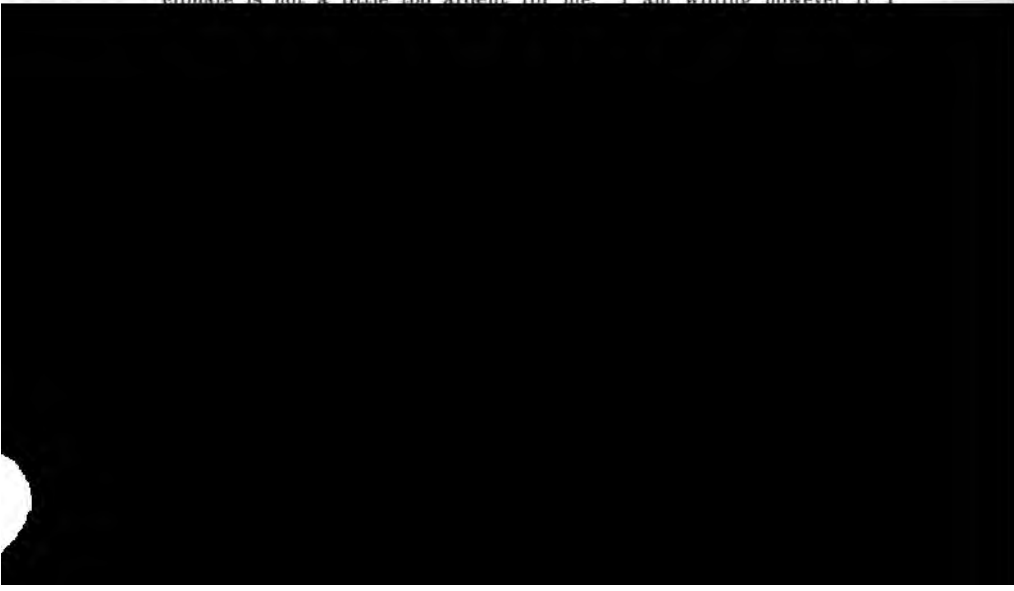
* Bancroft's *Hist. of the U. S.*, vol. 3, p. 273.

† *ib.*, vol. 3, p. 281.

‡ *ib.*, vol. 3, p. 286.

great violence at Portsmouth and other places on the shores of the Chesapeake southward of us. Baltimore is yet free of it, also Washington, Alexandria and the other towns immediately about us. Annapolis at this time is entirely healthful and the weather so extremely warm that I find myself almost induced to abandon it at all risks. It is one of those arid and scorched sand beds of which there are no doubt a number along the alluvial border of the Southern States, any of which a man would abandon in these days of dog-days if he could. But as I cannot, I am induced to seek occupation as the only source of relief from that horrible depression which results from the state of the atmosphere. I cannot expect you to turn aside one moment from your duties, but I will thank you to direct your boy to pack all my Indian manuscripts and the few classic and Hebrew books which I left at your house in the small box with the uniform, coat, hat, spurs, sword, and knives and forks and if there is any space remaining with bed, table or other linen or any such articles from the large box as would be useful for housekeeping, and let it be directed to me here. I find I can print the N. T. in Chippewa here for about 800D. of which I think 600 are already pledged. Would you not under these circumstances and considering our pressing need of something to do, advise me to go on even with the prospect of some small loss? Or rather I might say on the plan of casting my bread upon the waters. I shall wait for your advice, at all events I cannot well proceed until the MSS. arrive. All letters which may be therefor could be put into the box with the books. I have never heard a word more in relation to the Temperance Agency mentioned by Mr. Delavan in his letter to me. I conclude the pestilence has suspended everything of that kind.

Dr. Smith, whose place I fill here for the time, is gone to the Indian wars, where for many reasons I would not wish to be; he may I think return within two or three months. If he does I expect to go to Philadelphia but I have had doubts since coming here whether that climate is not a little too ardent for me. I am willing however if I



Annapolis, Aug. 23, 1832.

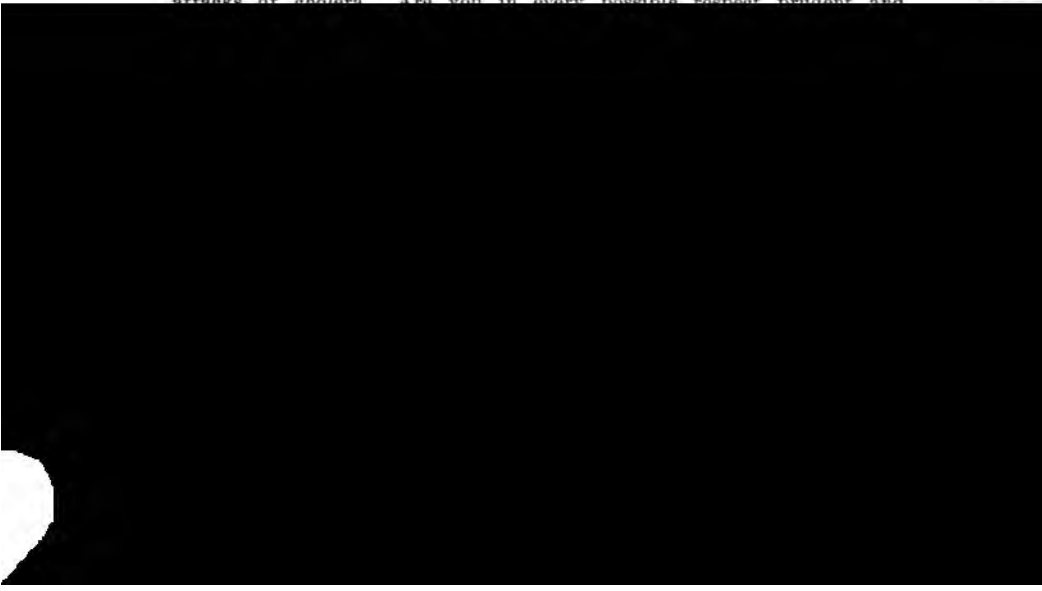
My Dear Brother:

You need not doubt my disposition to admit your apology for not having attended to the troublesome commission contained in my last letter, and I beg you will give yourself no manner of concern or anxiety in relation to those things either now or hereafter. So great and absorbing is the anxiety and distress of the time that I cannot proceed with the printing of the Indian Testament and I must perforce turn my thoughts to other subjects. Yours of the 15th which was written in a moment of great depression has given us occasion to sympathize most deeply with you in the trying scenes which you are called to witness, and we tremble for you lest your strength should not be adequate to sustain you in all the emergencies which your professional and other relations must render unavoidable. That letter I should have answered much sooner, according to the regular course of the mails, but I did not receive it until last evening on my return from Baltimore where I have been spending a few days for the purpose of observing cases of cholera, the treatment adopted, &c. The disease there in the situations where I witnessed it (the New Alms House and the Cholera Hospital) surpasses in malignity all that I have heretofore seen and if possible what I have imagined. But it is there of course in a mass of materials most completely ripened and ready for its reception. In my own little territory here I have for some time been skirmishing with the enemy's pickets and I apprehend he will soon be here in force. The only favorable augury I have yet been able to make for this place is derived from the fact that the usual endemic diseases of the season are becoming clearly developed as I have now under my care well marked cases of remitting and intermitting fever. On the other hand I have noticed an extremely sickly and dejected look among the dogs, and accounts of sickness and mortality among hogs (whether true or false I know not) are frequent. As to treatment of cholera, it appears to me thus far not difficult in the forming state, but after collapse all the methods I have seen appear equally inadequate and hopeless. Dr. W——— at the New Alms House, bleeds, gives calomel, opium, stomachics, quinine, the vapour bath (of burning spirits) &c. &c. Dr. J——— at the Cholera Hospital, commenced with large doses of brandy and laudanum; has broached a pathological system which assigns the kidneys as the seat of the disease and *ureah* in the brain as the exciting cause of the collapse or asphyxia and in accordance with this view has given Tinct. Canthar. and the like, but as far as I can see none are well satisfied with their own views of the disease or its treatment. I confine this remark of course to the intelligent and ingenuous part of the profession.

In relation to the more immediate business of your letter, the proposition to resign and come to Albany, I am unable without further reflection and deliberation to give a definite answer. I fear greatly,

that the duties of your station are becoming too onerous for you. If this is indeed the case and if you can certainly foresee that my presence and assistance will afford you any relief, any exemption from cares and toils, you have only to say the word and I will come to you. I give myself no anxiety on the subject of business arrangement. My situation in the army affords an humble independence with a remarkable exemption from many of the cares and annoyances attendant on private practice, while on the other hand there is the unsettled way of life, the chance of unpleasant stations, disagreeable commanding officers and the like, all of which you are pretty well able to estimate, and I am well assured you would not desire any arrangement unless it were on the whole judicious and advisable for both of us. At the present time I have my settled dislike to alluvial districts, southern climates and a zealous detestation of miasms, urging towards the measure you propose—and *per contra* the promise of a station at Philadelphia where by the way the heat of summer is very intense, and the consideration that my long period of service entitles me now to some of the customary advantages of age and *rank* in the small way of the Medical Dept. These considerations are however nothing when compared with the preservation of your health and the enjoyment of that exemption from toil to which your claim is certainly better than mine. I hope you will write me immediately and very frankly and particularly on this point. If I can strengthen your hands and encourage your heart in any considerable degree I ought to be there and of this you can probably judge better than I can. I would be found in the way of duty, and at present do not feel that I must give myself much anxiety in relation to those things which perish on the using.

We are here as yet in good health, though my little boy acknowledges the effect of the climate in his peaked looks and languid movements and I myself having constantly the fear of miasm before my eyes am becoming more and more attenuated. I am alarmed almost at your three attacks of cholera. Are you in every possible respect prudent and



tion to all the minutiae of diet and regimen, and avoid entirely as I do exposure to the direct rays of the sun by the use of an umbrella, covered gig, &c.

My wife wished to be particularly remembered. We regret to hear of the misfortune of Mr. Spilman, and we hope and pray that a time of rest for your devoted city may be near at hand. Let us hear often if you have only time to write ten words, for we are uneasy when we do not hear from you often. Love to all. As ever.


E. JAMES.

Annapolis, Nov. 1st, 1832.

My Dear Brother:

The account of your visit to Vermont is to me something like a vision of the world before the flood. My early impressions are certainly not obliterated, and perhaps not much impaired, but between me and Vermont there is so long a succession of perplexed and intricate passages, that I seem to remember things here as a distinct vision, rather than as part and parcel of my present existence. And Felix Benton and Dunning are still among the living. When we were children, they had children of adult age. They must be old, or we ourselves are younger than I imagine. I was last night visited by one of those clear, distinct and unpremeditated dreams which I am superstitious enough to consider ominous of something, but I never pretend to say what. Brother Daniel and yourself arrived at Annapolis to make me a visit and I looked with much astonishment upon your two clear, bright curly heads and endeavored to account to myself for the venerable grisly hue of my own which I was determined to consider physically premature, and only an indication of ripened wisdom. I am half in love with those old well remembered mountains in Vermont, but I must confess also a growing partiality for the milder climates of our more temperate regions. Is there no part of the mountainous district of the Southern States or of Arkansas that would suit us better for an asylum in our old age than the low alluvial of Georgia or Florida? To answer this question you should have the opportunity for personal exploration, which I am anxious to do all in my power towards giving you, but as yet I know not whether I have any prospect of coming to Albany this winter. The Surgeon of this Station is expected daily. He was at Cincinnati with the detachment from Fortress Monroe (near Norfolk, Va.) on the 14th Oct. The march from Gyandot to Richmond should have been made in about 15 days from Richmond here by steamboat about 4. I have letters often from my family in Philadelphia and have the satisfaction to hear that my little son has recovered his usual health. The croup was succeeded by an inflammation of the kind you mention terminating in suppuration in one or both ears. This latter affection, not preceded by croup is extremely common among the children in the Northwest but I have never observed that the organs of hearing are

permanently injured by it. Is it or is it not seated without the tympanum, and analogous to the inflammation of certain mucous membranes? I mean does it not occasion a purulent discharge without any mutilation? * * * We have at last (on the 29 Oct.) had a smart frost and our autumnal fevers are disappearing. They have here a malignant form of bilious fever which though often possibly intermittent proves fatal at the second or third paroxysm. It is a good deal like the Cholera as it appeared in Baltimore that is in pathological condition. But on the whole I should think this climate even here in the alluvial region more healthful than almost any part of New England. The alternations of temperature and of moist and dry are not so great and frequent. At this time potato vines and other tender plants such as tobacco and beans are merely nipt and not killed to the ground and in some years they have not a frost before Christmas. The heats of summer are also greatly modified by the diurnal winds and the proximity of large bodies of salt water. But the soil is thin and meagre and Slavery the great abomination which maketh desolate is like a mildew upon everything. I have written to Henry touching the Florida project (he having informed me that he is one of those principally connected) and dwelling somewhat at length upon the difficulties we shall have to encounter principally in consequence of the slaveholding in the South. I suppose you have reflected upon all these difficulties but I think you are not and never will be fully aware of the evils of a slave population until you come to hold property and have business to do in a slave country. Everything which is left to the care of slaves seems to go to ruin. Take an instance, a gentleman here has a herd of cows and proposes to himself to make money by supplying the market with butter. His pastures are two or three miles from town, and on my way out in my afternoon walk I commonly meet a negro bringing them in to be milked. He rides a smart trotting horse and comes in at a brisk trot which gait the cows have so well learned that they trot as naturally and about as well as the horse and it probably



secure their comfort. Eastern people particularly those in bad health could not live on bacon and hominy cooked by the most approved wenches of the South, and they would not go intending to depend altogether upon the Southern people for society which constitutes so important an item of the wants of so many persons. I may be fastidious or I may have fallen generally among bad specimens but to me the manners of the Southern people seem like everything else about them spoiled by Slave-holding. You will however make your explorations either by yourself or an agent before you come to any definite settlement of your plan. In the meantime let me know what your means and intentions are and rely upon my co-operation and assistance so far as it shall be in my power to render them. As the momentous Electoral election will soon have passed I shall be hoping for an answer to my application for Albany or Watervliet but my expectations are not high, though I was never more desirous of the arrangement than at this time.

Remember me to all friends.

As ever,

E. JAMES.

Philadelphia, Nov. 16, 1832.

My Dear Brother:

I arrived here yesterday from Washington where I was not able entirely to complete the business on which I went in consequence of the absence of the Secretary of War. I have however received assurances from the Surgeon General which induces me to consider it nearly certain that I shall be stationed at Albany. He gave me however one hint which may be useful and I am sorry that it has not occurred or been made to me before. It is that I should be careful not to have it understood or said at Albany that I am applying to come there as a Surgeon of the Army. He is apprehensive of memorials from the friends of the citizen who has heretofore been employed there which would embarrass him in effecting the final arrangement. This may possibly have occurred to you or for other reasons you may not have made your intentions known to the party concerned. I hope you have not but the purpose of my writing at this time is principally to caution you on this head. Since it appears that something like trick or finesse is required in gaining a clear and acknowledged right, it may be proper to keep my plans altogether in the dark, or if I should come to Albany in about a week from this time, it may be said that I am on a visit and do not know where I shall be stationed, which will indeed be the truth, until I receive my order. In the mean time I shall wish to hear from you immediately (please direct to 175 Walnut st.) in relation to arrangements for living. Shall we come immediately to your house, breakfast, tea and sleep there, dine at an eating house or shall we take furnished lodgings, board out or how? I have stated to the Surgeon General that the arrangement if effected is to be a permanent one, and that prospectively I decline

promotion being now first on the list in order that I may be permanently established with you.

I find my family who as you recollect have been more than a month here, in good health, but the air of the city is rather trying to Edwin as I find it also to me. It must be cooler here than at Annapolis, and as I have been exposed to the autumnal air in that low and warm situation it may not be amiss for me to remain here in an intermediate climate some short time before proceeding to Albany. As however the season is now so far advanced I should rather not remain long.

I have nothing to add, at present, having written this time principally in consequence of the hint above alluded to which I received at Washington.

I remain as ever Dear Brother,

Yours very affectionately,

EDWIN JAMES.

MADE A SURVEYOR.

Doctor James entered into the agreement with Silas Read, Surveyor General of the public lands in Illinois and Missouri, to survey six townships of land in that district, and with his son, to survey nine other townships for the sum of \$300.00 for every mile of line run and marked. The work was completed but it seems that not enough money had been appropriated to pay for it. Doctor James and son, therefore, presented a memorial to the Commissioner of Public Land, praying compensation for loss sustained in the abrogation of contracts in the survey of public lands. The commissioner* recommended that the same be not granted.

The following letter touches somewhat upon his work in surveying. It is addressed to John James, Upper Alton (Ill.), for Dr. Fitch.

St. Louis, July 3d, 1844.

Dear Sister Mary and Brother John:

I have your note of this date. We are sorry to hear that Sister M. has been and is unwell. Should perhaps visit you now but that little Edwin Reeve is at present quite sick; teething and Summer complaint:—So that we should feel very uneasy about him were we absent. As you say nothing to the contrary we conclude that Brother John is well.

I have been at home about eleven days. Having finished surveying at New Seb. I compute that between Feb. 26th when I left St. Louis and my return, I walked upward of 1000 miles. My health has been

*Serg. James 358, U. S. Senate, 2d Sess. 32d Cong.

good. Edward Junior, I left on the west of the Missouri River at Fort Osage, 400 miles from this place waiting the falling of the water.

Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis.

He wishes to go to Iowa with the waggon and team which we were using in surveying, and as was often the case with us was water bound. I hope however he will be in Iowa about the 14th of this month when I expect to meet him there, and then perhaps he will return with me, but this is not yet fully determined on nor indeed that I shall return immediately.

We consider that the period of our sojourn in St. Louis is rapidly drawing to a close and our attention is more and more directed homeward.

Hennelton and the Doctor and children, except Edwin, are well. We remain in the little attic room where Brother John saw Clara and think it scarce worth while to seek a change. Have you abandoned the idea of coming to St. Louis to live? We would be very happy to see you here but know not what to advise. Accept much love from us both. Clara would write but she thinks she is not literary enough. The appropriation for copying field notes this year is smaller than usual but I think there is no doubt you will get your pay for what you have written within the year, say at the end of September or December. I shall have to wait the same length of time that you will but in the end it will come to us both; unless some unforeseen casualty changes the powers that be the money will come to us or our assigns in due time. I am very little aware of the movements of the great world without, having been very closely occupied with the field notes of the surveys since my return. I grieve that your state has adorned herself with another plume of infamy by the murder of the Smiths. All the world will cry shame upon the Suckers! Bloody Carthage, Bloody Alton!! Good men will shudder and turn pale years to come when they read the names of places where the prisoner of the state is not protected by the arm of the state and where men are butchered because they claim the right to speak their own thoughts and have their own opinions. You will have noticed the action of the Methodist general conference in the case of Bishop Andrews and the split in the Baptist church on the same question and will have been aware that these things are nuts for me. Perish the Union! has long been my most fervent prayer, believing that no mild remedy can bring us to our senses or rebuke effectually the murderous spirit of mob despotism under which we groan. Blood may and must flow to the horses' bridles, for it is so predicted, but beyond that sea of blood there is a rock of peace. We or our descendants will reach it and then our feet shall be firm planted upon the Rock of Ages and

O'er our ransomed Nature
The Lamb for sinners slain.
Redeemer, King, Creator
Return in power to reign.

Excuse tediousness. I cannot speak here, those to whom I can write must expect to suffer accordingly but there is one remedy for them, I cannot make them read.

As ever yours affectionately,

EDWIN JAMES.


VIEWS ON JOHN BROWN.

In the following letter Doctor James expressed himself in vigorous language on the John Brown affair. The Mrs. Callahan mentioned was his housekeeper:

Burlington, Decr. 14th, '59.

My Dear Niece:

Your kind letter of November 29th is most thankfully received and affords me the highest satisfaction. It reads like a hymn of praise and thanksgiving to God for raising up among us so great a man as John Brown and giving him grace and strength to carry through to the end and finish with such admirable completeness his great and certainly not unavailing sacrifice. Oh that we white people may be benefited! The emancipation of the negroes was bound to come. It was not and could not be made possible for their slavery long to continue amid those great advances in productive industry possible only among free men, but every where among them in such triumphant progress. Slave driving and even slave breeding are too unprofitable to last long in the 19th century of Christianity, but I have had and still have my fears that the leprosy of this sin has so deeply polluted the blood and destroyed the moral stamina of the white race that our restoration is impossible. This mission of John Brown may awaken us. The Divine voice plainly has said to him "Son of man can these thy bones live?" He answered as *he* only could among us "Lord thou knowest." "Here am I send me." And that he was *God-sent* and *God-sustained* for the salvation of the most abandoned race of sinners earth ever saw—to-wit, the race



1

2

3

4

5



Jamesia Americana named by Drs. Torrey and Gray, the genus.
Commemorating Dr. Edwin James

Congress and the Legislatures there is no hope for us. The door to hell the lowest and hottest stands open night and day, the infernal pit yawns just before us and down we must go unless God in his infinite compassion give us grace and wisdom to decline as did John Brown the leadership of such statesmen and such priests as are left to us in these degenerate days—unless we sternly resolve with leaders or without to do the thing that ought to be done. You will not understand me to approve John Brown's *war making*. Tho with his principles—his way of reading and understanding the Bible he was right and the only consistent man I know of. And the same praise belongs to the few that were his companions if they held his views. But such have never been my opinions of Christianity. I have supposed the anti-slavery weapons *not carnal*, have always maintained that the slave-holders may kill me if they like but I will never harm a hair of their heads. Such is still my way of thinking. But an anti-slavery man that votes and thinks cases may arise when he would fight, must, it seems to me, give John Brown his highest and most unqualified praise and if much developed in conscientiousness he will be likely at some time to rise up, go and do likewise. It is one of the worst omens of the times that Captain Brown could before his defeat at Harper's Ferry find so few to sympathize with him in politics, since that time, so few in religion, so few worshipers of John Brown's God. Truly I am afraid we are a God forsaken set. As to the negroes I am quite sure they must soon be free whether as a dominant caste as in Hayti or as co-ordinate, co-equal, co-religionists with their some-time masters I do not know or care because I think one race as good as the other.

Mrs. Callahan requests to be respectfully remembered to you and your father as one who has a sincere regard for you both and would consider it a great pleasure to see either or both of you again.

With cordial affection and esteem, I remain, your uncle,

E. JAMES.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC WORK.


Doctor James shows fine literary ability in the works compiled and edited by him, also in his letters which are written with precision. In few instances do they show any erasures or corrections.

The literary spirit has appeared frequently in succeeding generations of the James family—a nephew, Henry James, was sent by the *New York Herald* as a staff correspondent to Brazil. His early death cut short a career of unusual promise. A grand nephew, Edwin James of Jamestown, Ia., but recently deceased, has done editorial work in St. Louis and Davenport,

and a brother of the latter, Henry James, of the *Philadelphia Daily Ledger*, who began his literary career as a reporter for the *Rocky Mountain News*, has acquired a reputation as a forceful thinker and editorial writer on papers of the far west—notably in San Francisco and Tacoma.

Doctor James was a keen observer as his volumes on the Expedition show. He made careful notes of all the conditions surrounding the different places along the route. Much of his time was given to the geology of the Expedition; his account of geological formations do not always conform to present designations, but it must be remembered that less was known of geology than botany in those days. He discovered several new species of plants, the *Aquilegia caerulea*, the Rocky Mountain columbine, which is the state flower of Colorado, also the *Pinus flexilis* found at the timber line on James' Peak. One Rosaceous plant is named after him—*Jamesia*. Of the columbine he says:

From our encampment we traveled nearly south, and, crossing a small ridge dividing the waters of the Platte from those of the Arkansas, halted to dine on a tributary of the latter. In an excursion from this place we collected a large species of Columbine, somewhat resembling the common one of the gardens. It is therefore unknown to the flora of the United States, to which it forms a splendid acquisition. If it should appear not to have been described, it may receive the name of *Aquilegia caerulea*. In a foot note the species is described as follows: "Leaves twice ternate; flowers terminal, remote; nectaries straight and very long. It inhabits sandy woods of pine, and spruce within the mountains, rising sometimes to the height of three feet."



comparison with the plants of Mexico, Siberia, and other countries than we have yet had the opportunity to make.

There is neither an *Abies nigra* nor *Canadensis*, he probably observed the *Picea Engelmanni* or the *Picea Parryana* and the Douglas spruce. The red maple referred to here is undoubtedly *Acer glabrum*. Hop-hornbeam does not occur. *Pinus resinosa* undoubtedly is *Pinus scopulorum*. The *Populus tremuloides*, *Pyrola secunda*, *Orchis* (*Habenaria*) *dilatata* and *Companula uniflora* are known to occur in the region visited by James. In another connection he refers to the description of a collection of fine plants in the following footnote:

One of these is a large and conspicuous plant of the natural family of the Cruciferae, which may be referred to the new Genus *Stanleya* of Nuttall, and distinguished as *S. integrifolia*. Stem simple, leaves entire, ovate, oblong, tapering to both ends; stem angular; flowers in a terminal raceme, which is a little branched below; about six inches in length. Stipe of the Silique, about as long as the pedicel. Flowers large, yellow. The whole plant seen at a little distance, has a remote resemblance to *Lysimachia thyrsiflora*. The leaves are five or six inches long, two or three wide, glaucous and veined, in surface and color, nearly resembling those of the common cabbage which they are not wholly unlike in taste. The calyx is large, and of a brighter yellow than the other parts of the flower. It inhabits the summits of the sandstone ridges along the base of the mountains. The *S. pinnatifida*, N., the original type of this genus was found by its discoverer, Mr. Nuttall, to act as a violent emetic. It had been eaten as a substitute for cabbage by several of the party who accompanied him.

The *Stanleya integrifolia* James is recognized by botanists as a valid species.

He was interested in plants all through his life. The following is a letter from John U. Rauch to C. C. Parry:

Yours of June 20th reached me in due time, and was very sorry indeed to hear that you could not visit Burlington. Mr. James was very much disappointed, and begged me to assure you, that he would be happy to see you at any time. He was in my office on Saturday and in looking over the *Plantæ Wrightianæ* he was considerably amused to see that his opinion with regard to the *Cacurbita perennis* of Gray, he calling it *Cucumis perennis* was marked doubtful. He still thinks he is right, he told me Dr. Torrey first differed with him. He is as enthusiastic and ardent as ever, and remarked to me that he could walk one hundred miles to see a new plant, but would like to take the steam-

boat back. You would have been delighted with him. He has his peculiarities, and the masses cannot appreciate him, he is at least two hundred years ahead of the time in many things.

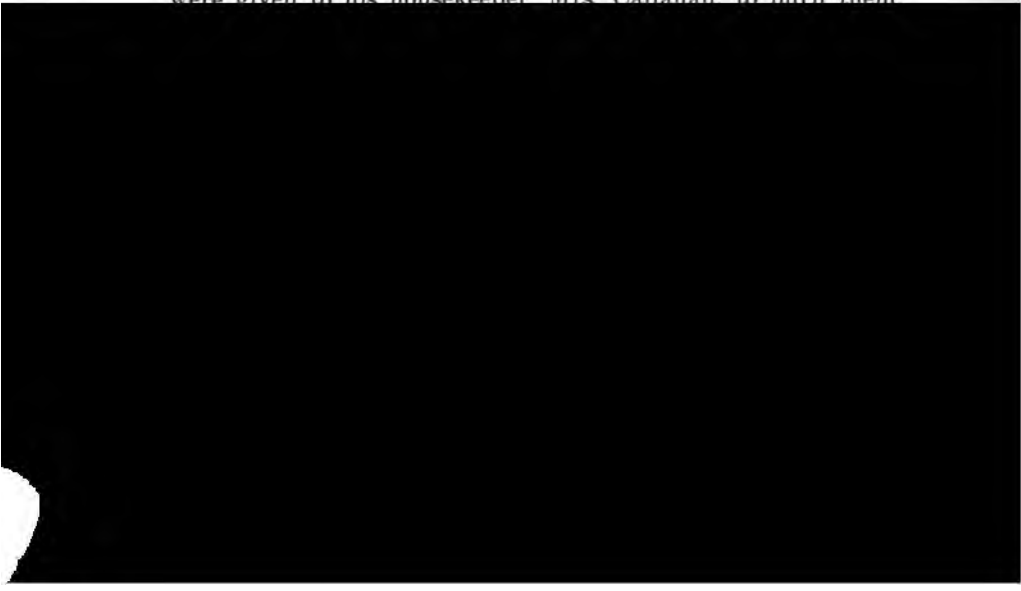
Think I shall not be able to attend the meeting of the American Scientific Association at Cleveland, as I intend going east in December, I shall have to remain home. Have not the least doubt that I would be gratified, and should be pleased to make the acquaintance of those who attend.

It shall afford me much pleasure to collect the fish and reptiles found here for the Smithsonian collection, also serve Prof. Baird in any capacity that I am able.

I am now engaged in preparing the proceedings of our State Society for publication, and I find it to be considerable of a job, fortunately for the honor of the Society, I was ordered empowered to correct, improve and revise them. The business and everything is mixed, owing to the neglect of the former officers. It is really discouraging, all the work falls on a few, and I for one am getting tired. I am hoping, however, that a better state of things will occur in a few years. This is all that buoys me up. Few will sacrifice a little of self, for the good of the profession. Hoping soon to hear from you, I am, yours truly,

JOHN U. RAUCH.

References to the work of Thomas Nuttall and other early American botanists show that Doctor James was a student. So far as accuracy is concerned his notes are better than those made on the natural history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and stand as a monument to his indefatigable labors. They form the best account we have of early western explorations. It is to be regretted that his manuscripts, collections and papers were destroyed. After the death of his wife, orders were given to his housekeeper, Mrs. Callahan, to burn them





The Rocky Mountain Columbine (*Aquilegia caerulea* James)
Photograph by Clements.

man, but never to the extent of taking up arms, more perhaps like a Tolstoi of to-day. I could never draw him out on his past life. He would not talk about himself. The last talk I had with him was about the beginning of the civil war. He was disturbed about it, and touching his bosom said he would gladly give up his own life rather than it should be. * * *

I was in Middlebury, Vt., last year, and passed by the "old James place" where some of his ancestors or kin once lived, and also the monument of Silas Wright, his honored friend, who was one year before him in college, afterwards Governor of New York, etc.

I copied from a letter of E. J. in *Vermont Hist. Magazine*, p. 113, the following written under date, Nov. 19, 1859: After speaking of his vigor and almost life-long virtue of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, tea, coffee, tobacco, and bolted wheat flour, he says, "My native State has always had a large share of my regards, and as fears and forebodings for the south and west, at times come over me, I have looked back to her hills for a home, should a just retribution overtake us.

"The Vermonters are in all countries, south and west, and are mostly men one is glad to see and proud to take by the hand as fellow countrymen. Martin Scott of Bennington, found in the wilds of the west many sons of his boasted native State, worthy the grasp of a strong friendly hand—few nobler than himself. All are not like him. Here and there a 'pious Jones' is dealing faro at Chicago." He added, "Years ago the small pirogue of this writer collided with the powerful argosies of Princeton and Andover not much to the manifest damage of either, on the question of the miracle at Cana. Our moral intuitions, said I, are like our intellectual, both veritable, and of more authority than the text of Knapp or Griesbach. 'You are an ignoramus and a liar to boot,' said they."

A biographical sketch of Edwin James written by Dr. C. C. Parry, prefaced with a note by Dr. Asa Gray, appeared in the *American Journal of Science*, 2d ser., vol. 33, pp. 428-430, from which the following extracts are made. The last paragraph was contributed by Dr. Wm. Salter:

Dr. Edwin James died at Rock Spring, near Burlington, Iowa, on the 28th of October, 1861, at the age of 64 years. As the earliest botanical explorer of an alpine region, in which Dr. Parry has recently much interested the readers of this journal, it is with peculiar propriety that the following biographical notice of this pioneer of Rocky Mountain botany is furnished by Dr. Parry.

A. G.

* * * The efficient labors of Dr. James in this arduous trip, may be readily inferred from the published scientific results. Interesting additions were made to our knowledge of the botany of the great plains, at that time but imperfectly known. The elevated peaks, forming the outliers of


the Rocky Mountain range, rivaling in altitude the snowy summits of Mt. Blanc, revealed a flora of exceeding richness, and attracted the attention of botanists both of this country and in Europe. We can easily imagine the enthusiastic ardor with which the young naturalist, treading for the first time these alpine heights, gathered up its floral treasures, and scaled the snowy peak, which ought properly to bear his name. It is still unexplained why the recommendation of Col. Long, applying to this mountain the name of James' Peak, has not been adopted, by modern geographers. Amid the great number of elevated landmarks, of this region, some other peak, fully as appropriate, might have been selected to bear the name of the enterprising Pike.

On returning from this expedition, the attention of Dr. James was occupied, for about two years, in compiling the results of the same, which were published, both in this country and in Europe, in 1823. The work elicited no little interest, and is now a valued fund of historical and scientific facts.

On the completion of this work, Dr. James was for six or seven years connected with the United States army as surgeon, serving in that capacity at several of the extreme frontier posts. During this period, aside from his professional duties, he was occupied with the study of the native Indian dialects, and prepared a translation of the New Testament, in the Ojibwe language; subsequently published, in 1833. He was also the author of a life of John Tanner, a strange frontier character, who, was stolen when a child from his home on the Ohio river by Indians, among whom he was brought up, developing in his future eventful history a strange mixture of the different traits pertaining to his early life, and savage education.

On the reorganization of the medical department of the U. S. army in 1830, Dr. James resigned his commission, and returned to Albany, N. Y., where for a short time he was associate editor of a temperance journal, conducted by E. C. Delavan, Esq.

After leaving this, he concluded to make his home in the far west, and



tively wrong. In full justice, however, to his many amiable traits, it must be admitted that his errors were on the side of goodness, and in all his waywardness, he never forfeited his self-respect, or the attachment of those who had known him in early life. In his personal appearance, Dr. James was tall, erect, with a benevolent expression of countenance and a piercing black eye.

"On the 25th of October, 1861, he fell from a load of wood, the team descending a small pitch of ground, near his house, and both wheels passed over his chest. He at once said that he was a dead man. He lingered, much of the time in great pain, until the morning of October 28th, when he expired at the age of 64 years."

ANNALS OF IOWA—A committee of Publication, consisting of Rev. E. Oliver, E. Spencer, President of the State University, William Crum, Treasurer of the University, and George H. Jerome, Editor of *The Iowa City Republican*, appointed by the State Historical Society, have announced that they will publish during the month of April two numbers, and thereafter one number quarterly of a periodical, entitled "Annals of the State Historical Society of Iowa." Each number will contain not less than fifty pages, making two hundred pages in the four numbers for the year 1863. Price 15 cents per number or 50 cents per year. All communications and subscriptions to be addressed to the "Librarian of the State Historical Society at Iowa City, Iowa."

The object of this publication is to collect and preserve in a permanent form, facts connected with the early history of Iowa, before they are lost from the memory of observers of events, together with such biographical sketches and reminiscences of prominent citizens of the State as would otherwise fail to be recorded. Any persons having material or authentic manuscript of this kind will confer a favor by forwarding them to the Librarian of the Society.—*Iowa Religious Newsletter, Dubuque, April, 1863.*

CORRESPONDENCE OF A. C. DODGE AND THOMAS
H. BENTON ON THE PUBLIC LANDS, THE
HOMESTEAD BILL, AND THE
PACIFIC RAILROAD.

EDITED BY WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.


In the Thirty-second Congress, Mr. Dodge was chairman of the Committee on Public Lands in the Senate, and Mr. Benton was a member of the House of Representatives. After "Thirty Years in the Senate," Mr. Benton had been defeated for re-election to that body, because of his opposing Mr. Douglas' measure for repealing the Compromise, under which Missouri came into the Union. He regarded that measure as a breach of faith, an act of dishonor.

In the Thirty-second Congress, the disposition of the Public Lands, the Homestead Bill, and the building of a railroad to the Pacific, were engrossing topics. It is to these questions that the correspondence refers:

Burlington, Iowa, November 11, 1852.

COLONEL BENTON—

Dear Sir: The deep interest you have manifested in favor of a liberal and just disposition of the public domain, and your well known familiarity with the history, progress, and present condition of our Land System, will, I trust, be a sufficient apology for obtruding this letter upon you, and asking your opinion as to the merits of a Land Bill now attracting attention all over the country, known as "Bennett's Bill."



imposed himself upon our Board of Internal Improvement, but failed to meet every engagement, was heard to say during the last session of Congress that he would be able to meet his contract for the improvement of the Des Moines, provided the "Sixty Million" bill (Bennett's) passed. That man boasts that he drew the bill. I write not to prejudice you against the measure, but as an item in the history of Congressional legislation.

With high considerations of respect and esteem,

Your friend,

A. C. DODGE.

Mr. Dodge was subsequently a member of a Select Committee to report a bill for the construction of a Pacific railroad. He made a vigorous speech on the subject in the Senate, Feb. 18, 1853, in which he advocated the route through Iowa, the valley of the Platte and the South Pass, and called attention "to what the accomplished and scientific Fremont had said respecting the practicability of the route, and of the most difficult portion of it." Previously to making that speech, he had received the following letter:

C Street, Tuesday night.

HON. AUGUSTUS C. DODGE,

U. S. Senate, Senate Chamber.

Dear Sir: I have to thank you for the copy of the amendment to the Pacific Railroad Bill, reported by Mr. Rusk, and which you have had the kindness to send me, with a request for my remarks upon it. I give them freely.

1. I think the amendment is right in dispensing with branches, and going for one line through.

2. I suppose it as well to leave it to the President to fix the point of crossing the mountains, which of course fixes the points of termination.

3. I think the plan of execution is too complex—too much mixture of private interest and public expenditure—to admit of execution, and that, if gone into, there will be many balks, and eventual failure, and time lost, and a new start necessary.

4. I think the road should be either *public* or *private*—either made by the United States or by a joint stock company of adequate capital. The former I prefer. All the plans that I have seen propose the United States to furnish the means: then why not own the work when it is done? and make the freight and transportation so much the cheaper.

My idea is this: That the United States should build the road and fixtures, and then let it out to the lowest responsible bidder in point of rates for mails, passengers, freight, etc., for say 10 years at a time, the bidders furnishing and working their own cars; and if superseded by lower bidders at the end of say 10 years the new contractor to

take all the stock of the previous one. I think it better for the United States to pay, like individuals, for everything she gets done. She will have to pay anyway, in a lump, if not in detail—and pretty sure in a big lump. A slight toll might be required to keep the road in repair; but with me *cheapness* of transportation is the object; and that is necessary to make the road a great national thoroughfare. This is my first idea; after that a joint stock company which can raise an adequate sum, and make the road themselves, and run it themselves, having for their main object *profit*, and of course the *highest* instead of the *lowest* rates—and so to diminish the use of the road.


Thus, you see, that I do not think a *mixed* interest—part public and part private—will work well; and if the United States furnishes the means she ought to own the road, and make the use of it as cheap as possible to everybody.

On this plan she might create a stock at once of \$100,000,000, and raise every cent of it from the sale of lands as she goes along, and that upon the pre-emption principle. Settlers would be upon the whole line, like a flock of pigeons, the moment it was indicated, and raise crops immediately. In this way, with ample means, and beginning the road at both ends at once, and perfecting 100 miles at a time, on which cars could be placed to carry materials to the remainder, and also to help passengers a little, and I am sure that seven years would be enough. When done a daily train should be obligatory to start from each end.

I would not embarrass the Government with a telegraph—but assign a margin for as many lines as individuals or companies chose to put up.

The road should have a width of 1,000 feet, for if rightly located, it will want many tracks in process of time.

When Alexandria was the seat of Asiatic commerce the street which carried it was 1,000 feet wide, five miles long, and with 100 feet footway under colonades on each side.





Your friend
Henry Clay Dean

HENRY CLAY DEAN,

BY J. R. RIPPEY.

Henry Clay Dean removed to Iowa in the spring of 1850, temporarily locating at Pittsburg on the Des Moines river in Van Buren county, thence to Keosauqua, to Muscatine, to Middleton in Des Moines county, to West Point in Lee county, finally locating at Mount Pleasant, where he resided with his family until 1871.

He was born October 27, 1822, in Fayette county, Pennsylvania. He was a son of Caleb Dean, born December, 1789, in Mifflin county, Pennsylvania. William Dean, the father of Caleb, was born near Philadelphia and married Sarah McDonald, a sister of the McDonald who during the Revolutionary War captured the noted horse "Selim" from the tory. Among the ancestors of Caleb Dean was Henry Dean, Archbishop of Canterbury during the reign of Henry VIII. of England. Caleb Dean's wife was a descendant of a Maryland family who came to America with Lord Baltimore, and was related to the Rutledges of South Carolina.


Henry Clay Dean on January 19, 1847, married Miss Christiana Margaret Haigler of Randolph county, Virginia, a daughter of Jacob Haigler, a soldier of the war of 1812, and whose father, William Haigler, was a soldier of the Revolutionary War and a member of General Washington's body-guard, and was of German descent.

In early life, Mr. Dean attended the common schools of his vicinity and finished his education at Madison College in his native state. He worked at the stone-mason's trade, taught school and kept books for Hon. Andrew Stewart, who conducted extensive iron works. While thus engaged every idle moment and long, weary hours far into the night were given to acquiring knowledge and to obtaining such information as would fit him for the highest type of citizenship. He united with the Methodist church, studied theology, was ordained to the ministry and assigned a circuit in the Virginia Conference.

While in Virginia he gained a wide reputation as a pulpit orator and formed an acquaintance with the notable men of the State. Upon one occasion while on an itinerary to the eastern part of Virginia he visited Washington City and asked permission of the minister in charge of the best Methodist church to occupy his pulpit on the following Sabbath. Probably because Mr. Dean was not dressed in the latest ministerial style, the use of the pulpit was declined and an old church house was secured. Mr. Dean's reputation for eloquence had preceded him, and when the hour for services arrived the old, dilapidated building was filled to the extent of its capacity by the largest assemblage of congressmen, senators, heads of departments, and leading citizens that had ever greeted a minister of the gospel in Washington City.

Before leaving Virginia he made a brilliant canvass of the State for the election of Henry A. Wise for governor, and to Mr. Dean's urgent and eloquent appeals to the people Mr. Wise attributed his success. When in 1856 a chaplain of the senate was to be elected, Governor Wise presented the Rev. Henry Clay Dean of Iowa for this high honor and through the influence of Wise, supplemented by a remembrance of the great sermon preached in the old Methodist church his election was practically unanimous.

Mr. Dean continued in the ministry until the sectional division of the Methodist church. This he declared was the first step toward a dissolution of the Union, would eventually




important and closely contested cases in the Mississippi valley. He was usually engaged by the defense, and his appeals to the court or a jury for leniency in construing the law and the evidence and for mercy in rendering judgment were unanswerable and unusually effective. His arguments were ingenious and his eloquence unapproachable. He reached the hearts of jurors and opened the most tender points for a consideration of his client's case. He would melt the court to tears and win the sympathy of his audience. If fraud or deceit was attempted by his opponent, he exposed its hideousness and aroused his hearers to the most bitter indignation. He was learned in the great principles of law and contented himself by presenting them to the jury, leaving to others the details and technicalities of the case. He had few equals and no superiors before a jury. Probably no attorney in Iowa has saved more men from the penitentiary or from execution, with so great an array of evidence against them, as has Mr. Dean. None has delivered speeches with more force or effect, or left a deeper impression on his hearers.

As a lecturer Mr. Dean was among the ablest and most popular of his day. His lecture on "Mistakes of Ingersoll" evidenced a thorough familiarity with theological subjects, was a sufficient answer to Ingersoll's "Mistakes of Moses," and a refutation of the brilliant agnostic's assault against the great law-giver of the Israelites. Another lecture which attracted universal attention was devoted to the extension of popular suffrage, advocating the election by the people of all officers, including United States senators. His contention, based on the fundamental principle of this government that all just powers are derived from the people, and that the appointment of officers or their selection otherwise than by popular suffrage is an infringement of the people's rights, has never been satisfactorily answered, but is almost universally approved by public sentiment. Mr. Dean was the author of the *Crimes of the Civil War*, one volume of which was published. But the manuscript for the second volume, together with many other valuable papers and a library of 4,000 volumes, was destroyed by fire in 1876.

Mr. Dean was a Democrat yet was violently opposed to secession of the State and did not favor coercion as the best means of restoring the Union. He believed that statesmanship and diplomacy could satisfactorily adjust the difference between the two sections, maintain a union of the States, provide for the ultimate extinction of slavery and the perpetuation of one great free government. In secession and coercion he saw his beloved country drenched in blood and confronted by bankruptcy, without assurance of results. He saw the best government conceived by man and established after the most desperate and trying conflict with monarchy and growing out of seed fertilized by the best blood and bleaching bones of his ancestors imperiled and no promise for human liberty, no ray of hope for freedom.

He was strenuous in his opposition to slavery, bitter in his denunciation of oppression in every form and from every source. He personally disliked Jefferson Davis and the leaders of the Confederacy and had no love for Stanton and Seward and their policy of coercion. He conscientiously believed, and had no hesitancy in declaring, that these men favored war, not for the preservation of the Union, but to humiliate the south and her leaders and her institutions.

He had vigorously opposed the efforts of Davis, Breckinridge, and Slidel to extend slavery into the territories in opposition to the will of the people. With Stephen A. Douglas, he espoused the cause of what was then known as "squatter sovereignty." When the split in the Democratic National



In 1868 he labored earnestly to prevent the nomination of Salmon P. Chase for the Presidency by the Democratic National Convention, and in the delivering of his speech against Chase ruined a rosewood table upon which he stood. The next day his attention was called to the ruin he had wrought, and he replied that the table was worth less than the Democratic party, which, he believed, he had saved by preventing the nomination of Mr. Chase. He was intensely patriotic. He loved his country and its institutions. He boasted of the liberty it guaranteed to the citizen. He advocated only such measures and such policy as he deemed in harmony with public weal and as would assure the greatest good to the greatest number. He was an unfaltering friend to the people and believed that upon an intelligent and educated citizenship depended the stability of free institutions. In defense of what he deemed right, and in the interest of the great underlying principles of free government he was courageous, eloquent and unanswerable. No political antagonist ever dared to engage him in joint discussion of current political issues. On the rostrum he was the equal of any man in his day. He had complete control of his audience and could convulse it with mirth, melt it to tenderness, or arouse it to the highest indignation. He was a unique character even where originality predominated. He would have been classed as a genius in any age of the world or in any condition of society. He was the peer of statesmen, a friend of the masses, the great commoner of his day.

Dean never forgot a friend and never neglected an opportunity to repay a kindness. He bore no enmity toward man. Even toward those whose acts or politics he assailed with the most violent invective, he at the same time breathed a spirit of kindness. Toward a trusted friend, who was his ideal of a gentleman, his devotion was pathetic and unswerving. To his neighbors and friends he kept open house and his hospitality was unbounded.

He left Mount Pleasant in 1871 and located on an 800-acre farm in Putnam county, Missouri, and named his home


"Rebels Cove." Here he died February 6, 1887, leaving a devoted family consisting of a wife and seven children.

Henry Clay Dean, eminent divine, statesman, philosopher, and a leader of men, is dead. The highest meed of praise that could be tendered him is that "the world is better from his having lived in it."

Sedalia, Missouri.

JOURNAL OF THE OREGON TRAIL.

In the spring of 1852 there was organized among the citizens of Cedar township, Van Buren county, Iowa, an emigrant train of about twenty-five wagons. Each wagon was drawn by from three to five yoke of oxen. In the company were, Paul Brattain and family of seven adult persons; William Newman; Lafayette Spencer; Charles Spencer and wife and two children; Henry Newman; George Gimple; Michael Smith and his wife, two sons and a daughter; George Hammonds; Henry Hammonds; Jacob Whetstone and family; George Taylor and family; Robert Carter and family; Adam Barnes and family; Oliver Mitchell and family; John Hilary and family; Napoleon Baker; William Howard and family; Charles Adams and family; Thomas Clark and family; Thomas Whetstone and family; Nicholas Boley and family; John Boley and family; James Watson and family; Hill Watson and family; Iradel Anderson; Mathies Ander-



December 27, 1852.

Dear Brother:

I now embrace the present opportunity of writing a few lines to let you know that I am well at the present time, hoping that these few lines will find you all well. I have not much to write about at the present time. I have traveled a good deal in Oregon. We started from John Newman's near Oregon City the eighth day of November for the Rogue River gold mines. We traveled some two hundred and fifty miles to south Umpequa river. It rained so much that the roads got so bad that we could not travel with our wagons. We stopped on Cow creek to wait for the waters to run down and prospect for gold, but could not make it pay very well. * * * We lacked some seventy miles of getting to Rogue river but it commenced snowing and snowed for fifteen or sixteen days in succession. The snow is over two feet deep and still snowing. I do not know what will become of our stock for the people have no feed to give them. The pack mules are beginning to die now of hunger. * * * I will stay here until the winter breaks up, then I will go to Rogue river. * * * I have traveled all through the Willamette Valley. It is about 20 miles wide and is cut up with hills and mountains. All the land that is worth anything is cleaned up. The Umpequah Valley is not as good as the Willamette Valley, nor half as big. All of the best of the claims are taken up. I shall advise you to stay where you are, but if you want to come you must start by the first of April with six or seven yoke of oxen to the wagon and as much as one or two hundred dollars in cash. You will find it a long, tedious journey to travel. I send you my journal that I kept on the road through to Oregon. Mr. Newman is gone on to Rogue river. I am staying here in Umpequa with the team and provisions until I get word from him what to do. I live fat and saucy. Direct letters to Kanyanville, Douglass county, Oregon.

WILLIAM SPENCER.

LAFAYETTE SPENCER.

LAFAYETTE SPENCER DAY BOOK.

My 11th, 1852. Started from home Pass through Birmingham and camp on the East fork of Lick Creek.

12th Pass through Libertyville and Ashland and camp at The Agency.

13th Pass through Autumwa. Cross the Des Moines River and camp 8 miles west of Autumwa.

14th Camp on Colt Creek 2 miles west of Albia the county seat of Monroe county.

15th Camp on the 14 miles Between Albia and Charidon Point in Lucas County.

16th Camp on Grave Creek 4 miles west of Charidon Point.

17th Camp on Camp Creek in Clark County.

18th Camp on seven mile Creek in Union County

19th Camp on Twelve Mile Creek Cross Grand River at Piaga the old Mormon Town.

20th Camp on Nodawa Creek in Adair County.

21st Camp in a grove one mile west of the Road.

22nd Camp on a creek six miles East of Indians town.

23rd Camp near Neshynabotany.

24th Camp on Silver Creek in Potawatiminy County.

25th Camp at Council Bluffs 2 miles Below Kanesville on the Missouri.

26th Lay by.

27th Lay by.

28th Camp on Missouri River 10 miles above Kanesville at the upper ferry.

29th Lay by.

30th Cross the Missouri River in the night and Camp on the west Bank.

31st Travel 18 miles Camp on Pappea Creek Good grass.

June 1st Travel 10 miles Cross the Elk Horn River and Camp on

7th Travel 18 miles and Camp on Loup Fork Good grass

8th Lay by for Mr. Smith to get up with us

9th Travel 22 miles and Camp west of the Cold Spring Good grass

10th Travel 16 miles and Camp near Prairie Creek Nancy Spencer died at 9 o'clock P. M. and Burried at 8 o'clock A. M. the next morning

11th Travel 16 miles and Camp on Wood Creek

12th Travel 15 miles and Camp on the Plat River Good grass

13th Travel 24 miles Camp on Plat river opposite Fort Kenney.

14th Travel 16 miles Camp on Buffalo Creek grass fair

15th Travel 15 miles Camp on Plat River near willow Lake grass fair

16th Travel 15 miles Camp on Plat River Good grass

17th Travel 15 miles Camp on the Plat River near Skunk Creek Good Grass

18th Travel 7 miles Camp on a small Creek Robert Carter Died

24th Travel 22 miles Camp near Castle Creek Good grass their is a postoffice kept their I wrote back

25th Travel 20 miles Camp on Plat River Good grass

26th Travel 18 miles Camp near Ancient Bluff Good grass

27th Lay by on the account of sickness

28th Travel 16 miles Camp near Chimney Rock Good grass

29th Travel 18 miles Camp on Plat River near Scott Bluff Good grass

30th Travel 25 miles Camp at Blue Stone Cliff on Plat River

July 1st Travel 25 miles Camp on Plat River seven miles East of Fort Laramie

2nd Travel 15 miles Pass Ft Laramie and Camp on Plat River near the United States farm

3rd Lay by Grass scarce their I wrote Back again

4th Travel 16 miles through the Black Hill road verry Rough Camp on Plat River Grass scarce

5th Travel 14 miles Camp on a small Creek in the Black hills

6th Travel 16 miles Camp on Platt River Grass scarce

7th Travel 10 miles Camp on Plat river grass scarce

8th Travel 15 miles Over verry rough and hilly Camp on Plat River Grass scarce

9th Travel 12 miles Camp on Plat River one mile South of the road

10th Travel 12 miles Camp on Plat River grass scarce

11th Travel 10 miles Camp on Plat River near the uper ferry

12th Travel 15 miles Camp on Plat River grass scarce

13th Travel 10 miles Camp on Plat River for the Last time We have travel on it for seven Hundred miles

14th Lay By and Hunted Buffalo and killed four

15th Travel 18 miles Camp at the Willow Spring No grass

16th Travel 16 miles Camp near Alkali Lake grass scarce

17th Travel 18 miles Pass the Independence Rock a rock which raises right up out of the ground in a smooth Bottom of Sweet Water it is 125 rod long and 120 feet high We pass the Devil Gate through which Sweet water Passes It is 400 feet hie on Both sides of Perpendckler Camp on Sweet Water

18th Travel 16 miles Camp on Sweet Water near Bitter Cotton wood Creek

19th Travel 15 miles Camp on Sweet Water grass scarce

20th Travel 18 miles Camp on Sweet Water grass scarce

21st Travel 17 miles over Rough and Rockey Roads and Camp on a small Branch grass scarce no timber on Sweet Water

22nd Travel 12 miles and camp at the last crossing of Sweet Water grass scarce

23rd Travel 8 miles Camp three miles to the right of the Road on Sweet Water

24th Travel 30 miles Pass the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains and Persippce Spring Camp on Little Sandy three miles north of the road

25th Lay by to rest our cattle
26th Travel 10 miles Camp on
Big Sandy grass scarce

27th Travel 10 miles off the
road to get grass to Cross the
Deasert forty-two miles across
without water or grass

28th Started in the Desert
travel

29th all night and next day til
ten o'clock and cross Green river
grass scarce

30th Travel 13 miles Camp on
branche of Green river among the
Snake Indians grass good

31st Travel 18 miles Cross a
very hie and Rough mountain and
Camp in the valley grass scarce

August 1st, 1852 Travel 12
miles Cross a mountain and camp
on Ham Fork of Green river
grass scarce

2nd Travel 24 miles over very
hie and rough mountain Camp in
Bear River Valley good grass

3rd Travel 4 miles and camp on
Bear river good grass

4th Travel 25 miles Cross
Smith and Thomas fork of Bear
river Camp on Bear river

5th Travel 18 miles Camp on

11th Travel 15 miles Passed
Ft Hall I wrote Back Camp
on Port Neuf River good grass

12th Travel 12 miles Camp
on Snake river good grass

13th Travel 16 miles Camp on
Rock Creek grass scarce

14th Travel 15 miles Camp on
Raft River good grass

15th Lay By

16th Travel 18 miles Camp at
Bull Rush Spring

17th Travel 16 miles Camp on
Goose Creek grass scarce

18th Travel 10 miles Camp on
Snake River Swam our cattle
across

19th Lay By Could not get
our Cattle Back

20th Lay By Still could not
get them over to the wagons

21st Lay By the only way we
could get our Cattle Back was to
drive them three or four miles up
the River to the falls where the
water was so swift when you got
them into it the water wash them
down over the falls on the other
Side the River was three quarters
of a mile wide

22nd Travel 18 miles Camp on
dry Creek four miles off the road

27th Travel 6 miles Camp on a small Creek good grass

28th Lay By to recruit our cattle

29th Travel 20 miles Camp on a small Creek grass scarce

30th Travel 20 miles Camp on a small Creek good grass

31st Lay By with Henry Newman who was very sick with Liver Complaint

September 1st 1852 Travel 15 miles Camp on Seven miles Creek

2nd Travel 15 miles Camp on Barren Creek use warm water good grass

3rd Travel 14 miles Camp on Charlotte Creek grass scarce

4th Travel 14 miles Camp on a dry branch good grass

5th Travel 10 miles Camp on white Horse Creek grass fair

6th Travel 10 miles Camp at a good spring grass fair

7th Travel 16 miles Camp on Boies River good grass

8th Travel 16 miles Camp on Boies River good grass

9th Travel 12 miles Camp on Boies River good grass

10th Lay by

11th Travel 15 miles Camp on Boies River good grass

12th Travel 10 miles Cross Snake River at Fort Boies and camp on Bank

13th Lay By for to hunt our cattle

14th Travel 16 miles Camp on Malaher River grass scarce

15th Lay By Michiel Smith very sick George Gimple was taken sick today grass scarce

16th Travel 25 miles Camp on Bench Creek grass scarce

17th Travel 9 miles Camp on Burnt River grass scarce

18th Travel 10 miles in the afternoon Michiel Smith Died in the forenoon Burried in one hour after death

19th Travel 16 miles Roads rough and Crooked Camp on a branch of Burnt river grass scarce

20th Travel 14 miles Camp on a branch of Burnt river grass scarce

21st Travel 10 miles Cross a mountain and camp on a Spring branch grass scarce

22nd Travel 16 miles Camp on a slough of Powder River Cold windy weather grass fair

23rd Travel 10 miles Camp on Powder River grass scarce

24th Travel none but lay by

25th Travel 15 miles Cross three Powder river Camp at a Spring near the mountains

26th Travel 10 miles Cross over a mountain Camp in Grand Round Valley This valley is about 30 miles long and 20 miles wide good grass

27th Travel 8 miles Cross Grand round Camp on a small Branch at the foot of a verry hie mountain

28th Lay By

29th Travel 14 miles Cross some verry hie mountains and camp on the mountain

30th Travel 14 miles amongst the Blue Mountains over some verry hie ones it rained and snowed which made the mountains verry bad to travel on. Verry heavy timber Camp on the mountain Use snow for water grass scarce

October 1st Travel 14 miles
Cross over some verry hie mount-
ains which were verry steep and
rough Camp on the mountain

2nd Travel 12 miles Pass over
the Blue Mountains Camp on the
Umatilla River amongst the Kiouse
Indians grass scarse

3rd Travel 12 miles Roads
good Camp on the Umatilla River
grass scarse

4th Travel 5 miles and Cross
the river and camp on a hie Bluff
grass scarse

5th Travel 15 miles camp on
the Umatilla River grass scarse

6th Travel 8 miles Cross the
Umatilla River at the Agency
House and took water and wood
and camp on the Bluff

7th Travel 10 miles road
sandy took water and wood and
camp on the Plains grass fair

8th Travel 14 miles Road
sandy Camp on the Plains with-
out water or wood

9th Travel 10 miles Passed
two Springs took water and camp
on the Plaines grass scarse

10th Travel 9 miles road sandy
Camp at Willow Creek grass

14th Travel 15 miles Camp on
the Plains Charles Spencer took
the ague grass fair

15th Travel 10 miles Camp on
the Columbia river grass fair

16th Travel 3 miles Camp on
the De Shuts River grass scarse

17th Travel 5 miles Camp on
Only Creek Rough Roads grass
scarse

18th Travel 5 miles Camp on
five miles Creek grass scarse

19th Lay By to wash

20th Travel 5 miles and came
to the Dalls Sold our cattle

21st Started Down the Colum-
bia River in sciff The wind Blew
at night and camp on the Bank

22d Started in the sciff again
and landed at the Cascades

23d Lay at the Cascade

24th Lay at the same Place

25th Started Down to the
Steamboat Landing we hired wag-
on and oxen to haul our Plunder
down

26th Got on a Steam Boat and
Landed in Portland in the evening
the whole distance from the Dalls
to Portland is 160 miles

October the 27th, 1852 Charles

scarse

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

JUDGE HENRY CLAY CALDWELL.


Our leading article is an interesting sketch of the life and public services of this distinguished jurist, from the pen of our always welcome correspondent, Hon. Edward H. Stiles, now of Kansas City. This excellent sketch is very full and complete in chronicling the labors and estimating the ability of the subject. Judge Caldwell was raised in Van Buren county, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He was chosen to represent that county in the Iowa House of Representatives during the session of 1860. He at once took a prominent position, serving as chairman of the judiciary committee. The House had no more active and influential member. He was a Republican, and his principal opponent on the floor was Hon. Thomas W. Clagett, a representative from Lee county. They generally were pitted against each other and at times the feeling which existed between them grew into great bitterness. One of the measures in which Judge Caldwell was much interested was a bill to reduce the rate of interest, which at that time was ten per cent. He sought to reduce it to six per cent., and in this matter was opposed by Clagett. One of his most distinguishing characteristics was his opposition to any measure which seemed calculated to increase State taxation. In this direction he was extremely conservative, and generally on the right side. Van Buren county would doubtless have kept him in one or the other branch of the State Legislature, but for the fact that he entered the army in 1861, where he served until he was appointed to the Federal judgeship. His military record was a splendid one and would have resulted doubtless in his promotion to a higher rank than that of Colonel if he had not been transferred to the judiciary. This admirable sketch of his life is illustrated with a fine steel portrait of Judge Caldwell, which was engraved especially for our pages. He was everywhere suc-

cessful, whether as a State legislator, a soldier, or upon the Federal bench. We take a high pleasure in thus presenting this record of his life.

DR. EDWIN JAMES.

We are indebted to Prof. L. H. Pammel, who fills the chair of botany at the Iowa State College, at Ames, for an exhaustive article on this early Iowa scientist. We have had occasion to allude to Dr. James in several numbers of *The Annals*, but more particularly in Vol. IV, pp. 233-234, where we published a brief sketch of his useful career. In this same number Mr. George Frazee, also of Burlington, speaks of him at some length in an article on a great Fugitive Slave Case, the trial of which was commenced in Burlington. There was utter failure from lack of testimony to remand the alleged fugitive to the officer. Dr. James took a prominent part in preparations for rescuing the negro, but this proved to be wholly unnecessary and the matter was settled without resort to violence, though there were men enough close by to have rescued the slave. How Dr. James opened his farm and built a house four miles west of Burlington, and how he died, we have stated elsewhere.

Dr. James, who was one of the first botanists of his day, was associated with Dr. John Torrey, and also with Dr. C. C. Parry. While his writings are also very valuable as showing



important man in his day and generation, devoted to high ideals. This record of his life cannot but be regarded as important and useful.

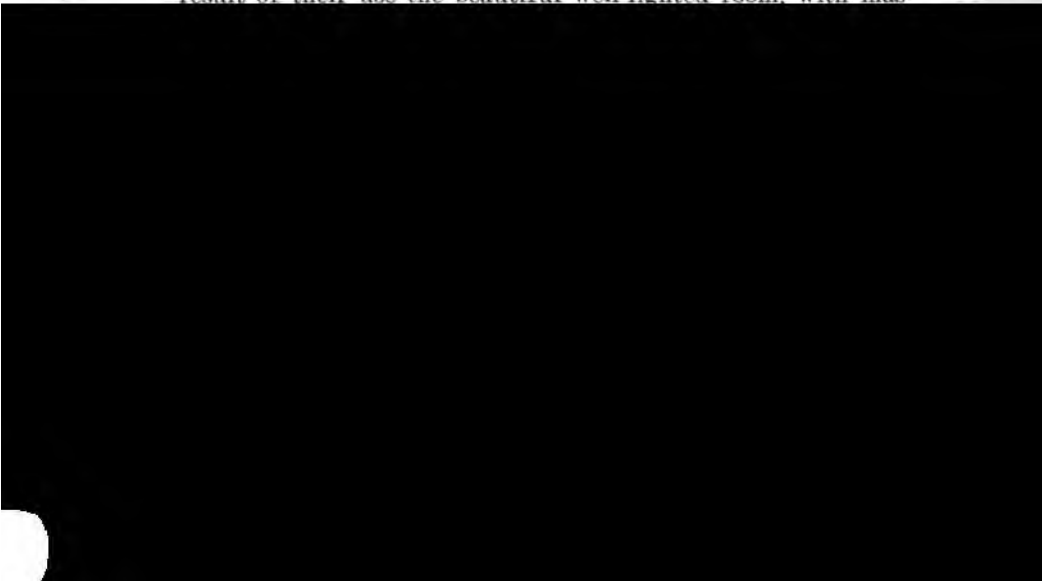
HENRY CLAY DEAN.

This vigorous character was an important factor in the regime of Dodge and Jones during their final struggle to dominate Iowa politics. He was an associate of the leaders of Iowa Methodism throughout the old camp-meeting and circuit-rider days. His pulpit powers were unexcelled. He was perhaps the most effectual advocate in the west of a phase of political thought during the Civil War which drew from the tongues and pens of loyal men a bitterness never equaled in Iowa controversy, unless by Dean's own tongue. His memory for words, names, faces and events was rare. His acquaintance with the classics is said to have equaled that of our ripest scholars. In his intellectual life were antitheses which, at his death were characterized as like the life of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, by J. S. Clarkson, in a two and a half column review headed, "A man of contradictions." Sam M. Clark said of him: "Some of his addresses were prodigies of eloquence and fierce philippic * * * but in spite of all this habit of his to break out in fierce invective like Doctor Johnson, Mr. Dean like the great Cham of English literature was one of the kindest and most tender hearted of men." His disdain for the social amenities, his peculiar and effective methods at the bar, and his idiosyncrasies are most deeply impressed in the memories of the older Iowa citizens. There is comparatively little recorded information concerning Mr. Dean. A sketch by Mr. J. R. Rippey, a friend of Mr. Dean in his later years, appears in this issue of *The Annals*. Other articles upon Mr. Dean will be published later.

E. R. H.

INTERESTING CANVASES PRESERVED.

When the first decorative effort was made in our present Capitol many details received favorable comment from the Iowa public. Not the least to be commended were the frescos of the House and Senate chambers. These gave way to the more elaborate scheme recently brought to such satisfactory completion by the Capitol Improvement Commission. The House ceiling bore allegorical paintings representing Industry, Law, Agriculture, Peace, History and Commerce. The Senate decorations were portraits of Washington and Lincoln; Governors Lucas and Grimes; Justices Caleb Baldwin and Charles Mason; Speakers Rush Clark and John P. Carlton and Generals M. M. Crocker and Samuel R. Curtis. These frescos do not seem to have been canvases and so are lost to all but memory. But at the time of the recent decoration there was discarded a bit of art once featured as the most exquisite of Iowa mural decorations. These were the frescos of the Iowa Supreme Court room. They were painted on canvas and had not been removed when the fire occurred in January, 1904, at which time they were somewhat injured. They were removed under the direction of the Custodian and preserved in the vaults of the Clerk of the Supreme Court. When the decoration of the Historical building was under consideration, the Curator asked that these canvases be made a detail of the reading room walls, which has been done. As a result of their use the beautiful well-lighted room, with mas-



country and placed on the ceiling of the Supreme Court room as the final decorative feature. General Wright described them as consisting of six small subjects and four large allegorical canvases some ten by fourteen feet in size, all of the type of Greek mythology. The four large ones being as follows:

Ceres, the Goddess of Agriculture.

Justice on her throne. To her left stands Columbia, ever ready to sustain her decisions by word or deed. The figure to the right of Justice rejoices that the decision is in her favor. The sitting figure on the right denotes sorrow as the decision is rendered against her, but is content when she finds by examining the law that the decision is according to law. To the left a mother is explaining to her son the laws.

Columbia reigning on her throne. Above the globe in unity with the Goddess of Justice, the patrons of the States come to pay them their homage, bringing with them little children, which represent the territories. Iowa, who is a special favorite in Columbia's household, is seen sitting on the steps of the throne with a club and coat of arms, ever ready to defend her friend (Columbia) in case of need. In front of the throne is chiseled in everlasting rock the memorable date 1776, the foundation of the Republic. The American Eagle is proudly soaring over all, holding in his beak the historical emblem "E. Pluribus U'num."

Justice and Peace represented as ruling over the land bringing prosperity and plenty, culture and happiness, while rebellion is restrained and smitten down by Justice's strong right arm.

The canvases were remounted by Mr. T. I. Stoner, who decorated the building, and were restored by Charles Ather-ton Cumming, the Des Moines artist.

E. R. H.

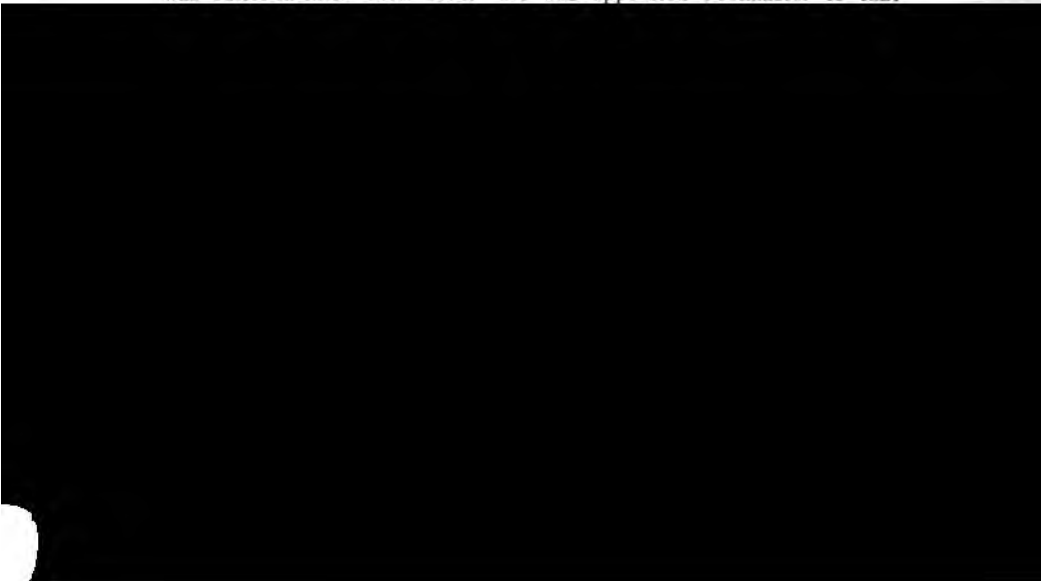
MR. GUE'S HISTORY OF IOWA.

I have been surprised and annoyed to learn that in some very intelligent quarters in this State, I have been accredited with some sort of responsibility for the *History of Iowa* written and published by the late Hon. Benjamin F. Gue. This is

wholly an error. True, I gave him the use of the resources of the Historical Department of the State, as I would have given them to any other citizen who was engaged in historical work, but no line and no statement in that publication can be attributed to me or to my influence or agency. If Mr. Gue were living he would cordially endorse this statement. Whatever of credit or criticism properly appertains to this work should inure wholly to Mr. Gue, and nothing whatever of that nature should be attributed to me. CHARLES ALDRICH.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

FRANK WAYLAND PALMER was born at Manchester, Ind., Oct. 11, 1827; he died in Chicago, Dec. 3, 1907. We are of the opinion that he was named for Francis Wayland, the illustrious educator, but that he changed his name in later years to "Frank," as he was familiarly called by his friends. After receiving a common school education he learned the trade of a printer in Jamestown, New York. From there he went to New York City, where he worked as a compositor for several months, eventually returning to Jamestown, where in 1846 he became joint proprietor and editor of *The Journal*, the old paper upon which he had served his time as an apprentice. He was elected to the New York Legislature in 1851, and re-elected in 1853, serving two terms in the House. In 1858 he removed to Dubuque, Iowa, where he became the editor and one of the proprietors of *The Daily Times*. At the session of the Iowa Legislature in 1860, he was elected State Printer, his competitors being J. B. Howell of *The Keokuk Gate City*, and John Teesdale of *The Des Moines Register*. He served as State Printer of Iowa four terms, resigning in 1869. In 1868 he was elected to the U. S. House of Representatives, and re-elected two years afterwards. He removed to Chicago in 1873, acquiring an interest in *The Inter Ocean*, of which he was editor-in-chief until 1876. He was appointed Postmaster of that



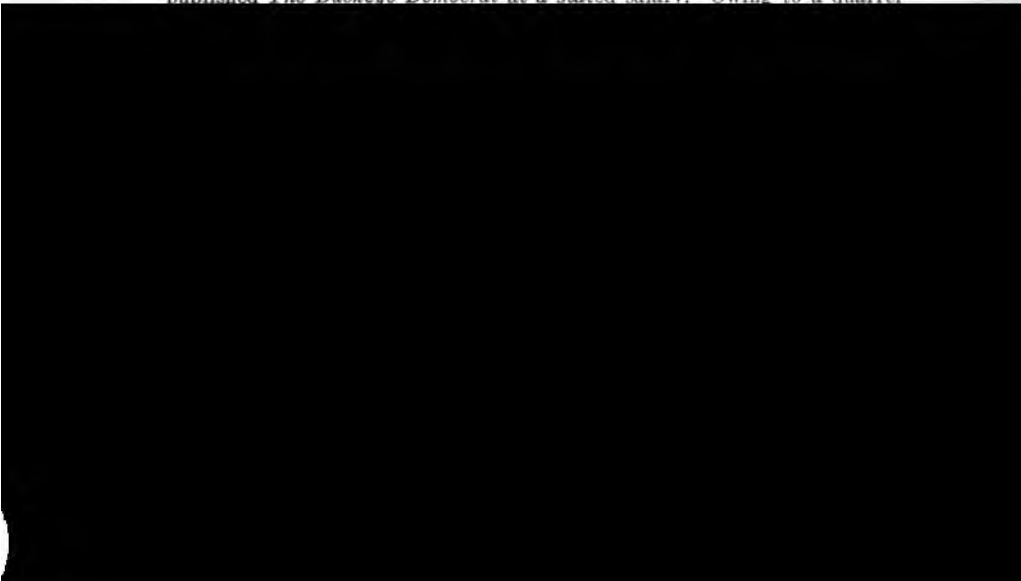
tion was a success, and though a bitter war was made upon him at the close of his last term, when he was removed by President Roosevelt, it is a well-known fact that so far as his personal integrity was concerned he came out of the contest without blot or stain. He would probably have been removed or have resigned about the same time, in consequence of his advanced years, but he became, from the force of circumstances, embroiled in the contest between the rival typesetting machines, and this ended with his removal from office. At the time of his death Mr. Palmer had a few months previously passed his 80th birthday. He had a wide acquaintance in Iowa and is well remembered by hundreds of people who have survived since the days when he was editor of *The Des Moines Register*. Our public documents for eight years bear his imprint. He also had a wide acquaintance over the country. Personally he was a kind-hearted excellent gentleman, a model of everything commendable in the line of good habits from the days of his apprenticeship in the office of *The Jamestown Journal* to the time he breathed his last, clean, upright, honorable in his dealings with others. Limitations of space will not admit of as exhaustive an article relating to Mr. Palmer as we would be glad to present in *The Annals*. But the statement of a few facts ever so briefly will form the ground from which to estimate the character and life work of the man. When he was a resident of this city, where he married and where his children were born, during one of the cold winters, he was in the habit every morning of bringing down from his home a little pail of milk for some poor children who lived not far from *The Register* office. This fact has been beautifully written out in the editorial columns of his old paper. It is a unique incident, which shows the tender-hearted nature of the man. Some time before he left the office of *The Inter Ocean*, that paper had failed and Mr. Palmer thereby lost every dollar he had in the world. He was considerably in debt. From that day to the time of his death he was determined to pay these debts as far as possible. His efforts in that direction kept him a poor man. He could have taken the benefit of the bankruptcy law and escaped the responsibility for the debts, but that suggestion he would not entertain for a moment. He met the responsibilities as far as he was able. On the day of the funeral the great Government Printing-office at Washington bore American flags at half-mast from daylight until dark, and the hundreds of employes when the time arrived for the funeral, stood for five minutes with bowed and uncovered heads in respect for their former employer, with some of whom he had been associated for more than a decade. These tributes of sympathy and respect were very touching, and they showed the deep impression he had made upon men with whom he had been long and intimately associated.

JEFFERSON SCOTT POLK was born on the 18th day of February, 1831, near Georgetown, Scott county, Kentucky; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, November 3, 1907. He was graduated from Georgetown college and studied law under R. R. Cable, later president of the C., R. I. & P. R. R., at Georgetown, and was admitted to the Kentucky bar in 1855. Mr. Polk removed to Des Moines in 1856, entering the practice of the law at a strong bar at which he early took high rank. After a few years alone, he became associated with the late General M. M. Crocker and Judge P. M. Casady under the style of Casady, Crocker & Polk and afterward with F. M. Hubbell as Polk & Hubbell which firm dissolved in 1887. Although every detail of Mr. Polk's career at the bar

was highly creditable, that of converting its fruits and opportunities into resources and investment outgrew all others and long before his career had closed had over-shadowed all the rest. The firm of Polk & Hubbell was a great, perhaps the leading, factor in Des Moines financial life as early as 1880. It operated chiefly in the fields of real estate and transportation properties. At the dissolution of the firm Mr. Polk acquired the principal part of the firm's transportation properties. Of these that of the Des Moines City Railway Company became the most significant. This he developed from several horse car lines under different managements and of indifferent effectiveness, into a single electrical urban system with universal transfer service, thorough management and popular convenience. To this he designed to attach an interurban system and before he died had carried his plans well toward establishment. He was the first to successfully experiment in collecting mails on street cars. He has been imitated in many American cities. Anywhere in the city any car stops on signal to allow a letter to be placed in the box to be removed in a few minutes at the postoffice. Mr. Polk acquired immense wealth. He expired with a system provided for its administration. In the enterprises he created several hundred men may remain employed at remunerative wages, under just conditions. It is as if he had endowed the firesides of as many families, conditioned solely upon their industry, integrity and sobriety. Attending his funeral, as a guard of honor, were a hundred street car employes in uniform

E. R. H.

LE GRAND BYINGTON was born in New Haven county, Conn., March 24, 1816; he died at Iowa City Nov. 23, 1907. It is stated that he was orphaned of his father when a mere infant and buffeted about in various families during his youth, and almost excluded from the meager educational advantages of that time. He entered a printing-office in 1831, at the age of fifteen years, for the purpose of learning the trade. We find him publishing a newspaper in 1834, during the year he was eighteen years of age, but it is stated that the publication was not profitable and was abandoned at the end of the first year. In 1836 he settled in Elyria, Ohio, where he edited *The Republican*, a democratic paper. At the time he was thus engaged in newspaper work he was also studying law. He removed to Ravenna, Ohio, in 1838, where he edited and published *The Buckeye Democrat* at a stated salary. Owing to a quarrel



promised to make him wealthy, but upon the outbreak of the civil war, he opposed the policy of the Government in putting down the rebellion. So bitter was he in his opposition that he refused to pay any taxes that went to the support of the war, thereby losing his immense property, which promised such abundant returns. He was a life long abstainer from all intoxicating drinks and denounced the saloon on all occasions as a curse to humanity a breeder of crime, as a corrupter of morals and unworthy to be tolerated by a Christian community, always advocating its utter extinction. *The Iowa City Daily Press* of Nov. 27th, has a lengthy and highly appreciative article on Mr. Byington, which deserves permanent preservation among the historical memoranda of the State. This sketch concludes as follows: "In brief resume it may be said that Le Grand Byington was a man of brilliant and original mind, of inflexible will and of tireless energy. His sincere but erroneous convictions concerning a great crisis in public affairs turned into the channels of disaster and defeat a career of remarkable promise. A radical of radicals, a hater of shams, of irreproachable private life, of kindly heart through all his bitter experiences, one cannot refrain from the thought: What might have been his career had Fate mingled with his radicalism a moderate measure of conservatism?"


EPHRAIM ADAMS was born at New Ipswich, N. H., in 1818; he died at Waterloo, Iowa, Nov. 30, 1907. Dr. Adams was the last survivor, with the exception of the Rev. Dr. William Salter, of Burlington, of the famous "Iowa Band" of Congregational missionaries who came to Iowa in 1843. These young clergymen first stopped at Denmark, Lee county, until they were called to different congregations throughout the State. Dr. Adams preached at Mt. Pleasant one year, and then definitely settled in Davenport, where he remained twelve years, at the end of which time he had a call from Decorah, where he labored fifteen years. He concluded his services with six years at Eldora. Upon retiring from that pastorate he settled in Waterloo, where he resided up to the time of his death. Dr. Adams was one of the founders of Iowa College, which was first started at Davenport, and subsequently removed to Grinnell, where it has since been permanently established. He was one of the chief laborers in the founding of this institution and continued on the Board of Trustees throughout his life. He has thus been prominently connected with church and educational affairs ever since he came to the State in 1843. His death was the result of old age rather than of disease. His funeral was one of the largest ever attended in the city of Waterloo. There were representatives from many of the Congregational churches throughout the State the most notable man in attendance being the Rev. Dr. Salter, the last survivor of the "Iowa Band." He made a brief and most eloquent and characteristic address upon the life and labors of his deceased classmate. Dr. Salter quoted from the first volume of this periodical (*Annals of Iowa*, 1st ser. I:212) the following tribute to Dr. Adams, which was, of course, published long ago: "In toil and self-denial he labored on amid many discouragements. His uniform kindness to all and persuasive manner as a minister, his daily walk among his fellow men, and his untarnished Christian character, justly entitled him to, as he had, the love and respect of all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance."

DAVID SECOR was born in Putnam county, N. Y., Jan. 6, 1836; he died in Winnebago, Minn., Sept. 14, 1907. In 1859 he came to Iowa, working at the trade of a mason, studying and teaching for a time in

Johnson and Linn counties and in Mason City. He located permanently in Forest City, and in 1861 was elected treasurer and recorder of Winnebago county. In 1863 he was appointed postmaster, holding the position for nine years. In 1864 he enlisted in Co. C, 2d Iowa Infantry, and was with Sherman on his march to the sea. During the expedition he was taken ill and lay at the point of death for some time. He was a member of the House of Representatives in the 14th and 15th General Assemblies. In 1874 he was elected Register of the State Land Office, holding the position four years. In 1879 he was admitted to the bar and continued the practice of the law for about ten years. He was also engaged in the banking business and was one of the chief promoters of the M. & St. L. railroad. About 1886 he removed to Winnebago, Minn., where he resided until his death.

JOSIAH T. YOUNG was born in Johnson county, Indiana, Feb. 25, 1831; he died in Albia, Iowa, Nov. 11, 1907. In 1846, with his parents, he came to Iowa, settling in Kishkekosh, now Monroe county. In 1860 and '61 he was engaged in publishing the *Monroe County Sentinel*, which advocated the election of Stephen A. Douglas to the presidency. Mr. Young served for three years in the civil war. After the war he served for six years as Clerk of the District Court in Monroe county. In 1872 he was elected Secretary of State and was twice re-elected to the office. He served in the House of Representatives in the 23d General Assembly. For many years he had been engaged in the practice of the law. He was a leading citizen of Albia during all the years of his residence there.

MRS. REBECCA A. (McMeekin) NOURSE, wife of Judge C. C. Nourse, was born in Fayette county, Ky., March 21, 1827; she died in Des Moines, Nov. 11, 1907. In 1853 she was married and removed to Keosauqua, Iowa, where her husband was located. In 1858 they came to Des Moines where they afterwards resided. Mrs. Nourse was a woman of influence, well known as one of the leading women of the capital city. At the time of the outbreak of the civil war, she with other women was active in promoting enlistments and in honoring the soldiers. A beautiful silk flag was presented to Gen. James A. Williamson, a Des Moines resident, who went out as Adjutant of Gen. Dodge's 4th Iowa Infantry. In this work Mrs. Nourse bore a prominent part.









THIRD SERIES.

VOL. VIII. NO. 5.

APRIL, 1908.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE
HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

CHARLES ALDRICH, Curator.

PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR. SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS.

DES MOINES, IOWA.

Application made at the Des Moines, Iowa, Post Office, for entry to the mails as second class matter.

ANNALS OF IOWA

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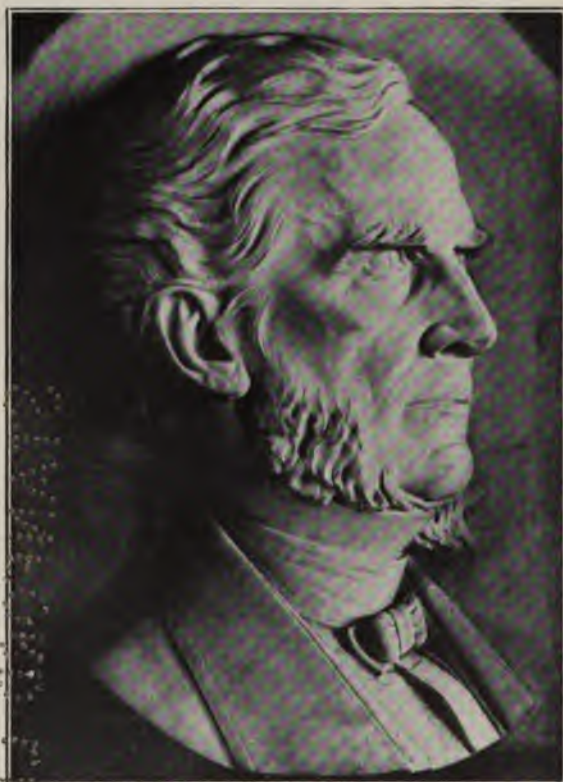
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2025年12月

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WILLIAM PITT FESSENDEN

From a marble medallion by Larkin G. Meade, which was presented to the
Historical Department of Iowa by Mrs. James W. Grimes.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VIII, No. 5. DES MOINES, IOWA, APRIL, 1908. 3D SERIES.

WILLIAM PITT FESSENDEN.

BY WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.

The Congress of the United States is the most important deliberative and lawmaking body in the world. It represents the American people more than the British Parliament or the German Parliament or the French Chamber of Deputies represent the people of their respective countries. No member of Congress holds his seat except by re-election, for more than two years in the case of Representatives, or for more than six years in the case of Senators. The American government is in the hands of the American people by frequent elections. It is a Democracy, a Referendum, such as no great nation ever had before. The administration of it depends upon the intelligence, the virtue, and the good sense of the people in the exercise of the elective franchise. If they are ignorant or corrupt, and elect incapable and dishonest men to office, they have only themselves to blame for a bad government.


Wise and good men in Congress are the palladium of the Nation, and the people's welfare. In the highest rank among such men was William Pitt Fessenden, and close beside him for ten years, in the most momentous period of our country's history, was James W. Grimes. They stood together, and gave the full measure of their strength to the life and credit and salvation of the Nation in the crisis of its fate. What Grant and Sherman were in the march of the army, Fessenden and Grimes were in the field of legislation. When the catastrophe was over, Mr. Grimes told Mr. Fessenden that he ought to write a history of that period. But death intervened. The work was subsequently undertaken by one of his sons, and now appears in the *Life and Public Services of William Pitt Fessenden*.*

* *Life and Public Services of William Pitt Fessenden*, by his son Francis Fessenden, Brigadier General, Retired Major General, U. S. A. 2 vols.; pp. 374, 367. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Of the many accounts of that period none are so lucid and graphic as to what was done in the halls of Congress. President Lincoln and the army and navy were supported by taxes levied, money borrowed, and the appropriation of millions, all of which passed under the hands of Mr. Fessenden as chairman of the Senate Committee of Finance, or Secretary of the Treasury. Early in the war he saw the necessity of giving freedom to the slaves. He and Mr. Grimes were in advance of the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, and at last, after a long and severe struggle, crowned his work with the seal of the Constitution.

A graduate of Bowdoin College at the age of 17, and admitted to the practice of law at the age of 21, Fessenden early became a distinguished lawyer. He was twice chosen to the legislature of Maine. At the age of 34, he was elected to Congress, and served one term. In the prime of his powers, at the age of 48, he was elected to the United States Senate. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the crime against Kansas were then the questions at issue. He at once took part in their discussion in sharp debates with Senators Jefferson Davis and Stephen A. Douglas. Cass, and Butler of South Carolina, also interrupted him, only to be worsted. Mr. Sumner said that a champion of Freedom had come.

Mr. Fessenden was less than two years older than Mr. Davis. They were men of like stature and figure, tall and slender. Both were forcible speakers, high-strung, and prompt to resist attack, but Fessenden was superior in a lofty nature,



nantly and severely. Later, speaking of great men, Mr. Douglas said, "Henry Clay was the most fascinating, Daniel Webster the most powerful orator, John C. Calhoun the logician of the Senate, William Pitt Fessenden the readiest and ablest debater." Many years later, Mr. Sumner said, that as a debater Mr. Fessenden was "without a superior, without a peer. Nobody could match him in immediate and incisive reply."

One of Mr. Fessenden's strongest speeches was in a debate with Jefferson Davis upon the admission of Kansas, under the Lecompton Constitution, into the Union. President Buchanan recommended it, and a bill to that effect passed the Senate, but was lost in the House. Mr. Fessenden denounced the whole thing as a fraud, infinitely dishonorable to all concerned. He said that "the South had lost all claim to honor, and the Democratic North never had any."

When South Carolina opened fire upon Fort Sumter, Mr. Douglas saw that his efforts to propitiate the slave-interest were in vain. He at once turned front, and advised his friends to sink party ties, and support President Lincoln; soon afterwards he died.

Mr. Fessenden also measured swords with Senator Seward upon a bill brought in by Jefferson Davis to increase the appropriation for the army to eight million dollars, under pretense of fear from the Mormons, but really to uphold slavery in Kansas. Mr. Seward was the only Republican Senator who voted for it. "He is perfectly bewildered, but thinks himself wiser than any of us," said Mr. Fessenden.


In a home letter of this period, Mr. Fessenden wrote, "If I leave my sons nothing else, I shall bequeath them the legacy of eternal warfare upon the infamous slave system. It is to be a contest of years, and I will not live to see the end. If you do not witness its extinction, you will, I trust, live to see its gradual and sure decay—the fatal arrow in its side."

In the discussion, February, 1859, upon a Pacific railroad, Mr. Fessenden gave it as his opinion that it should be built by the government, and its control remain in the hands of Congress. Later, he said, "It should be a national work. National

works should not be put into the power of corporations, for it was getting to be the case that the country was to be controlled by great corporations, and legislation controlled by them." He did not vote for the Union Pacific Railroad bill, but secured the proviso that Congress should preserve control of the road, with power to legislate for it in the future.

Upon his election to a second term in the Senate by a unanimous vote of the Maine legislature, he wrote to his son: "I am exceedingly gratified at the good feeling and unanimity. I am doubly bound to serve the people honestly, and to justify their confidence. I can say with truth that I have never sought a nomination to office. I have not the shame of recollection that I owe my success to unworthy means. For many years I struggled on in a hopeless minority, content, as far as I was concerned, to remain there, retaining a clear conscience and my own self-respect."

Speaking of the difference which the circumstances and employments of men made in their opinions, Mr. Fessenden, from his own observation of human nature, said: "In cities, politics are necessarily influenced by trade. The mercantile class, as a class, is always mercenary and unreliable in public affairs. Sometimes one rises above the selfishness begotten by his calling, and in emergencies and crises is capable of great sacrifices. Still, as a general rule, men engaged in Southern trade cannot look beyond the present to the future. I never calculate on such men; but the heart of New England is



peraments, and Mr. Fessenden the senior in age by ten years, they mixed and mingled as if kith and kin, while each was independent, self-reliant, and acted from his own convictions. Both were frank and outspoken, Mr. Fessenden with his impassioned nature, and Mr. Grimes with his cool and deliberate mind, and his temper under command.

Both realized the determined and desperate character of the rebellion at its outbreak, and that the issue of life or death was before the Nation. Throughout the war, Mr. Fessenden gave his sleepless vigilance to provide the sinews of war for its enormous expenses, especially to have every soldier paid in honest money. Mr. Grimes was equally vigilant to promote the efficiency of the navy, and bring about the great achievements of Farragut and Porter. Three of Mr. Fessenden's sons served in the army; one was mortally wounded in 1862 at Bull Run; another was severely wounded at Shiloh, and again in the Banks' Expedition. To this son we owe the memoirs of his father, written with filial devotion in his crippled condition, with much care and pains.

Mr. Fessenden, May 7, 1861, wrote from his home in Portland to Mr. Grimes: "Frank desires to take part in the war, but I desire that he shall first re-establish his health, and then, if he desires it, I cannot refuse him, dear as he is. I think our Southern friends will soon lay aside all hopes of Northern aid. Our people are all but unanimous, though there are some who sympathize with the traitors. With love to Mrs. Grimes, yours always."

He wrote, June 1, 1861: "It has struck me that our friends at Washington had on a pretty good head of steam. At present, however, they are behind the popular feeling. It is to be presumed that what they have done thus far is to be submitted to Congress, and confirmation requested. There may be some doubts whether Congress will not limit the government, but after all in the present excited state of public feeling there is more danger of error upon the other side. I confess that were I in Lincoln's place a small scruple would not detain me from doing what was needful. And it is safer to excuse the exercise of powers not warranted, in an extraordinary emergency, than to grant a power easily perverted."

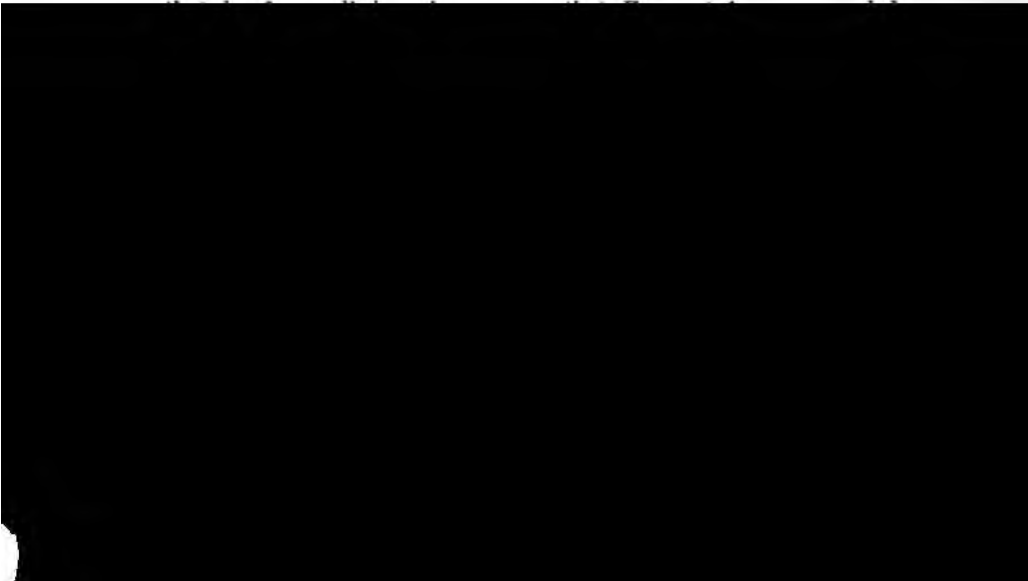
At the special session of Congress, July 4, 1861, called by the President, Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Grimes were in their seats in the Senate. Early in the session, Mr. Grimes proposed a diversion of the men and money employed in the Coast Survey to the prosecution of the war. Mr. Fessenden objected. He spoke of the importance of the Coast Survey, and said: "We do not know how long the war will continue. It may end in the course of a few months." Mr. Fessenden also objected to some other measures proposed by Mr. Grimes, whereupon the latter said: "My experience has taught me that it is futile to war against the Chairman of the Committee on Finance. His eloquence, and will, and persistency are such that it is useless for me to press any amendment against his wishes. I therefor withdraw the proposition, hoping to receive his support some other time."

Portland, September 26, 1861.

My dear Grimes:

I was glad to get your letter, though it was a continual growl from beginning to end. Of course I could expect nothing else.

As to this unfortunate Fremont affair, I am with you entirely, so far as the proclamation is concerned and wrote Fremont to that effect, as soon as I saw the President's foolish letter. The people here, as with you, are all for the proclamation, and the President has lost ground amazingly. It was a weak and unjustifiable concession to the Union men of the border States, who cannot take care of themselves, and are haunted by the Slavery demon night and day. I fear however that this is but a trifling matter. A friend in St. Louis, who liked and thought highly of Fremont, writes me



as she deserves to be. If I could believe that any effort would have made me the possessor of such a jewel, and that I was in any degree worthy to possess it, such an opportunity lost would be a lifelong regret. It would be folly in me, however, to think of such a woman, and selfishness even to wish that youth and loveliness should be sacrificed to the solace of my few remaining years. I have resolutely schooled myself to look disagreeable truths squarely in the face. And none is more obvious than that, at my age, I have no right to look for woman's love, or any sentiment beyond respect and esteem. I must therefore go on my way alone. Excuse me for making a serious matter of your joke.

Why did you not come? Believe me when I say that no man would be more welcome to my house and heart. I am living here quietly, taking little part in what is going on around me, impatient until I get the news of the day, and somewhat hard pressed to dispose of time after I get it. My oldest son who has a fine business, a sweet wife, and two little boys, has undertaken to raise a company of sharpshooters, and my only hope is that he will fail. Sam annoys me every day on the same subject, and I expect to wake some morning and find him gone.

I do so long to hear something creditable to our army. When is it to be? If this state of things shall continue much longer I shall join the grumblers. Politics however is a great captain, and I try hard to keep cool.

Portland, Nov. 10, 1861.

These are delightful times, are they not? What a lovely report that was of old Thomas (Lorenzo), and what excellent good sense and taste was displayed in publishing it. We shall have to investigate the matter. I think that even Floyd would have shrunk from anything so utterly shameless. These people must give some sounder reasons than I have seen yet, or their treatment of Fremont will damn them. Who and what are at the bottom of it? In the very best view I can take of it, our affairs on the Potomac have been but a succession of blunders. I reserve my *public* opinion until I have learned more.

Mr. Chase commended Edwin M. Stanton to Mr. Fessenden as a man of great ability and entitled to the highest confidence, and in January, 1862, Mr. Fessenden in the Senate gave his warm approval to the confirmation of Edwin M. Stanton "as just the man for Secretary of War."

Portland, Sept. 25, 1862.

Dear Grimes:

My youngest son was mortally wounded at Bull Run. He lived about thirty-six hours, manifesting through all, I am told, as in the

battle, the most heroic calmness and self-possession, uttering no complaint, but dying like a man and a soldier. The loss has affected me most severely, and the fact that two others of my sons are exposed to the same fate renders me unquiet and unhappy—but I have nothing but patience and submission.

I presume you are not more pleased than I am with the present condition of our affairs. McClellan as usual lost the golden opportunity on Thursday. I see nothing before us but a renewal of last winter's campaign. You have read Pope's report. I have no doubt of its truth, nor has anybody who was in Washington at the time. The President knows it to be true. And yet he gave McClellan the command of the army, and at his request restored to their places Porter, Franklin and Griffin, through fear of his influence with the army. The Proclamation is, however, to make up for everything with you radicals. I, being less sanguine, do not expect as much from it as many others, but pray that it may produce all the anticipated good.

Portland, Oct. 19, 1862.

I am glad that you have done so well in Iowa. The folly of the President has lost Ohio and Indiana, and I am surprised that its effects have not been still more calamitous. Wade, I am thinking, will close his senatorial career with this Congress. He has some faults, but I shall be sorry to lose so true a man.*

Private advices from Washington are to the effect that McClellan is to be removed from command of the army, and Halleck is to take his place. We should gain little by that in my judgment. I am for Hooker. He has shown more brains than any of them.

I shall go to the old place if I can get my old room, and hope you will do the like. Having become accustomed to you, I am content to tolerate your infirmities for the good that is in you.

Upon the meeting of Congress in December, 1862, the Senate



Seward sent his resignation to the President and Mr. Fessenden advised its acceptance. But the matter became complicated by Mr. Chase sending in his resignation. Mr. Fessenden felt that Mr. Chase could not be spared from the Treasury. Holding up Mr. Chase's resignation, Mr. Lincoln said, "Now I have the biggest half of the hog, I shall accept neither."

In 1863, Mr. Seward changed front, and supported the employment of negro soldiers, and the Emancipation Proclamation of that year.

In the fall of 1863, Mr. Grimes visited Mr. Fessenden, and in a letter to Mrs. Grimes said:

Portland, Nov. 24, 1863.

I reached Mr. Fessenden's without accident, and am now at his house. I wanted to leave to-day for Boston, but he restrained me, and I shall not go until to-morrow. I shall be in Boston until Friday, when Mr. Fessenden is to meet me, and we shall go to Washington together. I judge Portland to be one of the pleasantest cities in the United States. Fessenden has a grand old place; house and everything in it appearing to be not less than fifty years old and upward. He expressed his regret that you were not with me. All of his family, including sons, brother-in-law, etc., seemed to be pleased to see me, and all inquired kindly for you, as if they knew you. In Fessenden's chamber I found four framed portraits, his wife, Samuel, who is also dead, and my wife and my wife's husband.

Upon Mr. Fessenden's appointment to succeed Mr. Chase as Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Grimes wrote him a letter of exceeding pathos and tenderness, to which Mr. Fessenden replied with his characteristic sympathy and warm affection. The correspondence is in the *Life of James W. Grimes*,* pp. 263-66. An additional part of Mr. Fessenden's letter is as follows:

Washington, July 24, 1864.

I suppose you, like everybody else, were disgusted with the disgraceful manner in which the recent raid upon Washington was met. Where the fault was I am not able to say. Perhaps in the stupidity of entrusting important commands to such men as Sigel and Wallace. Yet we blunder on. Only worse blunders on the part of our adversaries will save us—and there is our chance.


Mr. Fessenden served eight months as Secretary of the Treasury. He took the office at the earnest solicitation of the

* *Life of James W. Grimes*, by William Salter. N. Y., Appleton & Co., 1876.

President. It was in the gloomiest period of the war, the movement of our armies in doubt, the national credit at its lowest ebb. There was a debt of nearly two billion dollars; an inflated paper currency, irredeemable, of six hundred millions; daily requisitions upon the treasury for three millions; and gold at 225. Mr. Fessenden said:

I consented to take the Treasury not only with extreme reluctance, but with much pain, having little strength for labor of any kind, but I could not resist the appeals to try to save our sinking credit—upon which the success of our cause depended. It was unfortunate for me that just at that moment I was believed to possess the confidence of the country to an extent which imposed the effort upon me. Under this state of things and in the hour of peril, I did not dare to refuse, whatever might be the consequences to myself. It may result in the destruction of all the reputation I have gained. Be it so—I owe that to my country as well as my life. My days are devoted to hard work, and I find many things to harass and perplex me. I could, however, do well enough but for the constant trouble in my head. But I do not feel like complaining when I think of Frank's amputated limb, or the many thousands of glorious fellows who bear wounds and suffering patiently and cheerfully because their country demands the sacrifice. All I can do and bear is trifling in comparison.

By vigor and skill in the management of the Treasury putting an end to any further issue of irredeemable paper, Mr. Fessenden restored confidence in the national credit. He addressed the people directly in a spirited appeal, told them the situation frankly, and called for their support. He said,



in retiring I carry with me great and increased respect for your personal character, and for the ability which has marked your administration of the government at a period requiring the most devoted patriotism and the highest intellectual and moral qualities for a place so exalted as yours.

Allow me, also, to congratulate you upon the greatly improved aspect of our national affairs, to which and to the auspicious result of our prolonged struggle for national life, now, as I believe, so near at hand, no one can claim to have so largely contributed as the Chief Magistrate of this great people.

That your future administration may be crowned with entire success, and that you may at its close take with you into retirement the well-deserved gratitude of the people you have well and faithfully ruled, is the most fervent wish of

Your friend and obt. servant,

W. P. FESSENDEN.

To The President.


Upon Mr. Fessenden's election to a third term in the Senate, he expressed in a letter to the Maine legislature his gratification at this renewed proof of their confidence, and said: "The administration of President Lincoln has been marked by extraordinary events. It has formed a memorable epoch in history. The struggle has enchained the attention of the world—the result must seriously affect the welfare of ages to come. Let it be our boast that in the emergency Maine was true to the cause of civil liberty, that at no moment did her people falter or faint, that no sacrifice could shake her purpose or weaken her faith."

Upon the death of President Lincoln, Mr. Fessenden deemed it the duty of the new President to call Congress together in view of the extraordinary condition of things. The new President thought otherwise. He took the government of the rebel States into his own hands, without authority of law. He had promised to be the Moses of the late slaves, but abandoned them to be despoiled by their late masters.

Upon the assembling of Congress in December, 1865, Mr. Fessenden labored in personal interviews with the President to convince him of the authority of Congress over the rebel States. Their armies were captured or surrendered, their president a prisoner, their slaves emancipated, their people under martial law, with no government of their own. At the

outset of the rebellion, they withdrew their Senators and representatives from Congress. The questions now pending were as to their readmission into the Union, and the terms upon which they might again send Senators and representatives to Congress. Mr. Fessenden said it was an infamy in President Buchanan to allow the rebellion to gain force and form, but it would be more infamous to allow the rebel States to come back, send Senators and representatives to Congress, without guaranteeing the safety of the Nation, without assenting to the abolition of slavery, without repudiating the rebel debt, or without giving the rights of freemen to their former slaves.

A joint committee of both Houses on "Reconstruction" was appointed, to inquire into the condition of the Confederate States, and report upon these questions. Mr. Fessenden was made chairman of the Committee. Mr. Sumner wanted the place, but was deemed "too ultra." Mr. Grimes was second on the committee. Mr. Fessenden's labors with the President were futile. The President asserted his own authority, and later he defied Congress. The labors of the committee were arduous. There were contrary opinions. The strife and strain imperiled Mr. Fessenden's health, and nearly broke him down. But in weariness and painfulness he held his head aloft in long and sharp debates, and braved every difficulty. At last, he saw the crown of his labors in the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. As the war of the Revolution led to the adoption of



nance Committee, in favor of reducing the duties on steel. Mr. Fessenden, referring to the matter, said: "I will frankly say that if there is a man in or out of the Senate who possesses influence over me, it is the honorable Senator from Iowa. No man possesses more. I have great respect for his opinion, and for the uniform integrity of his character, as we all have. But I must say in justification of the Senator, and of the Committee, or of the chairman of it in this instance, that the Senator never spoke to me upon the matter referred to, or alluded to it in any way. All I ever heard him say on the subject was said here on the floor of the Senate."

The folly and malfeasance of President Johnson early aroused Mr. Fessenden's indignation, but he doubted the expediency of impeaching him. The question took form in the House of Representatives in January, 1867, when it was referred to the Judiciary Committee (James F. Wilson chairman), for examination. The Committee took a large amount of testimony, but could not complete their investigation during that Congress, and the matter was turned over to the next, the 40th, which met March 4, and continued in its first session till March 30, and subsequently by adjournment July 3-20, November 21-30.

When some Senators were freely expressing their minds upon the matter in the Senate, Mr. Fessenden said, July 20, 1867, that he deemed it "improper for one, who was to act as a judge in the case, to commit himself in advance upon the guilt of the accused, but should hear the case without prejudice or passion."

The Judiciary Committee of the House, by George S. Boutwell, made a report, November 25, in favor of impeachment. Mr. Wilson did not agree with it, and made a minority report. The subject was then postponed to the next month. On December 7, a vote was taken, when the yeas were 57, nays 108.

The situation was changed February 21, 1868, by the President's removal of the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton. Congress had passed a law to protect Mr. Stanton in that office, and his removal was deemed a crime that demanded impeachment. The vote now stood, yeas 126, nays 41. The next day,

James F. Wilson stated that if the President could not be convicted on the ground of his removal of Mr. Stanton, he probably could not be convicted on the other charges against him. The trial was made to hinge on that article, though the other charges were presented and discussed.

On the 5th of March, 1868, the Chief Justice of the United States and the Senators took the oath to do impartial justice in the matter according to the Constitution and the laws. The trial went on in long arguments and speeches *pro* and *con* until the 16th of May, when 35 Senators voted "guilty," 19 "not guilty," and the impeachment failed, two-thirds being required for conviction. Ten days later, votes were taken on other charges with like result, and the Senate sitting as a Court adjourned *sine die*.

The following extracts from Mr. Fessenden's letters to Mr. Grimes show his views of how things went on:

Portland, May 8, 1867.

It was taken for granted that there would not be a session in July unless something new "turned up"—though Sumner professed to know that there would be. These fellows considered themselves beaten and were very sore. Wade's vision of the Presidency and Schenck's of succeeding him during the present Congress were somewhat dimmed—though the former and his Lieutenants are arranging their forces for the next campaign and are abusing everybody—not excepting Grant.

We had a hard time of it during the called session. The fight among ourselves was a severe one, but the *leaders* found themselves in the vocative at last, and were pretty thoroughly used up. Im-

peachment had got to be a matter of ridicule before the session



I see that our V. P. is fairly in for the Presidency. I suppose he will divide the West with Colfax. Under which of these doughty champions will Iowa range itself?

Portland, July 14, 1867.

What do you think of Andy's reconstruction scheme? It strikes me that the rebels are having it all their own way. The papers say that Montgomery Blair approves. It is quite time, in my judgment, that the Blairs were laid aside, though as Fox [Gustavus V., Assistant Secretary of the Navy] belongs to the family, I suppose the Committee on Naval Affairs will go with the administration. I have been hard at work gardening, and my health has improved wonderfully.

Portland, Sept. 20, 1867.

My dear Grimes:

I have just finished my evening cigar, and, as it happens to be a good one, I am in a most desirable condition. Beside the cigar, I am just now in excellent health—eat well (in spite of chronic dyspepsia which my friends assign in excuse of my bad temper)—sleep well—my garden flourishes—and Frank with his charming little wife and pretty boy make a part of my family. Should not all these happy circumstances and surroundings enable me to bear even Mr. Sumner's philippics with a reasonable degree of equanimity?

The truth is I didn't get angry with Sumner *this time*. The whole thing was exquisitely funny. All the world this way is laughing at him. It was manifest that the thing was deliberately got up. I will bet you a guinea he either had a week to prepare, or took that time to revise the manuscript.

With you, however, I *was* surprised at the appearance of such stuff in the *Advertiser*. Mr. Chandler (J. P.), the principal owner and director, was away, as was the leading editor. Chandler wrote me from the country that he don't understand it. I have sent him your letter for edification.

The truth is that for some reason or other, this particular clique have resolved to write and talk me down—to persuade the people that I am untrue to the principles of the party—a friend and defender of Andrew Johnson. They would do the same by Grant if they dared. See Sumner's hints and Phillips' open attacks. Forney cottons with them and beslaunders Grant. They don't want him if it can be avoided, and mean to dispose of me in case any happy incident should kill off Grant. Now, so far as I am concerned, they need not trouble themselves. I would go as far to avoid being a candidate myself as I would to defeat Wade. But the malice is only equalled by their meanness and cowardice.

I have recently returned from a water expedition to St. John in company with Hooper [Samuel] and Conkling [Roscoe]. We talked freely of Sumner's manifesto, and Phillips' letter found us at East-

port; Conkling was evidently much annoyed, and thought he should have a friendly talk with Sumner. He says, Phillips' letter, so far as it refers to me, was but a repetition of what he had heard Sumner say in the cars when riding from the Capitol. I have not heard from Edmunds. As both of them were fond of complimenting Sumner, I shall let them settle the matter in their own way.

We are looking to the Western elections with much interest. I mark your prediction. If it comes true, I think the hopes of these gentlemen will be somewhat clouded.

Is it true that Willson [James F.] has written a letter in favor of impeachment? If so, he has not acted with his usual discretion.

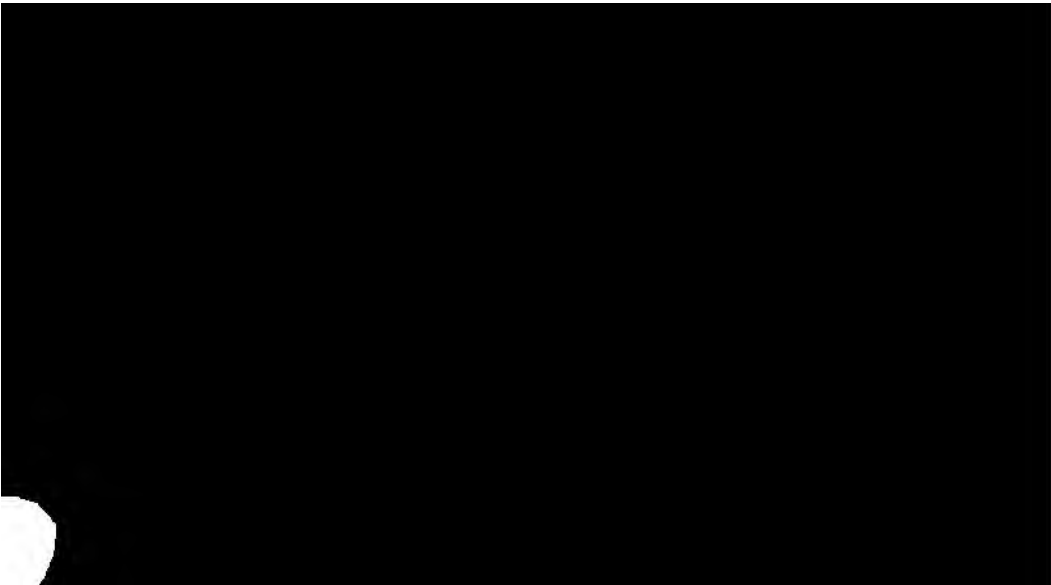
Keep cool my friend, enjoy your leisure, and come back full of love to all your associates—particularly for the writer who, with best regards for your wife, remains as always yours.

Portland, Oct. 20, 1867.

As you predicted the elections have surprised people, though Iowa has held her own very well. Our friends Wade, Chandler & Co. must feel particularly gratified with the result in Ohio. I see Stevens imputes it to the corruption of Congress in not impeaching the President. Most of our influential journals, however, think it is owing to a general disgust with the leadership of Stevens and his drive.

* * * All is Grant now, and I do not see but he will go in by general acclamation, without any declaration of his principles, or pledges of his action. It will be only necessary for the Democrats to nominate him also, and we shall have an administration "without regard to colour"—and shall see in due time, what is to come of it. You must be on the look-out for squalls. There will be plenty of crimination and recrimination. Will you and Edmunds and others be prepared to take a part in the fight, or are we to be silent and take all the abuse certain gentlemen will load us with?

Mr. Fessenden held that the act of Congress which was in-



it wisely and well would not excuse me for a violation of His law."

In the trial Mr. Sumner held that the Senate was still a political body, and the Senators under a political responsibility; Mr. Fessenden held that the Senate was now a Court. The difference in their point of view appeared in the fact that Mr. Sumner and his side addressed the Chief Justice as "Mr. President." Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Grimes always addressed him as "Mr. Chief Justice."

Washington, June 12, 1868.

My dear Grimes:

Glad to hear that you are improving. All you have to do is to enjoy yourself, and let public affairs take care of themselves. Trumbull has been very busy of late getting the rebel States in—including Alabama, to which he was opposed. The fools outvoted us as usual, as if our burdens were not heavy enough now.

Andy has behaved very well so far, and I think he will hold on until after the Democratic convention. The Democrats go to see him, such as Hendricks and Buckalew, and I think he is comparatively safe in their hands.

Have you seen the London papers? All with one accord congratulate this country upon its escape from a serious blow at its government, and praise us for our firmness. They evidently consider impeachment in this case as a mere scheme of Jacobinism to get power. Was it not about so? Stanton, I learn, is very bitter. This does not surprise me though I deeply regret such an exhibition of bitterness in such a man.

Mr. J. M. Forbes, of Boston, May 23, 1868, wrote Mr. Fessenden: "I hope you do not care anything for the ravings of our radical papers; and I know you will not let them move you a hair from the even tenor of your way. The more I agree with them, in the main, the more they make me mad with their extravagance and unreasonableness." In reply Mr. Fessenden said:

Washington, June 21, 1868.

* * * I have felt outraged by the gross attacks made upon me by some of the Republican journals. However, I cannot but feel that time will set all things even. Whether it does or not, the path of duty is plain. No considerations of this sort could justify me in departing from my line of duty. A man who has knowingly and deliberately put at hazard all that most public men value, in obedi-

ence to his sense of right, will not be likely to throw away all the consolation that remains to him—his own approval.

Grimes will be in Boston before long, and I hope our friends will see and cheer him. He is a noble fellow, and I love him more than ever.*

A large number of citizens of Boston of the Republican party, "desirous of expressing their sense of the value of his public services," invited Mr. Fessenden to a public dinner to be given in that city. They said:

"While some of us strongly dissent from the conclusion at which you arrived with regard to the conviction of President Johnson, we all heartily recognize and admire your courage and conscientiousness under circumstances of peculiar difficulty."

Declining the invitation from considerations of his duty in the Senate and of his own health, Mr. Fessenden referred to the "circumstances of peculiar difficulty" alluded to. A few extracts from his letter show how he regarded the situation:

Washington, June 25, 1868.

To the Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, and others:

* * * The impeachment of the President was a most extraordinary event, and will constitute a remarkable chapter in our country's history. The conduct of the President almost from the beginning of his administration had been such as to render him obnoxious to the suspicion of designing to defeat the cherished object of those who had elected him, and of plunging the country back into a condition little better than that from which it had been rescued at so vast a sacrifice. It was not only humiliating, but irritating in the extreme



him solely upon the law and the facts, the crimes and misdemeanors charged. * * * The members were, to be sure, servants of the people, responsible to them, but only as judges are for an honest decision; all the attempts to coerce a decision by outside pressure, by appeals to party obligation, by threats and vituperation, were as wrong as if applied to any case of private right before any court in the land, and subversion of justice and of public and private morality. I considered the matter entirely beyond and above party jurisdiction. For the vote I gave I offer no excuse or apology, and ask no vindication; nor do I consider myself entitled to any special credit for courage or conscientiousness in the discharge of what I considered an imperative duty.

Andrew D. White in his Autobiography, II, 147, calls Mr. Fessenden's action "an example of Spartan fortitude, of Roman heroism worthy to be chronicled by Plutarch," and says, "The time will come when a statue will commemorate his great example."

To Mr. Grimes.

Washington, June 24, 1868.

We are getting along stupidly as usual here. The impeachers are not particularly happy, though most of them have become very civil. Wade is said to be very cross, and refuses to be comforted. I am told that Forney says the party had a narrow escape. I am informed that General Grant talks well and properly, as a sensible man should. His particular friends and organs have come to the conclusion that they cannot afford to throw away any support.

I shall decline the Boston invitation. I could not avoid saying something about Sumner's resolutions, but I have treated them respectfully, and said nothing of him. Every day he gets some hard rubs in the Senate all round. Yesterday I was obliged to defend him, as he was badly treated.

Evarts' nomination is to be bitterly opposed by Congress and others, but I hardly think he can be rejected, though there are a great many fools in the Senate. Stanton I never hear spoken of.

I am glad to hear that you continue to improve.

July 2. I struck out of my Boston letter all that related to Sumner. I am glad that you like the letter. It was not easy to tell what not to say.

Mr. Grimes to Mr. Fessenden.

Bath, Maine, July 7, 1868.

* * * I have not heard of a man here who disapproved of your course after he came to understand it. Nor did I in Boston. I discovered that Hooper [Samuel] telegraphed and went to Boston, while


the matter was pending, to get up a public meeting in favor of conviction and it was to head off that movement that R. H. Dana, Jr., introduced his resolution into the House [Legislature of Massachusetts] where he was chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and which came near passing that Body.

From the extracts I have seen of Butler's [B. F.] report, I judge that it is the most discreditable public paper ever issued in this country, and to permit it to go to the world unaccompanied by the evidence on which it was based is infamous, and in my opinion involves in the infamy all who are party to it, and agree to it.

In April, 1869, Mr. Grimes went to Europe in hope of regaining his health. It improved in London, but in Paris a second attack of paralysis again prostrated him. When able to hold a pen, he wrote Mr. Fessenden:

Paris, July 9, 1869.

Your welcome letter came duly to hand. * * * This attack closes up my political career. I shall never, I am sorry to say, sit by your side as a member of the Senate again. * * * There is one thing we lack in America more than anything else, to make up an accurate history of our country, and that is, memoirs of public men. I am greatly struck with that fact here, where they have ever been so abundant. What kind of history can any man coming after us make up of the last ten years from the newspapers? None at all. Now, you have lived in the most eventful period of our country's history. You have had a leading part in public affairs for twenty-five years; you have a cool head, a retentive memory, a facile pen. I insist that you ought in justice to the future, in behalf of your own memory, and for the common good, to spend a few leisure hours every day in preparing your memoirs. You need not take up subjects *seriatim*, begin with any one of the many interesting topics, and after



the advice of those best able to judge of what your permanent good requires. * * *

[As to re-election to the Senate] What the result will be I cannot foresee, and on my own account do not much care, for I am about tired of the whole thing. I shall be a candidate, for duty to myself and the State requires it of me. But I shall contend at some disadvantage, for I will not use the means that will be used against me. If money is to be used, be it so. It will not be used by or for me. I will have no hand in corrupting legislative morals. If elected, it must be on my merits, and because the people so desire. For corrupt and corrupting honors I have no desire. My hands are clean thus far, and I mean to keep them so. Any but an honest and high-minded people I have no desire to serve. If Maine desires that her Senators shall be elected by petty newspaper and office-seeking politicians, it is very clear that I shall not be one of them, nor, in such a case, do I wish to be—and that is the end of it.

* * * Take good care of yourself, my dear friend, and believe me with the kindest regards to Mrs. Grimes and Mary [afterwards Mrs. W. B. Allison]

Ever yours most truly,

Hon. James W. Grimes.

W. P. FESSENDEN.

In reply Mr. Grimes wrote from Switzerland:

August 31, 1869.

Your letter of the 8th has just reached me in the midst of the Savoy Alps, being douched and soaked in hot sulphur water.

Perhaps you have observed that I have resigned my place in the Senate. I regret to leave on your account, and on Trumbull's.

We shall not return to America this year. We have it in contemplation to spend the winter in Italy, a considerable part of it in Rome, and I shall take the liberty to kiss the pope's great toe on your account, and in your behalf. Read Milton's invocation beginning

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered Saints!"

and then fancy that we are right among the descendants of those slaughtered saints.

In the night of the same day the letter was written, Mr. Fessenden was seized with a fatal illness at his home in Portland, and died nine days afterward. Upon receiving the intelligence, Mr. Grimes in a letter to Mr. Lyman Cook, of Burlington, Iowa, wrote:

Vevay, Switzerland, Oct. 10, 1869.

I have never been so afflicted by the death of any man as by the sudden decease of Mr. Fessenden. He was my most intimate, sincere, and attached friend, and the sentiment was most cordially reciprocated. I knew him as no other man knew him, for he always made

me his confidant. I admired as only those admired him who knew him intimately. He was the highest-toned, truest, noblest man I ever knew. I never knew or expect to know a man who can approach him in the qualities that go to make a grand man and a noble statesman. The man does not live who can take his place in the Senate. To tell you the truth, his death has been a serious blow to me. The news nearly upset me. I have not been able to think of much else since I heard it. Only four days before the news came, I received a long, cheerful, and characteristic letter from him.

Writing later to Mr. Cook with reference to the Impeachment trial, Mr. Grimes said:

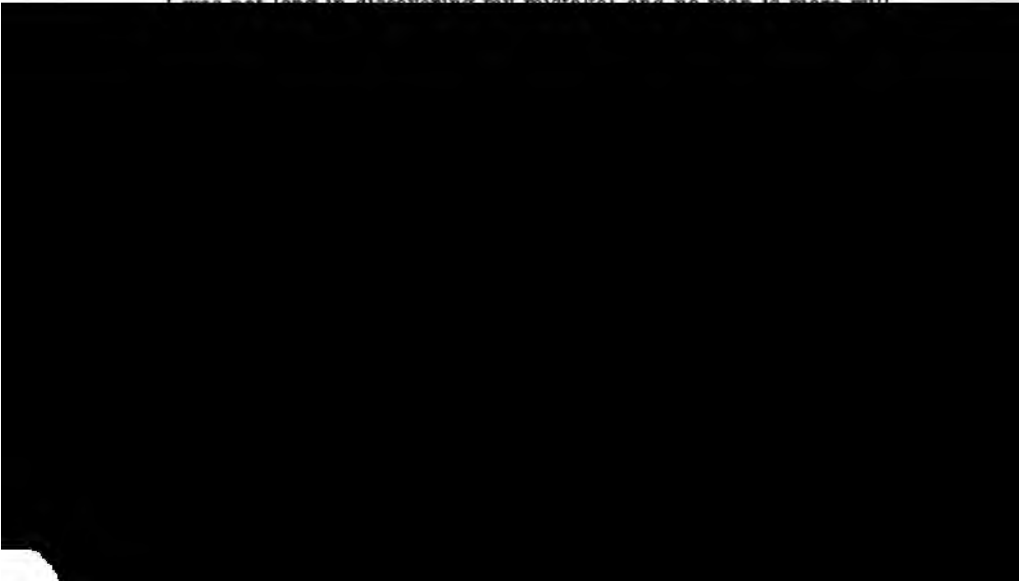
I would not exchange the recollection of that grasp of the hand and that glorified smile given me by that purest and ablest of men I have ever known, Mr. Fessenden, when I was borne into the Senate chamber on the arms of four men, to cast my vote, for the highest distinction of life.

Senator James Dixon, of Connecticut, had said in a letter to Mr. Fessenden:

It is due mainly to you and Grimes that the country was saved from seeing a President removed when any party desired it. This was averted by a degree of courage and patriotism the world has never seen surpassed. My respect for men who resisted a tremendous influence brought to bear upon them is too great for ordinary language to express.

George W. Julian, a representative from Indiana, said, twenty years afterward:

I was one of the many men whose partisan madness and exasperation carried them headlong into the Impeachment movement, but I was not long in discovering my mistake, and no man is more will-



taste for grandiloquent oratory, but of that unaffected speech which is in earnest to force conviction, he was a consummate master. Fitted to shine in society, he usually avoided it, to the regret of his friends, as they felt that he would have been more widely beloved, had he been less of a recluse. Those who were invited to his home found him cordial in manner, fascinating in conversation, a brilliant talker, often speaking with humor, more willing to show his learning, his love of poetry, and his literary treasures at his own fireside than in any public theater.

Senator Sumner said:

During the whole period of the war, when appropriations were beyond precedent in the world's history, Mr. Fessenden's influence swayed the Senate, and what all our best generals were in the army he was in the financial field.

Hannibal Hamlin (Vice President, and presiding officer of the Senate, 1861-'5), said:

The duties and victories of civil life are as important as those of arms, and the statesman, who aids in wisely directing the councils of the Nation, should be held in as cherished remembrance as he who successfully commands our armies in the field. Such is the position the historian will assign Mr. Fessenden.

THE ORIGINATION OF ORGANIC FORMS.

BY DR. CHARLES A. WHITE.

On November 5, 1907, the editor of *The Annals* wrote to his lifelong friend, the eminent scientist Dr. Charles A. White, once State Geologist of Iowa, as follows:

Dear Dr. White:

Your kind letter of recent date was forwarded to me at my home in Boone, where I had the pleasure of reading it some days ago. I was very glad to hear from you; glad that you are still able to write friendly and entertaining letters. I understand you to say that you have ceased writing for publication. I regret this because I have valued your contributions to *The Annals* very highly. I wish that you might still write an article upon the Mutation Theory. I believe that you are the leading exponent of that theory in this country and you understand the views of Professor de Vries probably more thoroughly than any other man in this country. I be-

lieve it would please your old Iowa friends, if we could publish an article from your pen, giving an analysis and outline of that new theory which seems destined to become one of very much discussion during the next decade. So believing, I hope you will reconsider your determination not to write any more for publication, and send me the article before the end of the year.

Faithfully yours,


CHARLES ALDRICH.

Dr. Charles A. White, Washington, D. C.

In reply Dr. White wrote as follows:

My Dear Mr. Aldrich:

The desire which you expressed to me in a recent letter to make *The Annals of Iowa* a record, not only of what the people of our State have done, but of the part they have taken with reference to current subjects of thought, is especially appropriate because such records are a part of the intellectual history of the commonwealth. There are, however, many reasons why I do not feel equal to the task which you have proposed to me of writing for *The Annals* a formal essay upon the history and present status of the various theories concerning the origination of organic forms which have been held since Iowa began its political existence, including special reference to the latest of them, the mutation theory of Professor Hugo de Vries. The facts which you refer to in a letter, that I have lived contemporaneously with every American naturalist who has published results of any systematic work, that I have had personal cognizance of all the theories referred to as they have successively prevailed and that I have often



subject have prevailed, or, as it is generally expressed, only two theories of the origin of species, have been favorably received among cultivated people. These are the theory of special creation and that of evolution. The other theories of which I shall speak are subdivisions of the latter.

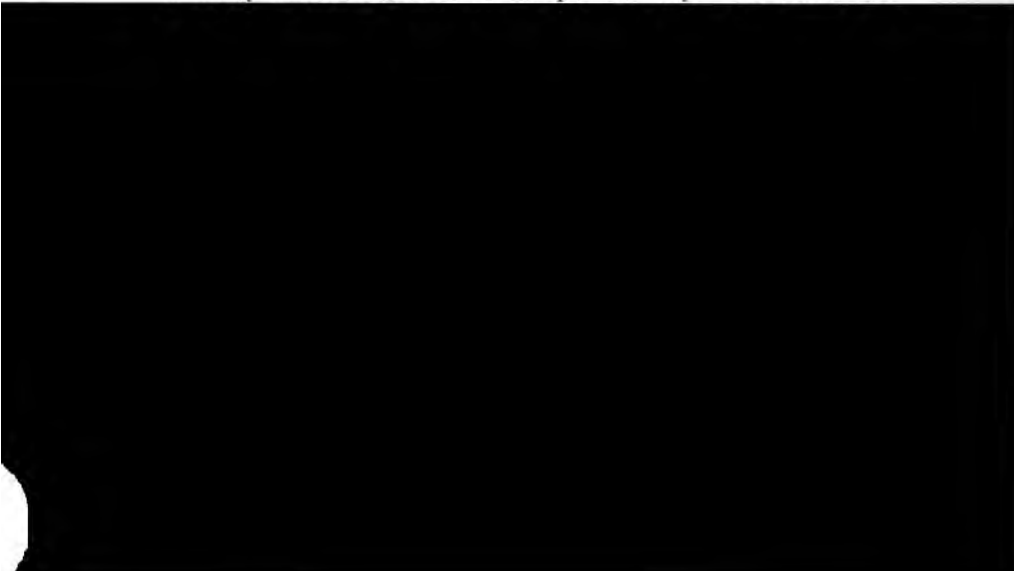
The theory of special creation, as the modern naturalist has held it, has required of him the belief that the specific, generic, family, and ordinal forms of animals and plants are the expression in earthly materials of categories of creative thought in the Divine Mind; and that the homologies of structure which are found in the species which constitute the respective classes and orders have, in each case, originated in accord with an archetypal plan which was also divinely conceived. It also required belief that every species was produced suddenly as a complete and permanent entity and, having had no antecedent existence, the generation of its kind and its heredity necessarily began after that act, and had no connection with its origin. The theory was purely speculative and quite illogical. It gave the inquirer not even a suggestion as to the method of execution of the creative act, or whether it is still occasionally performed in such a manner that it might be possible for some person to witness it.

I found this theory to be at least tacitly held by all the naturalists with whom I came in contact when, as a boy, seventy years ago. I first began to study nature and to question every naturalist with whom I could get a hearing. Not one of them ever rebuffed me, for the true naturalists always loves an inquisitive boy. That theory prevailed until I had myself become the author of several paleontological papers, all based upon Iowa fossils and all bearing tacit reference to the then prevailing theory. Indeed, I did not abandon that method of thought until about the year 1866.

The people generally, especially those who held any definite religious belief, adhered firmly to the theory of special creation until the mental battle was finally won by the naturalists. For the devout naturalist the belief in special creations was an agreeable one, for he felt that he was dealing with living forms just as they came from the hand of the Creator and if,

in the study of fossil remains, or when exploring those regions of the earth in which primeval faunas and floras still prevail, he discovered new species of animals or plants, he felt that he was specially favored in being the first to look upon forms that had been the result of divine conception and special creative acts. He who held such views, however, usually had little disposition to philosophize, and the subject was to him purely one of sentiment and faith. He did not pretend to know how the creative act was performed; it was enough for him to know that his God performed it.

My early associates were peculiarly earnest men, and thought seriously and honestly upon the subject of the origin of species, although they seldom referred to it in either writing or speech. That their mental attitude, however, was unsettled upon that subject was shown by the readiness with which they accepted the theory of evolution when the great revolution in biological thought, which I am about to mention, swept over not only our own country but the whole world. It is to me a grateful remembrance that such men were my earliest mentors and that many of them remained my personal friends as long as they lived. It was those men who laid the foundations of biological science in America and as the years went on, their numbers and the effectiveness of their work increased. Among the leaders of this group of pioneer naturalists may be mentioned Agassiz, Dana, Gray, Hall, Newberry, Torrey and many of their contemporaries whose names are familiar to every naturalist, even of the present day. All these men




Many of his contemporary naturalists were quite as able as he, but no person was ever more successful in awakening public, as well as special, interest in biology, and no person ever had greater success than he in drawing young men to its study. I mention him particularly in this connection because, when the great revolution in biological thought occurred he, almost alone of the naturalists in our country, attempted to stem the tide; but it was all to no purpose. Darwin's book, *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection*, like a firebrand, set the thinking world ablaze. The first edition was published in 1859 and other editions followed, all reaching our country when events were culminating in our civil war. Even the mad rush of battle could not prevent men from following the progress of the far-reaching revolution in scientific thought of which that book was the chief exciting cause. When the war was ended thousands of returning soldiers and other young men thronged the schools to recover lost opportunities for education. The students of biology, almost without exception, became earnest advocates of the Darwinian theory, and many of them went farther in its advocacy than the honest and cautious author himself had ventured. Even the special students of Agassiz accepted the theory of the origin of species as propounded by Darwin. A few of the older and more conservative naturalists of our country accepted that theory tentatively or, to use their own words, "as a working hypothesis;" but even this faint opposition soon ceased. Until his death in 1873, Professor Agassiz continued to teach the views which he had always inculcated and, although he made effective use in his teaching of the weak points in Darwin's theory, little heed was given to the unpopular side of that much discussed subject. As time passed, however, naturalists began to give more attention to those weak points, a large part of which Darwin himself had frankly and carefully discussed, especially in the later editions of his work. I need to make no extended mention of the hostile attitude that many people assumed, especially the leaders of the church, toward evolution, and only remark that in the earlier years of the controversy it was exceedingly bitter and that as knowl-

edge of the real character of the theory increased such opposition decreased until it is now rarely met with.

The term "evolution theory," as it is often broadly used, is applicable to so many subjects, not only biological but astronomical and physical; and even to the human and social sciences, that the term "thesis" would logically be more appropriate for that general use. I shall of course use the term evolution theory in this connection only with reference to its biological signification. In this sense that theory requires the belief that every now existing animal and plant, not excepting man, has been genetically produced along collateral and diverging chronological lines, beginning far back in geological time with minute single-celled organisms, such as those to which the names monad and infusoria are generally applied. That theory has hitherto not included inquiry as to the origination of those first forms of life for, as a rule naturalists considerably decline to concern themselves with pre-determinate causes.

The theory of organic evolution, as it is generally accepted, maintains that those simple original forms of life contained potentially the germs of all possible future forms, and that all the animals and plants which now exist, and all that ever have existed, have resulted from the genetic unfolding of those germs. That is, all those forms were derived from pre-existing forms by the ordinary process of natural generation. No person now rationally questions the fact of evolution of organic forms; the prevailing differences of opinion all have




Lamarck, Geoffroy St. Hilaire and more than twenty other authors published their advocacy of that theory. It may be said in passing that, because men are so little inclined to leave the beaten paths of thought until marshalled on less trodden paths by a master mind, the authority of those able men, with the truth on their side, produced but little impression upon the then prevailing theory of special creation. It may also be truthfully said that even among the naturalists of those days little interest was taken in the views which those writers enunciated before Darwin's great work was published. Even the main features of Darwin's theory had been incidentally recognized by a few other men, but he formulated his theory so fully and admirably that its acceptance was assured. Therefore it hardly need be mentioned that Charles Darwin did not originate, and never claimed to have originated, the theory of evolution. The object of his famous work was to show how, according to his conclusions, evolution of organic forms has been accomplished. He required a comprehensive volume in which to express his views, but I must try to give you a summary of them in a few sentences.

The leading proposition of Darwin's theory may be stated as follows:—Variation is a constant and natural condition with all animals and plants, no two individuals, even of the same parentage, ever being exactly alike. The terms fluctuating, common and gradual variation are often applied to this kind of instability of smaller organic details. These variations are known, at least in a general way, to every one, and they are especially familiar to those who have practical knowledge of the waters and of field and wood-craft. One thus knows every tree, and every leaf of it, at sight; and yet he never saw any tree or any leaf exactly like another. Animals are similarly variable. Much as the birds of a flock resemble one another, and much as that resemblance enables us to distinguish them from other kinds of birds, no two of them are ever alike in all details of bodily structure, plumage and habits. Darwin assumed that species are produced by the accumulation of these, and correlated kinds of variation through long periods of time, by a process so slow that a human life is far too short

in which to witness any material change. The slowness assumed by Darwin's theory is such, indeed, that the process of specific variation by natural selection could hardly be detected, even by a long succession of generations of men trained to biometrical observation.

With that central idea of the origin of species by the accumulation of ordinary natural variation, Darwin proceeded to show what phenomena have prevailed which he believed were sufficient to modify, accelerate, or retard the process of evolution. These phenomena include the various conditions of environment under which the animals or plants exist, chief among which, as the title of his book denotes, is that form of vital competition that is usually designated as natural selection, and which Darwin thus defines in a single sentence: "This preservation of favorable variations and the rejection of unfavorable variations I call natural selection." The terms "survival of the fittest" and "the struggle for existence" are also often used with reference to the same subject. Darwin justly shows that animals and plants multiply themselves so rapidly that, if they met with no adverse conditions they would soon cover the earth with their progeny; but because of the prevalence of various adverse conditions and of the difference in vitality and adaptability of individuals there is a constant struggle in which the more vigorous survive and the weaker perish. The claim, however, that this struggle is a factor in the origination of species is vigorously denied, especially by



kingdom Vertebrata only being absent. Those remains show that a large proportion of the species which then existed were as highly organized as are any of their kind which exist to-day. That is, the progeny of those early forms have come down to our time in lines which are nearly parallel; or they have so little evolutionary divergence that they indicate only slight progressive differentiation for the successive generations. Therefore, if we bound a chronological column representing those early forms and their descendants by an imaginary straight line upon each side of it, and extend those lines back into the abyss of time until they meet at a converging point which shall be assumed to represent the time of introduction of the first life upon the earth, we shall have an evolutionary parallax which will carry that point back to a time inconceivably remote. That immeasurable antiquity of the origin of life upon the earth is really required by the Darwinian theory and belief in the accuracy of that assumption is accepted by those who have adopted that theory without qualification. The possibility that the earth has existed so long in a habitable condition for animals and plants is positively denied by able physicists and astronomers, and it is no less difficult for a layman to believe. It is this requirement for illimitable time and the production of systematic species by the accumulation of common variation, to which the strongest objection is made by those who oppose the Darwinian theory.

Among his numerous writings Darwin proposed the theory of pangenesis in support of his views of heredity which, in its chief features, is strangely like a theory that was enunciated by Democritus in his Atomic System, four hundred years before Christ. Darwin assumed that gemmules, or infinitely minute granules, derived from all parts of the body, circulate through the body and finally gather in the germ cells. These gemmules, having the power of reproducing the cells from which they were derived, endow the germ cell, in bud or ovule, with the power to produce a complete individual. The cells and their contents, the nuclei and protoplasts, are readily seen under the microscope, but the pangenetic gemmules are beyond the reach of vision and their existence is therefore theoretical.

The foregoing paragraph, with which I close direct reference to Darwin's labors is of special importance with relation to the labors of Professor de Vries, which culminated in his mutation theory. Professor de Vries is a botanist and his experiments and demonstrations have hitherto been confined to plants, but he logically believes that his conclusions will be found applicable to animals also. In his investigations he carried the pangenetic idea beyond the limits which were assigned to it by Darwin and in 1889 he published his views on that subject in a small volume entitled *Intracellulare Pangenesis*, in which work he deals with molecular conditions within the cells. He hypothetically assumes that every heritable attribute is attached to a material vehicle within the living protoplasmic substance of the cell. These vehicles, together with their respectively associated attributes, he calls pangenes and claims that they enter into the structure of all living protoplasm. He says, "Each heritable attribute, be the species ever so numerous through which it has descended, has its own special kind of pangenes. Many such kinds of pangenes are associated together in every organism and they increase in number with the increase of organic differentiation." A part of the pangenes are functionally grouped within the cell, especially the germ cell, and more particularly within the nucleus. Their progeny are transported to and from the various parts of the organism along the protoplasmic streamlets that radiate from, and connect together, the protoplasts, or cell contents, of all the living parts of the organism.

It was while formulating this theory of intracellular pangenesis that Professor de Vries conceived the idea of his mutation theory, which is now before the world. The following translation from among the formal statements made by the distinguished author in his great work presents his idea of specific mutation concisely:

The attributes of organisms are built up of fixed and sharply defined units [the pangenes]. These units combine in groups, and in the kindred of species the same units and groups are reproduced. The origination of a new unit signifies a mutation. Every addition of a unit to a group constitutes a step, originates a new group and separates the new form sharply and fully, as an individual species, from the one out of which it has been produced. The new species

is at once such, and originates from the former species without apparent preparation and without gradation. Each attribute of course arises from the one previously present, not by their common variation but by one sudden change. Provisionally, one may compare these changes, but only in the simplest manner, with chemical substitution.


Since I began to speak of pangenesis we have been beyond the aid of either vision or palpation and upon the border-land of the knowable. Let us return to the field where Professor de Vries demonstrated his theories by practical experimentation. The ten years following the publication of his *Intracellulare Pangenesis* were devoted to the collection and collation of facts in support of his already conceived theory of mutation. He reviewed the floras of many regions and gathered a large number of plants from their natural habitats into the University garden at Amsterdam for experimentation. The story of his labors is of absorbing interest, but I need now only say that, with all the advantages of cultivation and protection which he gave to his selected plants few, if any, of them showed any more indication of mutability than did those which he had long studied in the field. Finally, however, a few miles from Amsterdam, he found specimens of the American evening primrose, *Oenothera Lamarckiana*, which had become acclimated and very abundant in Holland, both wild and cultivated, to be in an active state of mutation. Among the abundant typical specimens of that species he found two specific forms which were new to him and which he believed had been then and there spontaneously derived from *Oe. Lamarckiana*. Transferring these new forms, together with many plants of the common form, to his experimental gardens he obtained by artificial breeding a repetition of the new forms which he had discovered in the wild state, and also several other new species, all being direct progeny of *Oe. Lamarckiana*. Moreover, some of the new species became themselves mutable and gave origin to other new species, until the new ones numbered not less than half a dozen.

The new species thus produced were clearly distinct in essential attributes from the parent species and from all other known species of the genus *Oenothera*. Moreover, by sub-

sequent breeding Professor de Vries found those attributes to be as heritable and invariable as are those of any other species. As a rule, however, the differences between these newly originated species are not so great as are those between the ordinarily recognized species of systematic classification.

These initiative forms Professor de Vries designates as experimental species. They enter at once into the struggle for existence with all associated plants, even with the parent form and its other mutated progeny. In this struggle multitudes of new species doubtless perish and leave no sign that they have ever existed, for the struggle itself in all such cases is conspicuous evidence of nature's extravagant wastefulness. Such perishing, together with additional mutations, makes gaps between the surviving experimental species, which are broader than the original initiative gaps. The competitive struggle also naturally tends to bring the victorious experimental species to the prominent condition of those which are commonly recognized in systematic biological work.

The evening primroses bear an abundance of seed which, in reproduction, are generally as true to the parent species as are the seeds of any other plant. In no case did Professor de Vries find all the seeds of any plant, or all the seeds of a single pod, in the mutative condition. On the contrary, he found only a very small percentage of the seeds of any one of those plants to be mutable. Of these, some might occupy separate pods, or all of them might occupy a single pod; and each one of the mutative seeds might give origin to a plant



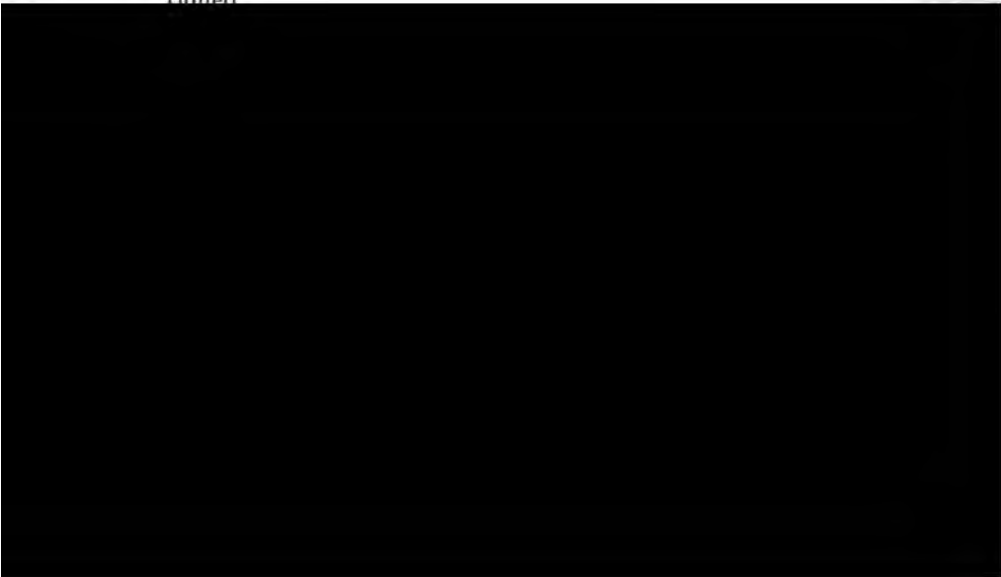
Up to the time of the publication of his great work, *Die Mutationstheorie* in 1901, Professor de Vries had discovered no other species in the mutative condition besides *Oe. Lamarckiana* and its progeny, but there is reason to believe that others have since been discovered. This fact leads to the statement of a specially important feature of the mutation theory as enunciated by Professor de Vries. According to the published views of that author, his theory involves the immutability, as well as the mutability, of species. That is, aside from the ever-present common variation of organic forms, which has no phylogenetic connection with mutation, immutability is the rule, mutability the exception. He concludes that, with rare exceptions, all species pass the greater part of their existence as such in the immutable state and that their apparent stability is real when in that state.

While Professor de Vries was preparing his *Mutationstheorie* for publication I was experimenting with tomato plants in my garden. For two separate seasons I had obtained very remarkable results from my usual sowing of seeds of the Acme tomato, which is a typical and well-known variety of *Lycopersicon esculentum*. Every plant of both of those crops was a typical *L. solanopsis* or "potato-leaved tomato," and every plant bore one and the same new variety of fruit for both seasons. That is, there was in these cases not only a specific plant mutation but a varietal fruit change. I obtained at this time advance numbers of Professor de Vries' great work and became convinced that I also had induced a case of mutation, but as it differed by its remarkable comprehensiveness from the cases described by Professor de Vries I called it aggregate mutation, and have often so designated it in my publications.

Within the past year Dr. O. F. Cook of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, who is making special studies of the species and varieties of cotton plants, has discovered several cases of aggregate mutation among them. These cases are quite parallel with my cases of tomato mutation and the existence of that kind of mutation among plants may therefore

be accepted as established. The determinate* cause of the disturbance and rearrangement of the pangenes in Professor de Vries cases acted for each mutation upon only a single seed, chosen from among hundreds of associated normal seeds. Accepting the theory of intracellular pangenesis as applicable to the cases of aggregate mutation we must assume that the determinate cause has acted upon every seed, of every fruit, of every plant of the whole crop.

There are at least seven great groups of parasitic plants, three of which groups are well-known in our country as dodders, mistletoes and broom-rapes respectively; and another group is equally common and includes the louse-warts, painted-cups, and many other equally well-known plants. They all bear flowers and fruits such as characterize the phenogams, flowering plants, and all the groups are, by their parasite characters, clearly distinct from one another and from all other plants. One cannot doubt that in the great evolution of the vegetable kingdom they all become phenogams before they become parasites. That is, they originated by degradation from higher forms, and were not progressively developed from lower forms. Because the parasitic characters of each group are so distinctly defined and because no trace of the ancestral lineage of any of those characters has been discovered, I assume that each group of parasitic characters has originated by an abnormal aggregate mutation somewhat similar to, but wholly distinct from, the cases of aggregate mutation already mentioned.



that hybridity is not a fruitful source of new species in a systematic sense.

The foregoing remarks on aggregate mutation of tomato and cotton plants, the probable origination by abnormal aggregate mutation of the flowering parasites, and hybridity, are introduced to show that the scope of origination of organic forms has been much more comprehensive than is merely the origination of species, even in its most comprehensive scope. Besides this, the origination of the heritable varieties, races, breeds, etc., is doubtless similar in character to that of species. The ordinary definition of a species is that it is a sub-division of a genus and composed of individuals which have characteristics of structure, form, color and habits in common, and which reproduce their kind without material variation by successive generations. A species however is not a definite quantity. Some are conspicuous by the comprehensiveness of their attributes or characters and their great difference from other species of the same genus, while other recognized species differ so little from one another that many naturalists regard them as only heritable varieties. Indeed, much of the present disagreement among naturalists as to the manner of the origin of species is connected with the differences of opinion which they hold as to what constitutes a species. The foregoing discussions are necessarily brief, but they are sufficient to show that while there have been remarkable changes of opinion concerning the manner of origin of organic forms the question is still an open one among naturalists.

You ask me to give you my personal estimate of the mutation theory. The remarks which I have already made indicate this but I may add that my disposition toward it is favorable. I cannot believe that the facts which Professor de Vries has published will ever be disproved, and his theory accords with well-known biological conditions concerning which the Darwinian theory is deficient. I also do not think that any better explanation of the molecular movements within the protoplasmic contents of cells can be made than is that which is offered by his theory of Intracellulare Pangenesis. Still, I confess to grievous disappointment that so few plants have been found in

the mutative condition. To meet the developmental requirements of the vegetable kingdom there should be somewhere a large number of species of plants in the mutative state, but hitherto they have not been discovered. Botanists should give the subject no rest until this vital question is settled.

Faithfully yours,

March 1, 1908.

CHARLES A. WHITE.

REPORT ON OPERATIONS OF IOWA TROOPS IN MISSOURI IN JUNE, 1861.

BY COL. SAMUEL R. CURTIS.

In the course of its work in November, 1907, the commission having in charge the preparation of a complete roster of Iowa soldiers, sailors and marines discovered a most interesting military report. It is in the original manuscript form such as was prepared customarily at the front, and is subscribed in his own hand by Samuel R. Curtis, at the time Colonel of the Second Iowa Infantry. It is published below verbatim. No Iowa document appears to have referred to it, while opinions appended support the belief that it was never before published.

E. R. H.

Society of the Army of the Tennessee,
Office of Recording Secretary,
Cincinnati, O., Dec. 12, 1907.

My Dear Mr. Aldrich:

The enclosed report, which I send to you, is a copy of the original manuscript of the report of the operations of the Iowa troops in Missouri in June, 1861, as given by Samuel R. Curtis, Colonel of the Second Iowa Infantry, and is published below verbatim.



port [as that of Col. Curtis, June 27th, 1861, detailing operations of his command after leaving Keokuk]. Accordingly it has never been published by the Department.

Very respectfully,

F. C. AINSWORTH,
The Adjutant General.

Camp Lyon, St. Joseph, Mo.,
June 27, 1861.

Brig. Genl N Lyon Comdg.

Dear Sir:

Your telegraphic order directing me to raise all the forces I could muster in my vicinity and forthwith take military possession of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad and if possible move forward to Lexington, Missouri and to suppress rebellion and insurrection reached me at Keokuk June 13, 1861 at 1 o'clock A. M. and at 5 o'clock A. M. the 2nd Regiment Iowa Volunteers under my command was embarked on board the steamer Jeannie Deans. Immediately after receiving your order I notified Col. J. F. Bates Commanding the 1st Regiment Iowa Volunteers, who at my request ordered his command to follow for the purpose of uniting in the expedition.

The Regiments numbered about 2,000 men, well armed but otherwise indifferently equipped. Upon arriving at Hannibal in pursuance of your instructions I published a General Order assuming Command of the military forces at Hannibal and within twenty miles of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad.

The forces at Hannibal at that time were my own regiment, a detachment of about 450, from the 16th Regiment Illinois Volunteers under command of Lieut. Col. Wilson and a force of 250 Home Guards under command of Major Josiah Lamb. At that time I was not aware of there being any troops at St. Joseph. I immediately issued special orders to Lieut. Col. Wilson of the Illinois Volunteers to prepare his command for a forward movement along the line of the Hannibal & St. Joseph R R— and strengthened by three companies of my own Regiment. Myself in command of the detachment at 11 o'clock A. M. of the same day—June 13th, 1861—I moved west along the line of the road.

At Hunneville some arrests were made and several who fled were fired upon, but as I think without effect. The train passed on to Shelbina where a Secession flag was captured and a pole cut down. At Macon City a printing office was seized and a seditious sheet suppressed. Several prisoners were taken in our advance to this point and the taking of secession flags and scattering of rebels created much sensation.

Lieut. Col. Wilson's entire command was stationed near Chillicothe to guard the bridge across Grand River and to protect the line of the Rail Road in that vicinity. Details from Company "A" Lieut. T. J. McKinney Commanding and Company "B" Captain Littler of the 2nd Iowa Regiment were stationed at and near Hudson. Company "G" Capt. Baker 2nd Iowa Regiment was placed at an important bridge near Palmyra.

Before leaving Hannibal I had directed Companies "H" Captain Cowles, "I" Captain Cox, and "K" Captain Cloutman, to take position on the heights commanding the city of Hannibal previously occupied by the Illinois troops. The remaining Companies of my command and the Home Guard under Major Hunt were quartered in and around the Station House at South Hannibal to be in readiness to move, should they be so directed. Having thus secured the Road to Grand River against immediate danger I returned next morning June 14th, 1861, at 7 o'clock to Hannibal where I found Col. Bates with his command—the 1st Regiment Iowa Volunteers—they having arrived some time during the night.

The necessity of taking immediate possession and control of the entire road becoming more apparent I requested Col. Bates with his command to relieve Lt. McKinney at Hudson the junction of the North Missouri R. R. and sustain that central portion of the line as he might think best. Being thus reinforced on the Eastern portion of the line, I proceeded on the 14th collecting and moving my own Regiment forward, leaving Col. Wilson's command in protection of the important bridges and other interests in the vicinity of Chillicothe.

While the detachment of my Regiment under Lieut. McKinney remained at Hudson during the nights of the 13th and

14th, the troops routed several rebel assemblies, captured six prisoners, took three kegs of powder and two locomotives of the North Missouri Railroad which they learned on reliable authority were about to be crippled to prevent transporting U. S. Troops over the road. The prisoners and locomotives were turned over to Col. Bates and the powder to my Quarter Master.

As we proceeded westward we found the rebels disbanded and taken by surprise. Passing the town of Stewartsville a private in Company "A" shot a Secessionist in the act of firing his revolver at him, a breach of discipline which I punished although the rashness of the unfortunate young man seemed to justify the homicide. But generally at our display of force the Secessionist fled in consternation. Flags, munitions of war and other evidences of armed rebellion were captured and much surprise manifested by the peaceable citizens who expressed their satisfaction at the appearance of United States troops bearing the Stars and Stripes.

I arrived at St. Joseph June 15, 1861 at 9 o'clock A. M. and encamped a short distance below the city on the bank of the Missouri River. I had thus in fifty-six hours from the time your dispatch reached me at Keokuk taken military possession of the entire road and established a sufficient guard along the line to protect it and at the same time scattered and disorganized the Rebel forces that were mustering through this portion of Missouri.

I found here in camp and in buildings within the city of St. Joseph three U. S. infantry companies under the command of Captains Sully, Steele and Gilbert, and one Company of Dragoons under command of Lieut. Armstrong numbering in all about four hundred and fifty men and two companies of Home Guards under command of Major Peabody whom I at once attached to my services.


Feeling apprehensive lest communications with the detachments along the line might be cut off, at 5 o'clock P. M. the same day of my arrival I detailed Companies "B," Captain Littler, "H" Captain Cowles and "I" Captain Cox, under the immediate command of Lieut. Col. Tuttle to return on the road

as far as the vicinity of Cameron. This was just in time to save the bridge at Cameron which was found on fire but was saved by the timely arrival of troops. Scouting parties from the Companies "B" & "H" of this detachment on the following (Sunday) morning captured in and near the town of Cameron, twenty-one prisoners, several guns, powder and shot and four secession flags. The prisoners have not been identified as in complicity with the attempt to burn the bridge, but were detained as belligerents against the General Government and members of military companies organized for the avowed purpose of aiding insurrectionary and rebellious movements against us. Many of them were men of position and influence in the vicinity in which they reside and some of them doubtless innocent sufferers.

The afternoon of the same day I again detailed three Companies "C" Captain Brewster "G" Captain Baker and "D" Lieut. Dykeman commanding the detachment under the immediate command of Capt. Brewster. This command by details stationed at different points has up to this time successfully supported the line sending out scouting parties capturing arms and ammunition and taken many prisoners all but two of whom I have released upon taking an oath of allegiance to the United States and giving further written assurance that they would keep the peace.

In skirmishing with the enemy along the line several rebels have been wounded and three or four probably killed. Roll-

backs and other papers relating to their military organizations



Road and Telegraph have been signally illustrated. It will be seen by the disclosures eventuating from your captures at Booneville that the order of Genl Price to destroy the bridges and inaugurate hostilities on this line were issued on the 12th while your order for me to come and protect it was the same date. The least delay would have been fatal to this thoroughfare and in my judgment would have enabled the rebels in this portion of Missouri to have rallied several thousand troops at this place and for a long time destroyed the peace and prosperity of this populous and fertile portion of a country.

The certainty of this is shown by the following order of Genl Price and the report of Col. Jeff Thompson his acting Adjutant General.

(Copy)

[A 13]

Headquarters Missouri State Guard

Jefferson City Mo June 12 1861

General:—I am instructed by the Major General commanding to enclose to you the order for immediately assembling the military forces of the State.

The Governor's proclamation herewith will explain the cause and necessity of the movement.

The General desires that you will immediately on receipt of this cause all the Railroad bridges from Chariton river to Grand river to be destroyed, and cut the telegraph wires along the line.

Also procure a train sufficient to accomodate an Escort at Hudson and destroy the bridges and telegraph wires on the North Missouri Railroad. You will detail from the post of your command a sufficiently strong detachment under the command of discreet officers to carry into effect the above orders.

I am, General, very respectfully

Your Obedt serv't

HENRY LITTLE,

Asst Adj't Genl

To the Commander of the Fourth Military District
Chillicothe Livingston County Mo

(Copy)

[A 5]

Headquarters Fourth Military District

Camp Sterling Price on Platte River

May 19th 1861 12 o'clock M.

**General Sterling Price Major General Commanding
Jefferson City Mo.**

Sir:—General Orders No 2 have been received through the newspapers and this command is still in camp awaiting special orders. The same inefficiency that has heretofore existed, still exists, and for want of definite instructions the forces have been reduced to a skeleton as it is impossible to enforce attendance upon the militia near their homes until sufficient power is placed in the hands of their officers or there is apprehension of actual danger.

As we cannot hear yet of our Brigadier General being appointed and as those upon whom the duty would legally devolve, are not prepared to act, I will endeavor to give to *you* (well knowing your Adjutant) as near as I can the available force of the Fifth District.

There is in Atchison County one company infantry, 50 men; one company cavalry 50 men.

In Holt county no companies organized but five companies reported as awaiting arms (I can get 200 men in 12 hours)

In Nodaway County same report and same number of men—these 400 can be concentrated in 48 hours at St. Joseph.

In Andrew county there are 2 companies infantry 100 men; 500 men can be made available in 36 hours.

In Buchanan county we have 4 companies infantry whose present force does not exceed 120 men but can be filled to 200 in 12 hours: 4 companies dragoons who have 120 sabres and pairs of pistols for 2 companies and 80 double barrelled shot guns for residue say 200 men.

Buchanan can be put down at 400 organized and 200 available in addition to Thornton's artillery 4 pieces and 60 men.

Platte County has but 1 company dragoons with double barrelled shot guns organized—probably 300 more available.

Clay County has 2 companies dragoons, 100 men completely armed and 50 infantry and probably 200 more available.

This is our present district but the counties of Clinton, De Kalb and Gentry which naturally belong to us can turn out—Clinton 300 men available DeKalb 100 organized 100 men available—Gentry 250 men available. And as our fight, if fight we must, will have to be done speedily and on the inherent strength and patriotism of our people, I can report as available in 48 hours at St. Joseph or where ever else you may order as follows

	organized	available
Atchison	100	100
Holt	...	200
Nodaway	...	200
Gentry	...	250
DeKalb	100	100

IOWA TROOPS IN MISSOURI

365

Andrew	100	200
Buchanan	300	300
Platte	50	150
Clay	150	100
Clinton	...	300
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	800	1900
		800 2700

I assure you that I can concentrate 2,000 men at St. Joseph and provide for them in 48 hours. I make this simple statement hoping that matters will shortly be so arranged that such things will be done officially.

Your Obedient Servant
(signed) COL M. JEFF THOMPSON
Inspector Act. Com'd

In the face of these extensive arrangements to scatter anarchy and revolution in this region organizations have been broken up and the peace and prosperity of the country maintained to the great satisfaction of a large majority of resident citizens and the undoubted advantage of all the people of Missouri.

While I have kept my force on duty night and day and often felt serious apprehensions because of the great length and slender force on portions of the line I tried to carry out to the utmost of my ability your orders, by directing detachments to move towards Booneville via N. Missouri railroad and sending all the regulars except the Company of cavalry down the Missouri river.

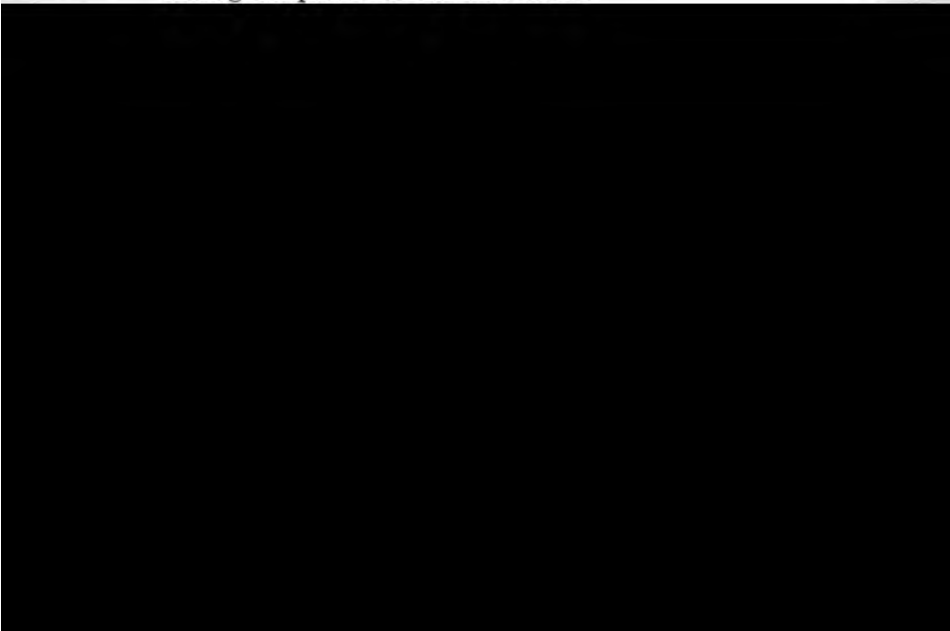
The success of your movements on the main line of operations and the final evacuation of the vicinity of Lexington have entirely disheartened the rebels and the occasional threats and movements of disorganized bands are all the disturbing elements now remaining in this region. Still a strong force should be preserved in this region to restrain resentment and prevent revolutionary reaction in event of temporary success of secession in other portions of the Union. There should be at least three regiments on this line of this road commanded by a Brigadier's rank to avoid the annoyance I have felt in consideration of respect due to the arrival of ranking officers. The 3rd Iowa Regiment having obtained arms I have

ordered it forward to take position near the center of this line, hoping thereby to give more rest to our troops and more confidence and repose in this country.

The prisoners I have taken have been generally discharged on written declarations of fealty and pledges to refrain from all future participation in secession and revolution. Two prisoners were taken before the Circuit Court on Habeas Corpus and bound over under heavy bonds to stand trial for Treason before the Circuit Court of the U. S. The trial elicited much feeling and assembled a great crowd of people. The fair and full ruling of the judge was expressed with so much force and wisdom I have directed a written report which at an early day I will submit to you, with a transcript, showing the grounds taken on the trial and the satisfactory determination and conclusion of the conflicting duties of State and Federal, civil and military agents of our Government.

I have thus given a somewhat detailed report of my movements in order to place facts fairly upon record, and in order to prevent the perpetuity of errors that have gone out from the telegraph and press giving wrong impressions to the public.

The officers and soldiers under my command deserve my commendation for their prompt and untiring cooperation during the period of this movement.





C. E. Perkins

my absence for 30 days during which time the command will devolve on Col Smith of the 16th Illinois Regiment.

Very respectfully

Your obedient Servant.

Saml R. Curtis

Col 2d Iowa Vols

Comg Expedition.

CHARLES ELLIOTT PERKINS.

BY HON. THOMAS HEDGE.

We cannot understand a great life without some knowledge of that life's beginning and of the conditions that shaped its course, or comprehend a great character unless we discover the source of its elements, the influences that drew out and developed them. No life of our time is better worth reviewing and the character it developed better worth studying than the life and character of Charles Elliott Perkins. He was born November 24, 1840, in "the little Third Street House" in Cincinnati, the first child of James Handasyd Perkins and Sarah Elliott Perkins, but the home that he best remembered was at East Walnut Hills, then some three miles from the city, where his father bought a few acres of land and built a small house in the summer of 1845, "a very pretty place with a beautiful forest directly back of us," and to this home was given the quaint name "The Owl's Nest."

"From his father's and mother's side he came of pure New England stock and from both he inherited the best qualities of that fine race. Their ideality alike with their practical sense, their rigid conscientiousness and their saving grace of humor, their love of liberty and their profound respect for law, all these were his by right of inheritance. He was tuned therefore to the finest chords that vibrate through our common life. He was of the stuff from which the ideal American manhood is fashioned." These words spoken of his younger brother by an old familiar friend admit of no qualification when applied to him.

The scenes of his childhood, his father's and mother's training, the influence of their daily lives, the whole atmosphere of home, were exactly fitted to nurture and strengthen these native qualities. I shall seem to those who knew Mr. Perkins to anticipate some things to be said of him in here presenting his father as he appeared to his neighbors in those days:

Looking to the educated men of the country to spread abroad intelligence, respect for what is good and reverence for what is venerable, by professional labor and through schools, lectures and the press, he exerted his own influence in all these ways; so quietly, however, were his public offices performed that the amount of his exertions might have been overlooked except by careful observers. He never did anything for effect and therefore, though always busy, attracted but little attention from the busy world. He was eminently one of those—the truly great—who are felt in a thousand minute and deep relations to society, exerting the most invigorating influence without being seen or wishing to be seen. Further, his labors were remarkable for punctuality and completeness. He never left unfinished or to be done by others the work that properly belonged to himself.

Mr. William R. Channing presents this picture of him:

Day by day as I met my friend in society and public meetings, observed him in his relations to others and talked with them about him, it became evident how high was the position which quite unawares he really occupied among his fellow citizens. Nothing could have been more unpretentious than his manner as he exchanged offhand greetings as he swept along the street, or entered with gracious demeanor the crowded circles of society, or the quiet houses of friends; wherever he might be he was always himself,

Though his life ended when he was not yet forty years old, he had accomplished much. Those who had delighted to honor his presence held in grateful honor the memory of the scholar, the historian of the west, the earnest and convincing speaker, the minister of grace and help to troubled men.

Their mother did not suffer the shock and grief of their father's death to destroy, or too deeply or too long to darken the home life of her five boys. "To the life of that home how exquisite a charm she gave and how its memory lingers with those who shared it. Sacred to us are those memories and the very walls where that beautiful womanly presence, so wholesome, strong and sweet, once bade us welcome." Mrs. Sarah Elliott Perkins made real to those who knew her Wordsworth's vision of the "perfect woman nobly planned" and better still that ideal of the ages, who stretcheth out her hand to the poor, in whose tongue is the law of kindness, who looketh well to the ways of her household, and whose children rise up and call her blessed.


The death of his father brought to the fine mind and true heart of Charles Perkins the consciousness of his special duty as henceforth the mainstay of his mother and as his younger brothers' keeper, developed his considerateness and regard for the rights of others, his faculty of helpfulness, quickened his sense of responsibility, enlarged his capacity to receive from the daily life and seasonable precept of that mother the training essential for right action and useful living; thus his real early education was at home though custom compels us to say that he was "educated" in the common schools of Cincinnati and one winter attended Mr. Bradford's school in Boston. At the age of seventeen he obtained employment as clerk in a wholesale foreign fruit store in Cincinnati, trudging forth and back from his work each day to save car fare, for their worldly condition offered no chance to indolence to dull "the spur in the blood" of this young thoroughbred. While thus at work in the summer of 1859 he received this letter:

Burlington, Iowa, June 28, 1859.

Mr. Charles E. Perkins,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

My Dear Perkins:

I have just received your note of the 24th and, filled with deep pity, hasten to enlighten you. Not know what "B. & M." means! To ye railway mind it typifies the Burlington and Missouri railroad—running due west from Burlington, bound for the Big Muddy—now taking breath for awhile on the banks of the Des Moines between Burlington and Ottumwa—in summer and autumn it is seventy-five miles of as pretty rail and ties as you would wish to see. You will have the title of cashier and would have a credit at the bank against which you would check for all bills as presented, duly entering the same in your books and filing them as vouchers. Not a complicated duty and not likely to overtask you. It would leave you time to study the details of the freight and passenger business—and on our short road this would naturally be more open to you than a long road, where there is subdivision of labor and more red tape. I think, myself, the place is quite a good one. Perhaps the best introduction to railway life is to commence on the construction—as rodman or engineer. But a position where you are forced to observe the cost of each and every article used and the cost of each branch of the service, can not fail, I think, to be of service to you. There will be some drudgery, of course, but there will be some pleasant work to relieve it. At the beginning of every month you will be several days on the line paying off the agents and workmen—in the fine weather this is very pleasant. The good city of Burlington, as a sojourning place, is not to be sneezed at—and the surrounding country is charming. We can boast of but two packing houses and at first you will naturally feel sad for the pigs you left behind you. Carper and I will do our best to cheer you—we are at this moment in treaty for a small house in the suburbs




Our attentive aftersight may profitably consider him at the outset of his new venture. He was not yet nineteen years old. His past was secure, in it there was nothing that was not pleasant to remember, and as he faced his future without presumption he might have faced it without fear for the qualities essential for usefulness had been rightly planted in him and so far healthily nurtured and were ready for the exactions of daily work and if need be, the uses of adversity to call them forth still further and develop their perfection. His creed or chart of conduct was very simple and was never revised from the day he left his home. Its first injunction was to learn the truth, to speak and act the truth, its wisdom taught that he was here for service, that the measure of merit, as of dignity, is usefulness, that opportunity comes with every rising sun, that "now is the accepted time" for the fulfillment of present duty, that success and destiny lie "all in the day's work." I do not think that comparison of himself with others or the consideration of their relative excellence ever occupied his mind. But that to excel himself as set forth in the precept "so to live that each to-morrow finds us farther than to-day" was often the subject of his thought. Nature had bestowed upon him the outward and visible signs of exceptional power and high quality. It is difficult to present him fairly to the reader's imagination—easy enough to say that he was of dark countenance with dark hair and eyes, that these eyes made manifest to one who met their gaze his straight, clear, all-comprehending mental vision, that his perfect head and shapely body would have made him in his youth a fit model for classic sculpture, but words cannot convey and description cannot catch that quality in his aspect from the time he reached his prime that, as in the case of Daniel Webster, made beholders take him to be physically larger than he was—not as in the case of Webster because of an air of importance, for no man high or low was ever less self-important than Mr. Perkins, but an indefinable quality that in any company made him seem to be the ruling influence and guiding spirit of them all.

He was most fortunate in his immediate associates, Lowell and Carper, both men of sterling manhood and devoted to

their work. Both went to the war. Carper became a major and was General Corse's adjutant at its close. He then returned to the road and in the line of duty as a division superintendent was killed by the falling of a bridge. And Charles Russell Lowell, after a brilliant service which revealed him as the highest type of the young American volunteer, fell at the head of the division of which he was the commanding general at Cedar Creek.

Mr. Perkins' life in Burlington began and was carried on at first on the lines marked out in the letter which we have copied. Mastering the details and technicalities of railroad operation, learning men, day by day growing in wisdom and in favor, his progress was steady and regular, without accident or eccentricity; a great character was building, a great force growing in the due course of nature. The freedom given us in these pages does not permit us to note the steps of his growth and advancement only so far as to indicate the man he was, the life he led and the man he came to be, and to meagerly illustrate his strength of purpose, the clearness of his foresight and his genuine broad-minded public spirit.

November 9, 1860, he was made assistant treasurer and land agent of the B. & M. R. R. at Burlington. September 22, 1864, he was married at Milton, Mass., to Miss Edith Forbes, the only daughter of Commodore Robert Bennet Forbes, "a man of most genial and generous temperament," famous as a shipmaster in the days before Atlantic cables, when a successful shipmaster had to be not only a bold and skillful navigator




great beauty of face, form and carriage. His manners cannot be mended, so much sense, strength, courtesy and youthful grace. As we came out of the house and from the door looked over the grand view, looking twenty miles up the river and eight or ten all around us, Mrs. Perkins pointed out to me a prairie fire which enriched the picture. Mr. Perkins and I walked down to the ferry boat. The bell rang and he shook hands with me and departed—a noble youth who inspired interest and respect at once.

But the Burlington home remembered by his boys and girls, was what old settlers called “the Dills place” in the southwest quarter of Burlington, where was an orchard of apple trees (which suggested the name “The Apple Trees,” afterwards given to the family homestead) and a log house pretty large for its time. This house, Mr. Perkins, having regard for the early days, did not remove but made a part of his new house, building over and around it in such way that it became the favorite gathering place of his family and closer friends. And one may fairly suspect that the fine piece of woodland included in the Dills place determined his choice of it for his home, that in this remnant of the forest primeval he saw promise of revival of the spirit of his own boyhood, and opportunity to give his children the special pleasures which he and his brothers found in the beautiful forest by the Owl’s Nest at Walnut Hills. In these forty years the house has grown to be a great and rambling mansion and with its comfortable air of welcome, its spacious grounds, beautiful in summer with trees and grass and flowers, shows itself the dwelling-place of an ample life and abounding hospitality.


In September, 1865, Mr Perkins was appointed superintendent of the B. & M. R. R. in Iowa, which was still “seventy-five miles of as pretty rail and ties as you would wish to see.” It is easily remembered that railroad building was a hard matter in those days, grants of lands to railroads were called for by the people so earnestly that no candidate for Congress on any ticket dared to question their propriety.

“In the early part of 1856 Congress made a grant of land to aid four different railroads then organized to build lines across the State of Iowa—one from Burlington (the



B. & M.), another from Davenport, the third from Lyons via Clinton, and the fourth from Dubuque. There were patented to the Burlington road 358,000 acres. The prevailing price of these lands was \$1.25 per acre, but they were not then salable at that figure. These lands were mortgaged, but the hard times of 1857 retarded railroad building, and the road was not finished to Ottumwa, seventy-five miles, until August, 1859, or more than seven years from the time of its organization. The Civil War virtually stopped all construction and the road was not started west from Ottumwa until 1865. The Burlington was the only one of the four companies to which grants of land were made in Iowa which survived to complete its road across the State. The old Mississippi & Missouri company (now a part of the Rock Island) built from Davenport to Newton and expired; the mortgages on it were foreclosed, the stock was wiped out and with it went the land grant; there was a reorganization, a new company (the Rock Island) and the original stockholders and investors not only risked, but lost their investment. The land-aided roads from Clinton and Dubuque had much the same experience. They all had land grants twice or three times greater than the Burlington, but the credit of the men behind them was not so good. These experiences in which the Iowa railroads were born are often forgotten. It is a common thing to hear people say that the railroads were built with government land grants."*

Some one who permitted his prejudice to obscure his



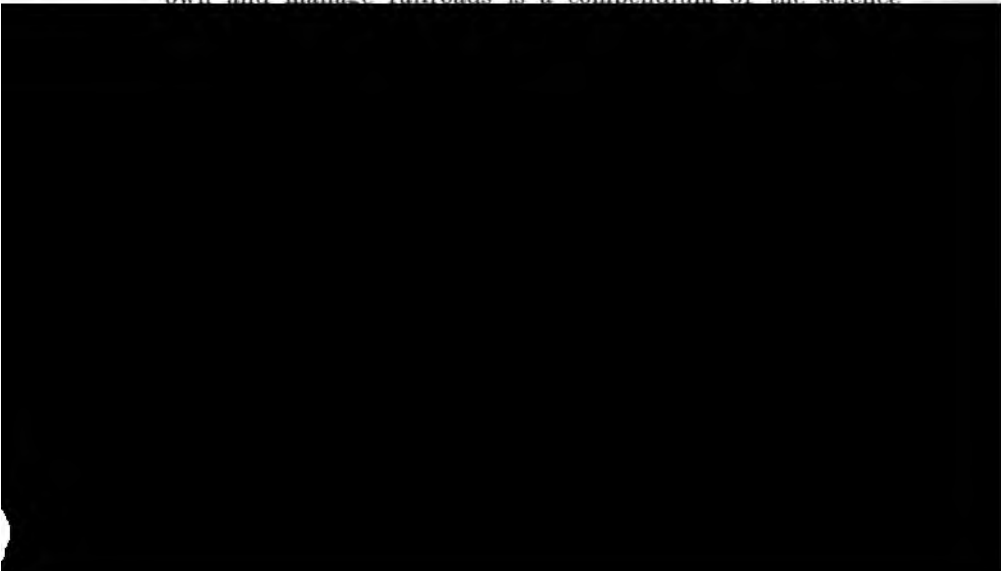
of this spot. Not a sign of human life was in sight, and Mr. Joy said, "I'm not in for it. This country is uninhabitable. Where will they get fences, where will they get their fuel?" This coming from Mr. Joy, who had pioneered Michigan with the Michigan Central railroad, surprised Mr. Perkins—he quietly dissented. Mr. Joy reported adversely, "but the other view prevailed." Why or how the other view prevailed Mr. Perkins didn't say. It also happened to the writer to stop at what was called Highland on the first day of June, 1869. From that height through that clear air one could see for miles in any direction, but no sign of human life or trace of human work was visible except the railroad track. We were in the present limits of the city of Creston. "The other view prevailed" with the directors and principal owners of the road, because in the six years of his employment on the road Mr. Perkins had fulfilled beyond all measure the high expectation entertained of him. His persistent painstaking, his fidelity in the day's work, his assiduous study of the business, his facility of acquiring accurate knowledge, his adequacy of resource, his understanding of men, his tact in dealing with them, his perfect truthfulness and capacity to receive the truth, his faculty of reason and the resulting gift of clearness of statement, all these, made strong their faith in the integrity of his judgment. Their own great resources with their unlimited credit were placed more and more at his disposal as the years went on and his will carried out all further enlargements of the system and extensions of its lines.

September 29, 1881, he became president of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. with which the B. & M. in Iowa and B. & M. in Nebraska had been consolidated, holding that position by annual election until his retirement in 1901, and continuing to take an active part in its control as a director until his death. His administration of the road, his care for the interest of all concerned as owners or as patrons is esteemed as perfect as human wisdom could have made it. His fundamental principles were simple, as simple as the arithmetic or the copy-book. He knew that all legitimate

business is an interchange of benefits, that all commercial and all industrial interests are interwoven and interdependent, that gain based on another's loss cannot be continuous, that prosperity is the result of a game in which both sides win, that a railroad cannot succeed without value given, as well as value received, that it surely cannot succeed unless the country through which it passes can afford year after year to give it something to do.

Conscious of his own rectitude he believed in the rectitude of other men—if they were intelligent; he believed that common honesty is a matter of common sense, that men competent to manage great affairs, in proportion to their competency, or rather as the main element of their competency seek to do the right thing, that all commerce, all business, all the affairs of the world are kept running decently and in order because doing justly is the general rule of action among men of force and influence in the world, and so he had little faith in the efficacy of public commissions to promote righteousness among men in the conduct of their own affairs. “The people can have no stronger motive or desire than the owners of the railroads to prevent bad management of every kind.”

His letter of September 24, 1885, to Senator Cullom, chairman of the select committee of the Senate on Interstate Commerce, giving his views of the reciprocal rights and duties of the general public and those of the people who own and manage railroads is a compendium of the science

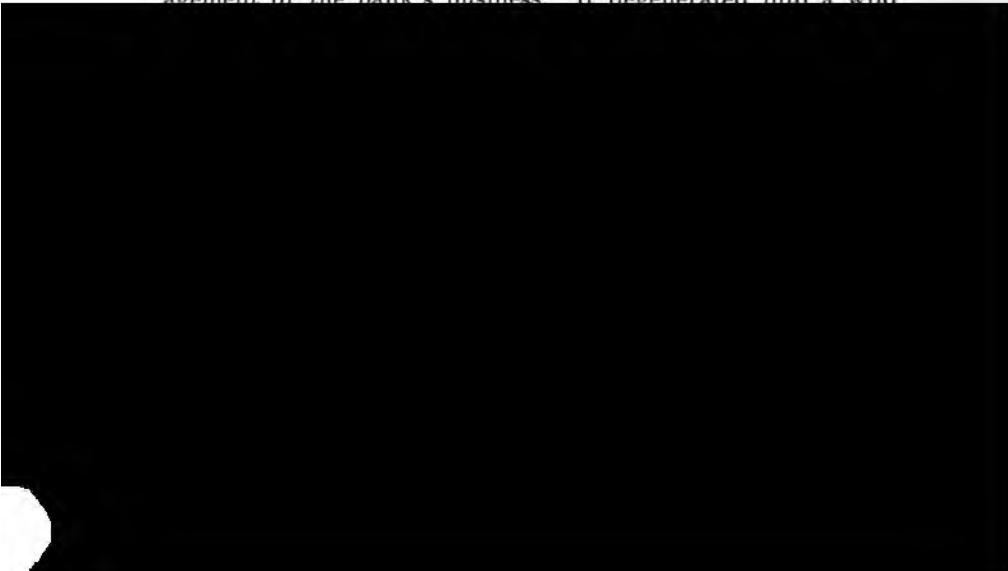


He was not only a practical philosopher and economist but in his personal relations a constant guide and present friend to those who served the public and the railroad with him; exacting his best efforts from every man, there was manifest such perfect justice and human kindness in his intercourse with them and treatment of them that the best efforts seemed the only reasonable and natural efforts. There was an element of personal affection in their service on the "Q." To them it was a corporation with a soul. The title, "The Old Man" was their American way of admitting that their reverence was tempered and strengthened by more intimate regard and so the service of this railroad to the public became famous for its excellence.

But such are the contradictions in human nature that in February 1888, there was begun a strike of the locomotive engineers which had been ordered by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to enforce its claim to control in the classification and in the discharge of engineers. The President, in his report of December of that year, states: "The 2,500 men who left us on a few hours' notice had most of them been in the employ of the company for years where they filled important places and had become accustomed to one another and to their surroundings. They understood the rules of the train service which are more or less difficult and complicated and they formed a disciplined force moving as an essential part of a great machine. This part of the machine was suddenly destroyed and the task of reconstructing it had to be undertaken and performed without allowing the machine to stop or its efficiency to be impaired." We can hardly realize the weight of trouble this added to the ordinary heavy burdens carried by Mr. Perkins. There was no question of the right in his mind and no confusion of counsel among the directors. They stood by the man it had become natural to believe in, having full confidence in his resoluteness and his tact. The people along the line of the road generally endorsed his course, taking it for granted that he was right. All employed in the other branches of service supported him "with zeal, industry and courage through months of anxiety and over-

work." It would serve no good purpose to dwell on this unhappy chapter in the history of the C., B. & Q. There was no compromise. It ended in victory for Mr. Perkins. It added greatly to men's knowledge of his character and so enlarged and strengthened still further his influence, but it had imposed on him the new and painful experience of the disloyalty of men he had known and trusted for many years.

We have attempted to show how with clear mind and healthy conscience and ample powers he fulfilled all duty in his ordinary life and in the usual course of business, but certain actions known during his lifetime only by those immediately concerned have now been made public and show his recognition of duty in an aspect hard and strange. The sum of the story is that as one interested in the financial well-being of Nebraska he invested some \$25,000 in the stock of a bank in Lincoln, managed by men he thought he knew. Sometime afterward without his knowledge he was made one of the directors of the bank. When he learned of this action he strongly objected chiefly because the C., B. & Q. was a large depositor, but was persuaded to let his name remain on the list of directors on the reasonable representation of those concerned that it would strengthen the credit of the bank, help the small country banks, the farmers and merchants of Nebraska and the State at large. Of course he was unable to give any personal attention to the management of the bank's business. It degenerated into a wild




surest source of income, at a loss, and expended eleven hundred thousand dollars to satisfy what seemed to him a moral obligation. A great citizen of Nebraska, J. Sterling Morton, thus commented on this action in his paper *The Conservative*, July 13, 1899, his relations as a confidential friend not permitting him to publish names.

The heroism of private citizens in commercial life is often of the most exalted and consecrated type. The heroism of honesty in peace is as worthy of emulation as that of fortitude and courage in war. The heroism which for pride in a good name, for pride in one's own family because of its pure record and guileless history, will sacrifice hundreds of thousands of dollars to maintain the credit of a bank or other institution with which that name has been even involuntarily connected, is grander and more majestic mentally and morally than the heroism of the battle-field. Right here in Nebraska the *Conservative* has been an eye-witness of an instance of financial and patriotic heroism which for the sake of a good name and without legal compulsion being possible put up voluntarily more than a million of dollars and saved many a bank and business house from failure in this young State during the panic of a few years ago. It required more grit, more character of the choicest kind, more wholesome pride, more self-abnegation than a charge upon a battery spouting bullets and shells.


If gratitude were an enduring sentiment, if the faculty of memory were as strong in its exercise as the heat of a passing enthusiasm, the school children of Nebraska would be taught to-day not only of the foresight and venturesome will which opened highways wherein their fathers entered and possessed the land, but also of the lofty spirit and perfect honor of this modern Roman who in their people's extremity found his opportunity and at heavy cost of health and fortune saw to it that their republic should receive no harm.

The result of extending the road to the Missouri River justified the opinion that he had given in 1866 and thereafter the great financiers and men of affairs of New England who were interested in the road so confided in the soundness of his judgment that his influence controlled in all questions of its further extension. He fixed the time and place. His had become the authentic word. And as we contemplate the



eight thousand miles of highway that he caused to be built in Nebraska and Colorado, through the wilderness of South Dakota and Wyoming and Montana, and the enduring beneficence which resulted in opening fields for the multifarious industries and activities of myriads of stalwart men and women, in multiplying their opportunities for profitable usefulness, in strengthening the physical, moral, social and industrial, as well as the political union of the United States, we feel that it was the imperial achievement of an inspired foresight as well as of an imperial will.

We have already referred to his personal influence on his co-workers, developing in each the ambition to render always his best service, and in the successful exercise of his influence on strong bright-minded men we find explanation of the fact that many places of responsibility on the other railroads of the country are now filled with success and honor by men who received their early training under him. There are now presidents of five of the important roads of the United States who are free to use the words of one of the most eminent of their number, "I learned more from him than from any other man I ever knew," and not one who does not recall his association with him in that earlier experience, and his relations with him as long as he lived with pride and affection. "That which should accompany old age, as honor, love, obedience, troops of friends" was surely his. He treasured the love of his companions, and he had his reward.



business life of Boston who has died in recent years." Mr. James J. Hill said: "He was a great man, his was the greatest railroad intellect of the country. He did a great work and there is no one to fill his place." Another kindred spirit familiar with many men esteemed great called him, "One of the truest men and finest gentlemen God has given to America." Many men of all classes and conditions have testified their high regard for him in words true and inspiring, but no tribute so quickens the memory of those who knew him or so stirs their imagination as that, beautiful in its fitness and simplicity, which by the suspension of all the work of the railroad at the hour of his funeral enabled all those employed in its service, though scattered along its thousand leagues, at once and by a common impulse to pay their reverent homage and together to say farewell to him whom for these many years they had regarded as peculiarly their own.

CLAYTON COUNTY AS DESCRIBED TO A RESIDENT OF CONNECTICUT IN 1838.

Clayton Co., July 7th, 1838.

Dear Father:

* * * I am in latitude $42\frac{1}{2}$, a considerable distance north of what I intended when I left home. One great reason why I came thus far north is that on inquiry of many who had lived in the southern part of Indiana and Illinois, I found that it was unhealthy on all those flat extensive prairies. Besides all the good land was taken up. And the same reason which made it unhealthy for man would render it difficult keeping sheep, one object which I had in view when I left home. And to conclude my reasons for stopping here it is in the vicinity of the lead mines, where there are a great many persons engaged in mining, which makes a good market for everything which the farmer can raise so long as there is a market on the Mississippi River. I suppose it is as good a farming country as it is farther south, and the lead mines are said to be richer than the gold mines of Mexico, that is, there is more profit in working them.


The claim I have to the land I am improving is like all the other claims in the Territory (perhaps thirty or forty thousand in number). There is not a man in Iowa Territory who has a deed of his lands. There is a sort of combination among the settlers to support one another at the day of sale, and keep the spec-


ulators out. So sure are they of the lands they claim that they make as much improvement as though they now had government deeds for them. So great is the number whose interest is to keep the speculator out, he durst not come, neither would it be safe for him to bid on a settler's improvement, for it is the avowed intention of many of them to protect their's with rifle, and defend their claims at the hazard of their lives. It was tried at Chicago and the squatters came off victorious. I write this, not that I approve of the measure, but seeing that the measure is adopted to receive its benefits. Should the lands come into market before I have time to make money to enter it I shall look at home for a supply for the purpose.

I have bought me part of a prairie team and am breaking prairie with another man, and intend putting in spring wheat and oats in the spring, and fencing this winter. I am at present boarding in the family of an eastern doctor, but think I shall soon follow the custom of the country, which is keeping bachelor's hall.

This is to all appearances as fine a sheep country as ever saw the light of the sun. When the country becomes a little older and the wild animals thinned off, I think I shall enter into wool growing, as I think there is a considerable extent of country that will be fine for this business. All the grasses that will grow at the East will flourish here in abundance. It produces white clover in abundance. The natural grass is not such as I supposed, tall as a man's head. It is not more than knee high on the dry prairie. The tall grass is on the low, wet land or close in the edge of the timber. I could as easily have summered 10,000 sheep as father can five hundred. The soil is a rich black loam with good wood and fine springs of water, which two things are greatly needed in a great many parts of the country farther south.

I think now that I shall not come home until the land comes





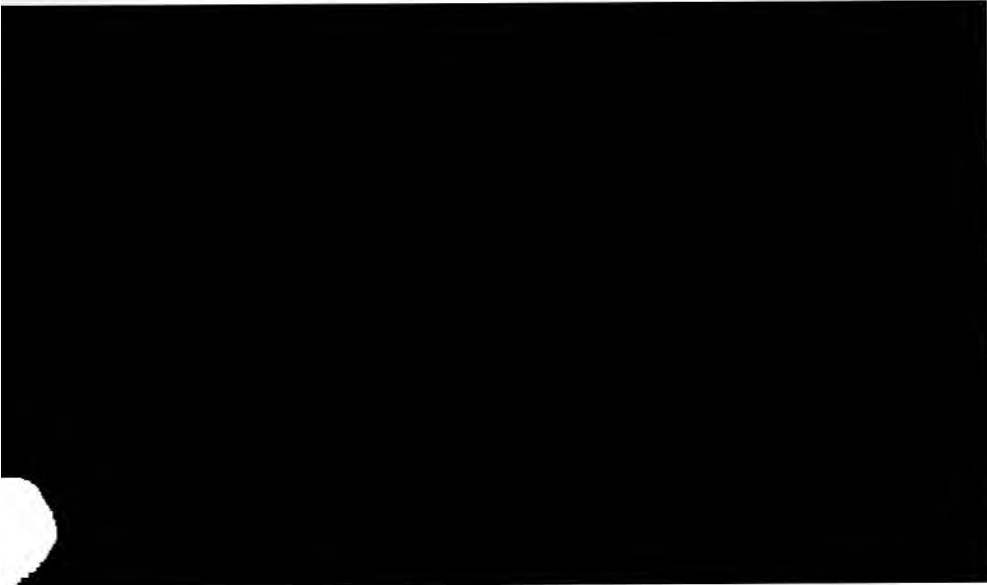
Charles Aldrich

Born October 2, 1828, Elling-

ton, New York

Died March 8, 1908,

Boone, Iowa



ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

DEATH OF MR. ALDRICH.


In the death of Mr. Aldrich, *The Annals* suffers irreparable loss. He founded the third series, and placed upon it his best efforts, as an experienced journalist. He selected topics and writers to treat them, with great skill and, through his own efforts and those of his assistants trained by him, made of the pages of *The Annals* such a repository of Iowa historical matter as even he, at the beginning, scarcely hoped for. He never ceased his efforts to induce men, who were factors in eventful periods of Iowa history, to record their views of such events. When he closed his desk, for the last time, there were within it manuscripts from the pens of valued contributors. There were unfulfilled pledges of many others, to furnish articles he very much desired. There were some editorials from his own pen, and much material undeveloped or in outline. Volume eight is but half finished and it will be the purpose of the writer, who has been appointed Acting Curator, during the pleasure of the Board of Trustees of the Historical Department, to continue the form of the journal identically with that preceding the death of Mr. Aldrich, and make use of such material as he, in life, provided or approved. If any deviation shall be made it will be in the eighth number (January, 1909), closing the volume; this should include all messages, communications, press notices, addresses and programs incident to Mr. Aldrich's death. EDGAR R. HARLAN.

IOWA AND THE EXPERT.

In these days we are told that the test of success both in business and in government is the employment of scientifically trained or practically skilled men whose achievements have been duly attested. Science and expert ability, however, are

not common growths. They can not be secured by means of popular elections governed as these are usually by bitter and often sordid partisan strife, for the expert who is an expert will not demean himself to obtain public favor by petition, prayer, or pressure. The expert can be secured only by selection by the responsible head of the State or of the department wherein trained service is desired. In such selection the heads of the administration should not be hampered by local interests, commercial, partisan or personal. Other things being equal it is wiser, of course, for a city or state to choose an expert native to its heath and familiar with its folk rather than one born and reared in regions remote where life and traditions are unlike. But the supreme test of a rational and efficient public administration is met whenever a people go outside their local area and secure men of special fitness for scientific or technical work.

At various times in her history Iowa has met this test with a fair degree of success: and what is satisfactory to note the practice was begun early in the State's career. In 1847 the State entered upon an elaborate policy of internal improvements centering chiefly in the improvement of the navigation of the Des Moines River. The Board of Public Works having the matter in charge went to Ohio and secured the services of Samuel R. Curtis, a West Pointer who had in 1837-1839 achieved fame as Chief Engineer of the Muskingum River Improvement. In 1855 the people demanded a general re-organization of the public schools and legislation with a view



President A. S. Welch, the first President of the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames, had attained fame in Florida prior to coming to Iowa. In general the authorities of our educational institutions whenever local talent has been inadequate have without hesitation gone outside the State for specialists to carry on particular scientific and technical work. The members of the Constitutional Convention that convened in Iowa City in 1857, desiring to have their proceedings accurately and fully reported engaged the services of a man who had then achieved distinction as a stenographer, Mr. W. Blair Lord. He had reported the debates and proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of New Jersey in 1844 and in 1856 had been the stenographer for the noted Congressional committee that investigated the troubles in Kansas, of which John Sherman was a member.

In the administration of the several charitable and correctional institutions now under the Board of Control we may find to a greater or less degree the fulfillment of this rule of business efficiency in two respects. The authorities either have gone abroad for trained men to take charge of this or that institution; or, they have pursued the policy of transferring efficient subordinate officers from one institution to another as vacancies occurred. This practice is, of course, but little else than another phase of the method of seeking experts from abroad when not to be found here.

In matters of art and landscape gardening Iowa has not attempted much in her public administration. Nevertheless when the present capitol was authorized and plans were materializing the Commissioners secured the services of A. H. Piquenard, a distinguished architect of Illinois, with the result that we have a beautiful and stately structure that arouses admiration among all classes, artists and laymen alike. The mural decorations and frescoes were done by Fritz Melzer, a German artist of Berlin. When in 1902 it was decided to decorate the corridors and rotunda in a manner befitting such a building, the Capitol Commissioners exemplified the principle here referred to in striking fashion. Mr. Elmer E. Garusey of New York, an eminent artist in interior

ANNALS OF IOWA

decoration, was employed to make a general design and superintend the work. Mr. Edwin H. Blashfield was engaged by him to paint the large allegorical picture that now adorns the head of the grand staircase. Mr. Kenyon Cox was secured to paint the beautiful lunettes in the rotunda and Mr. Frederick Dielman was engaged to design the six mosaics in the arcade above Mr. Blashfield's canvas.

This tendency towards the employment of experts in art and science regardless of their domicile we may expect to see increase as the years proceed. Experience here as elsewhere has demonstrated that the intrusion of local prejudices or partisan considerations in the conduct of administration, be it in ordinary commerce and manufacture or in government, makes economy and efficiency impossible. The increasing burdens of government will result in greater demand for the best possible service. Moreover, as the people witness the beneficial results of the employment of experts in their State government they will in due course realize that the same principle is equally applicable in the conduct of the government of our municipalities. It may be years hence but eventually the people of our cities will pursue the practice of seeking experts in finance, sanitation, and police and fire administration, parks, etc., in precisely the same manner followed by railroads in securing superintendents of construction, operation, etc., that is, regardless of their habitat. The sole consideration will be their demonstrated fitness—character, capacity, and achievement. In the public school system of our cities experts in educational administration and in the art and science of pedagogics are now generally employed. School boards that have any reputation to lose seldom employ the superintendents or teachers because they live "in their town." In their great engineering enterprises our city governments have rarely restricted their choice of civil engineers to local talent. The city of Boone years ago gave us a fine illustration of excellent judgment when the council of that city on the recommendation of the late Charles Aldrich, decided to install a modern sewerage system. They employed the greatest sanitary engineer in the United States, if not in the world, Col. George E. Waring, Jr., of New York City. It

is not improbable under a normal growth of intelligent and insistent public opinion that our city councils will be empowered to go abroad for heads of their technical departments wherein experts and specialists are imperatively required if the maximum efficiency is to be attained; and ultimately they will likewise secure the supreme head of the city administration in a manner not unlike that followed by the city councils of Germany.

F. I. H.

THE CONTENTS OF AN OLD BASKET.

The writer passed the night at the Bryson Hotel in Hillsboro, Henry county, Iowa, some two years ago, and from a casual remark of the host, Mr. Gene Bryson, became interested in the family history of his maternal grandfather Pope. When asked whether there were existing any documentary materials touching the Pope family Mr. Bryson said "If there are, they are in the old basket out in the woodshed." "The old basket in the woodshed" in many a homestead of Iowa holds material of interest to all future Iowa and the west.

The old basket in question revealed the fact that Samuel Pope, a man of family, removed from Hillsborough, Ohio, to what was then Washington, now Hillsboro, and as letters therein contained indicated, "near Ceocuck, Iowa." He was a democrat, a tavern keeper, a horseman, a hunter, and a raconteur of tavern tales which, told in the first person, made of his name the peg on which to hang almost every tavern lie in southern Iowa. The basket verified tradition on all these points and though it contained not over a hundred items, embraced the following:

Commission to Samuel Pope as Captain of the Fourth Company, Third Regiment, Second Brigade and Eighth Division, Ohio Militia, dated July 7th, 1819, and signed by the Secretary of State Jn. McLane, and by the Governor, Ethan Allen Brown; it bears the seal of Ohio, and is endorsed with Captain Pope's oath of office. A similar commission as Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment, dated September 8th, 1824,

signed by the Governor, Jeremiah Morrow. A breeding poster, season of 1833, exploiting *Bertrand* by *Bertrand*, giving terms and exhibiting affidavits of Kentucky owners and breeders showing the horse's performances on the track and qualities as a sire, his descent from "the old imported Diomed" on one side and "the imported Janus" on the other. A letter from Ohio, which the writer transmitted by a mutual friend who, while traveling to Iowa, also led for Col. Pope a running horse; Kate Pope rode this horse at the first Iowa State Fair, at Fairfield, in a race which was an early Iowa sporting sensation. Printed list, 1844, Ohio state officers, with floor plan of House of Representatives, showing seat of each member. *Hillsborough (Ohio) Gazette* extra, April 12, 1847, announcing the capture by American troops of the city of Vera Cruz. Mexican war letters from a son, a paragraph of one reading: "Col. Hays of the Mounted Rangers arrived here this morning. He came very near capturing Santa Anna prisoner. They took his uniform coat. It is a most splendid thing, cost two thousand dollars. They got so near him that his bed was still warm." Two certificates of stock in The Iowa Manufacturing Company, dated respectively April first and eighth, 1840, issued to Henry Wade and countersigned by J. R. Bailey, Secretary, and I. Galland, President, each for ten shares at one hundred dollars each. A statement of account of The Western Stage Company with Samuel Pope for the months of January and February, 1858. Two licenses as hotel keeper issued under authority of the Acts of Congress of July 1, 1862, and June 30, 1864, by J. C. Walker, of Fort Madison, collector for the First Iowa District; the first showing payment of ten dollars, valid until September 1st, 1863, and the second of five dollars and valid until May 1st, 1867. Ballots headed respectively, "Democratic State Ticket. For Secretary of State, Samuel Douglass" and "Union State Ticket. For Governor, William H. Merritt." Numerous letters relating to routes and methods of travel through the west; militia, Mexican War and Civil War experiences written by a son, and a comrade's letter detailing the death of this son on a southern field.

Materials of this kind are much desired in the Historical Department Collections. Items of the Western Stage Company are especially sought. Concerning the 1,500 men employed in Iowa in 1858, with over a million and a half dollars invested and thousands of vehicles and their equipment, there remains practically nothing at hand from which to adequately consider the institution. Books of account, contracts, bills of lading or manifests, tickets for passage, route sheets, damage claims, mail and express commissions must have been and may be in existence by thousands. Where are they? A lone statement of account between the company and one of its agents in the last twenty years of its struggle against progress comes forth after fifty years repose in the old basket in the woodshed. It very interestingly exhibits its debits to Col. Pope thus:

1858.

January 2d.	By fare received on Trunk & bag		
		from H(illshoro) to Mt P(leasant)	.75
2d		passage F. Whiting from H. to Salem	.50
13	" "	" J. E. Dougherty " "	.50
15	" "	" I. Morrison H. Mp	1.75
16		N Lyons Hto Utica	.50
18		W. D. Hill, U to M P	2.00
20		I Sellers H to U	.50
23		S Coulton U to M P	2.00
23		Mrs Moore U to M P	2.00
23		D Adams H to Salem	.50
Feb'y 2		Ann Frazer H to Salem	.50
4		F. Whiting H to M P	1.50
8		Lucy Funkhouser U to M P	2.00
"		L Leffler U to M P	2.00
22		I S Reist H to M P	1.50
26		W H. Hatch	2.00
Amount of Credit			20.50

It charged itself with a total of \$45.28 made up of some forty-five items, only two of which are entered as of the same day, and only a few days missing, well exemplified in the following:

January 2, 1858, to 1 extra meal for driver and feed for horses	.75
January 11 to 2 extra meals for driver and feed for horses	1.50

January 12 to 1 extra driver and team over night (\$1.25 and \$1.00).	1.25
January 13 to 1 meal for driver.....	.25
February 22 to 1 man and horse over night.....	1.00
To keeping of one sick horse from February 20th to March 1, 1853,	
8 days at \$2.00 per week	2.25

DES MOINES RIVER ENGINEERING.

The question of the navigability of the Des Moines River long figured in the politics and business of Iowa. In 1849 Samuel R. Curtis, fresh from success as the engineer of the Muskingum River work, was brought to Iowa to survey the Des Moines River and submit plans for making it navigable. He had, as his assistants, Guy Wells, Samuel Jacobs, M. M. Hayden, and William Dewey. Their work was prosecuted under the Board of Public Works of which Hugh W. Sample was president, Charles Corkery secretary and Paul Brattain treasurer. A plat of the survey was filed with the Board in 1849. This plat disclosed the total length of the river, from Fort Des Moines to the mouth of Nassau Slough, to be two hundred four and sixty-eight one-hundredths miles; length of navigation, one hundred eighty-three and sixty-eight one-hundredths miles; length of canaling twenty-nine and thirty-seven one-hundredths miles. A total fall of three hundred nine and seventy-nine one-hundredths feet was utilized by twenty-eight dams and nine locks. From the first dam at St. Francisville, twelve miles from the mouth of the Nassau Slough, navigable water was to be locked to the Mississippi. Each dam was of such a height as to raise the water to the next dam above. Beginning with St. Francisville the dams were respectively located as follows: Number two at Cowpen's Mill near the line between ranges seven and eight; number three at Thom's Mill (Athens); number four a half mile above Farmington; number five at Bonaparte; number six at Bentonsport, number seven at Keosauqua. These seven dams, with locks and gates, were actually constructed and put in operation. Number eight was near Philadelphia (now Kil-

bourne); number nine, Portland (Dowds-Leando); number ten one mile above Iowaville. Considerable work was done on dams numbers eight, nine and ten. Number eleven was to be about three miles above Eldon; number twelve near Cliffland; number thirteen at the mouth of Sugar Creek, two miles below Ottumwa. Number fourteen was just above Ottumwa, where a canal was employed to shorten the channel. Number fifteen was three miles below Chillicothe; number sixteen near Chillicothe; number seventeen three miles below Eddyville, at the mouth of Brown Creek; number eighteen two miles above Eddyville; number nineteen was at Rocky Ripple, west of Given; number twenty was at Talley's Ford, now Belle Fountain, where a canal led across the large bend and back into the main channel three miles below, through a lock over nineteen feet in height. Number twenty-one was half a mile above the mouth of English Creek; number twenty-two was at Amsterdam, southwest of Pella; number twenty-three at the mouth of Whitebreast Creek where another canal led across the large bend at the lower end of which was a lock twelve and a half feet in height. Number twenty-four was just below Red Rock, now Dunreath; number twenty-five at Bennington near Swan, where a canal led out on the north or left bank of the river for some six miles through two locks of a height aggregating twenty-four and one-fourth feet, returning to the main channel near Dunreath. Number twenty-six was at Lafayette, southwest of Runnels where was another canal of one mile. Number twenty-seven was at Dudley southwest of Adelphi, where another canal of one-fourth mile in length cut off about four miles of channel and is now the river bed; number twenty-eight near Levy raised the water to the Raccoon fork five miles above and turned the channel into a canal three miles long and through a sixteen-foot lock.

STATUE OF JAMES HARLAN.

Section 1814, Revised Statutes of the United States, provides that each State may furnish statues in marble or bronze, to be placed in the National Statuary Hall, "of two deceased

persons, who have been citizens thereof and illustrious in historic renown or for distinguished civic or military service." A preamble to chapter 226, of the acts of the 22nd General Assembly of Iowa states: "Whereas, the Hon. James Harlan, Senator of Iowa and Secretary of the Interior, under Lincoln, now deceased, is worthy of being selected as one of the citizens of Iowa whose statue shall be placed in said National Statuary Hall," etc., and proceeds to appropriate the sum of \$5,000.00 for the purpose. It clothed the Executive Council with authority to contract for a clay model of such a statue, which, when completed to their satisfaction, is to be cast in bronze and placed in Statuary Hall. The Council has before it the duty thus imposed. The act was passed largely through love engendered by Senator Harlan in his noble old age. Men of middle age had most to do with bringing about the appropriation. But when the selection of a model presents itself, the question of the age at which the man is to be portrayed rises into some significance. The sculptress, Miss Nellie V. Walker, a former resident of Moulton, Iowa, visited the Historical Department in search of aids to the study of a full length portrait. On being asked at what age she proposed to represent him, she replied, "just as he is remembered by those who are now living." The writer professed a vivid remembrance of Senator Harlan's appearance within the last twenty-five years but advised a selection from the broader consideration which both the federal and state laws appear to embrace, namely, the appearance of the man when eminent in civic affairs. Any other view would seem untenable for this most dignified and permanent embodiment of the appearance of a face and form. Art is said to look to posterity for its own approval. The remote future, if interested in Senator Harlan, will search the literature of our day and the records of our nation, wherein, with his own hand, he wrote the measure of his own attainments. There will be disclosed a man whose public career ended at the age of fifty-two and with the period of reconstruction. They will show a man whose position is affected by his relation to men of eminence and by events the most pregnant in our country's history. If the eminence of the man is the consideration for this ex-

pression from his State, then his statue should portray him at that instant when he reached his zenith. That event may have been in senate or in council, in 1864 or 1865, or in his famous championship of Grant's San Domingan policy in 1871, certainly not after the latter date. It is inappropriate to represent a soldier in civilian garb and perhaps but little more a public man as he appears a full generation after his public service ended. One may see dedicated at the same time memorials typifying the soldier in the rebellion and in the war with Spain, the one as of middle or advanced age and the other in youth. The error is manifest. It is to be hoped no mistake in art will be made in this expression of a State for no higher consideration than the preference of those of us who knew and loved Senator Harlan. We are but a few, as to the population of the State and of a few days as to the time this expression will endure.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

Dedication of monuments erected by the State of Iowa, commemorating the death, suffering and valor of Her Soldiers on the Battlefields of Vicksburg, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Shiloh, and in the Confederate Prison at Andersonville. November twelfth to twenty-sixth, nineteen hundred and six. Compiled by Alonzo Abernethy, for the committee.

General Assemblies of Iowa provided a total appropriation of \$249,370.28 wherewith to erect monuments and memorials in honor of her troops who participated in the Siege of Vicksburg, Battles of Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge and Shiloh, and those who were confined in the confederate military prison at Andersonville. Commissions of Iowa ex-soldiers were appointed who should have charge of the erection of the structures. The 31st General Assembly in 1906 appropriated \$7,500.00 to defray the expense of a joint dedication of the memorial structures. The 32d General Assembly directed the publication of this complete report of the ceremonies. This volume sets out the personnel of the official party which made the itinerary and formally received on the behalf of the State the work of the different committees and on same behalf turned it over to the national government. A general introduction to the volume is supplemented by a special introduction for each of the four groups of ceremonies. The programs of these and the proceedings of each are presented in full. At Vicksburg and Andersonville there were single programs, while at Chat-

persons, who have been citizens thereof and illustrious in historic renown or for distinguished civic or military service." A preamble to chapter 226, of the acts of the 22nd General Assembly of Iowa states: "Whereas, the Hon. James Harlan, Senator of Iowa and Secretary of the Interior, under Lincoln, now deceased, is worthy of being selected as one of the citizens of Iowa whose statue shall be placed in said National Statuary Hall," etc., and proceeds to appropriate the sum of \$5,000.00 for the purpose. It clothed the Executive Council with authority to contract for a clay model of such a statue, which, when completed to their satisfaction, is to be cast in bronze and placed in Statuary Hall. The Council has before it the duty thus imposed. The act was passed largely through love engendered by Senator Harlan in his noble old age. Men of middle age had most to do with bringing about the appropriation. But when the selection of a model presents itself, the question of the age at which the man is to be portrayed rises into some significance. The sculptress, Miss Nellie V. Walker, a former resident of Moulton, Iowa, visited the Historical Department in search of aids to the study of a full length portrait. On being asked at what age she proposed to represent him, she replied, "just as he is remembered by those who are now living." The writer professed a vivid remembrance of Senator Harlan's appearance within the last twenty-five years but advised a selection from the broader consideration which both the federal and state laws appear to embrace, namely, the appearance of the man when eminent in civic affairs. Any other view would seem untenable for this most dignified and permanent embodiment of the appearance of a face and form. Art is said to look to posterity for its own approval. The remote future, if interested in Senator Harlan, will search the literature of our day and the records of our nation, wherein, with his own hand, he wrote the measure of his own attainments. There will be disclosed a man whose public career ended at the age of fifty-two and with the period of reconstruction. They will show a man whose position is affected by his relation to men of eminence and by events the most pregnant in our country's history. If the eminence of the man is the consideration for this ex-

NOTABLE DEATHS.

JOSIAH GIVEN was born at Murrys ville, Westmoreland county, Pa., August 31, 1828; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, February 3, 1908. His parents were John and Jane Clendenning Given, and they were born in Ireland. In the spring of 1838 the family moved to Holmes county, Ohio. In 1847 Judge Given enlisted as a soldier in the Mexican war, becoming a member of Co. G, 4th Ohio Infantry, and before the close of that conflict he was made a corporal. At the conclusion of that war, he returned to Ohio, and became a student of the law, in the office of his elder brother, Judge William Given, and his partner, J. R. Barcroft, at Millersburg, Ohio. After two years of reading he was admitted to the bar in Stark county, Ohio, on motion of Edwin M. Stanton. The next year he was elected prosecuting attorney of Holmes county, serving in that capacity two terms. In 1856 he removed to and opened a law office in Coshocton, and very soon secured a satisfactory practice. While attending court in that county news came of the firing on Fort Sumter, and without finishing the case then on trial in which he was engaged, he left the court room and did not return until the end of the Civil War. He immediately raised a company known as "K" 24th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and was commissioned its captain. The summer of 1861 was spent with his company in the mountains of West Virginia. In the fall of that year, he was transferred and promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of the 18th Ohio Volunteers. While serving in that capacity he was severely wounded at the battle of Stone River; and by reason of conspicuous bravery was made Colonel of the 74th Ohio Infantry, his commission issuing in the year 1863. He participated in twenty-two battles, during the Civil War, for a part of the time commanded the third brigade, third division of the 14th army corps, and retired with the rank of Brigadier-General. After the fall of Atlanta, he resigned on account of rheumatism contracted in the service. He was the first to offer his services to Governor Shaw at the breaking out of the late war with Spain; but on account of extreme age his enlistment was not accepted. He was the first Commander of Crocker Post, and the Commander of the Iowa Department G. A. R. in the year 1886. Few men have such an army record as had Judge Given; and he was never happier than when attending Grand Army meetings or Old Soldiers' reunions. His affection and love for "his boys" was extremely touching. At the close of the war he was almost immediately elected postmaster of the House of Representatives, of the 39th Congress, largely through the instrumentality of James A. Garfield, then a member of the House. Shortly after that he came to Des Moines, where he formed a partnership with his old law preceptor Judge J. R. Barcroft. Here his eminent fitness for official duties was soon recognized, and in 1871 he was elected District Attorney of the District of which Polk county was a part; and in 1876 was elected to the State legislature from Polk county, serving on the committees of Judiciary, Appropriations, Compensation of Public Officers, Cities and Towns, and Judicial Districts. Before election to the District Attorneyship he was appointed by General, then President, Grant, Deputy Revenue Commissioner, resigning that position when elected to the attorneyship. In 1880 he was elected Circuit Judge of the Polk District, and upon the abolishment of that office was elected District Judge of the same District in the year 1886.

and served in that capacity until appointed to the Supreme Bench by Governor Larrabee, in February 1889, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge Reed. He was twice elected a Supreme Judge and thrice served as Chief Justice, assuming that position upon his appointment by the Governor. Upon his retirement from the Supreme Bench he was appointed by Governor Cummins to fill a vacancy upon the District Bench of his county, caused by the death of Charles P. Holmes, serving the remaining year of his predecessor's term. Judge Given was married at Millersburg, Ohio, October 6, 1851, to Elizabeth Armor. She died twelve years ago. The surviving children are Welker, Josiah Jr., William H. Given and Mrs. Joseph G. Gardner, all of Des Moines, and Frank and Thomas Given of Spokane, Wash. Few men have had greater personal popularity than Judge Given. He had that sweetness of disposition, that kindness of heart, and that sympathy for and thoughtfulness of others which endeared him to all. A quickness of comprehension, and an almost intuitional divination of the very right in every controversy made him an exceptionally strong trial judge; and when promoted to the Supreme Bench, he brought to it years of experience both at the bar and on the bench, making him a valuable member of that body. He never betrayed either a friend or a trust; and his ideals were of the highest. No one ever challenged either his character or his motives. Distinguished as a soldier, eminent as a jurist, and conspicuously honorable and just in his private life, Judge Given's services both to the State and the Nation were of inestimable value.

H. E. D.

LUCIAN C. BLANCHARD was born at Diana, Lewis county, New York, April 15, 1839; he died at his home in Oskaloosa, Iowa, March 1, 1908. He attended rural schools and afterwards removed to Mt. Morris, Illinois, where he taught school for some time. In 1860 he arrived in Newton, Jasper county, Iowa. He enlisted in Company K, 28th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, participating in the battles of Fort Gibson and Champion Hills and in the Siege of Vicksburg. He was honorably discharged on account of disabilities and returned to the north. He graduated from the law course at the University of Michigan in 1866. He was appointed Judge of Jasper county in 1867 and elected in 1868. He was elected Circuit Judge of a district composed of Poweshiek, Washington, Keokuk and Jefferson counties, then re-elected, the district now also embracing Jasper, Marion and Mahaska, then a re-election added four years more to the eight already served with great credit. He served in the Legislature from Mahaska county in the House of the 25th and in the Senate of the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th General Assemblies. He was a member of the Iowa Vicksburg Park Monument Commission. He was once President of the Iowa State Bar Association, Vice Commander Iowa Department G. A. R., Grand Orator and Grand Treasurer Iowa Grand Lodge of Masons, and with Judge Theron F. Newton, editor of the *Masonic Digest*.

GALUNIA PAMMONA was born at East Aurora, N. Y., on May 22, 1828; he died at his home in Tacoma, Washington, March 10, 1909. He removed from New York to Iowa in 1865, locating at Ft. Dodge. He was a representative in the Iowa House of Representa-

tives in the 13th General Assembly from Webster county, serving on committees of Judiciary and State University. He attained eminence at the bar at Ft. Dodge. He removed to Des Moines in 1873, being associated first with George H. Lewis and then with John S. Runnels. Great learning, effective argument, and persistent methods distinguished him at the Des Moines bar. He removed to Tacoma, Washington, in 1890 and continued in the law practice. His activities and success grew until about four years ago, when his health began to fail. His body was brought to Iowa and buried at Greenwood Cemetery, Des Moines, March 19, 1908.

M. J. DAVIS was born in Juniata county, Pa., Oct. 27, 1837; he died at Lewis, Cass county, Iowa, February 2, 1908. He graduated in medicine in 1862 and soon afterwards enlisted in the Union army and was assigned to Hospital duty. In 1866 he located in Lewis, Iowa, where he practiced medicine until 1881, retiring to devote himself to general business. He was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives in the 25th and 26th General Assemblies, serving on many of the important committees. He was the author of the law against the sale of malt liquors by pharmacists. He was a man of large means and wide and wholesome influences.

SAMUEL F. COOPER was born at Stockbridge, Mass., December 19, 1826; he died at his home in Campbell, Cal., February 21, 1908. He was graduated from Oberlin College in 1851. In 1855 he removed to Grinnell, Iowa, engaging in the law and real estate business. Edited the *Montezuma Republican*, 1860; enlisted as a private in Fourth Iowa Cavalry, 1861; was transferred to and became Lieutenant Colonel of the Fortieth Iowa Infantry. He served as District Judge in Arkansas following the war and for four years was U. S. Consul at Glasgow, Scotland. He organized the First National Bank of Grinnell; served as the first Mayor of that city, 1865-67; was a Trustee of Iowa College and Oberlin College. He made many valuable gifts to Iowa College. His body was brought to Grinnell for burial.

JAMES MORTIMER CLARK was born near Toronto, Jefferson county, Ohio, in 1822; he died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, Feb. 12, 1908. He was educated at Franklin college, New Athens, Ohio, read law with Stanton & McCook, Steubenville, Ohio, and was admitted to the Ohio bar in May, 1849. In 1852 Mr. Clark migrated to California, where he resided eleven years, returning to Ohio. He then removed to Johnson county, Iowa, in 1867, thence to Adams county in 1876, settling upon a farm in Prescott township, where his home remained. Mr. Clark represented Adams county in the House in the 26th General Assembly, serving on the committees of Retrenchment and Reform, Compensation of Public Officers, Hospitals for Insane, Board of Public Charities, Senatorial Districts and Fish and Game, and in the 27th, serving on the same committees and also on those of Federal Relations, Judiciary, Building and Loan, Telephone, Telegraph and Express, and Police Regulations.

CHARLES MACKENZIE was born in St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 6, 1842; he died at Mercy Hospital, Des Moines, Iowa, March 14, 1908. At an early age his family removed to Potosi, Wisconsin, and in 1857 to Dubuque. He graduated from Beloit College in 1861 and was immediately elected Principal of the Dubuque First Ward School, from which position he resigned to enter the 9th Iowa Volunteer Infantry. He was made Adjutant, later becoming Major of the regiment. He made an excellent record as a soldier. After the war he entered the profession of law, for a time being associated with Col. D. B. Henderson. He practiced at different northern Iowa points until 1883, when he removed to Des Moines, where he remained in active and successful practice until his death. He was a member of many orders and associations, among which were the G. A. R. and Military Order of the Loyal Legion. His body was buried at Dubuque. His brother, General Alexander Mackenzie, of the U. S. Army, is his only surviving relative.

JOHN FRANK was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1807; he died at his farm in Hamilton county, Iowa, July 11, 1907. Mr. Frank was a pioneer, having removed to the State in 1855. He had resided for over fifty years on his farm near Webster City. He was married in 1843 in his native State, and is survived by his wife and four children. He was a prominent factor in founding the Congregational church at Webster City and remained a leading figure in its council until his death.

ISAAC BRICE HENDERSHOT was born in Green county, Pa., March 5, 1834; he died at his home in Otley, Iowa, December 10, 1907. He settled in Otley in 1865 and for several years was engaged in the grain and live stock business. He became an influential citizen; was a charter member of the Baptist church at Otley and its loyal supporter. He was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives in the 23d and 26th General Assemblies.

CHARLES C. MABEE was born in White Plains, N. Y., June 27, 1821; he died in Fresno, Cal., Nov. 2, 1907, where he had gone to spend the winter. In 1840 he united with the Methodist Church and in 1843 was licensed to preach. In 1857 he removed to Iowa, locating in Okaloosa where he taught school and preached as opportunity afforded. In 1859 he rejoined the Iowa Conference and thereafter served appointments in many towns in various parts of the State. His life was one of unbounded devotion to his work.

MRS. JULIA CHAPIN GRINNELL was born in Springfield, Mass., Nov. 2, 1827; she died in Grinnell, Iowa, Dec. 11, 1907. She was the daughter of Deacon Chauncey Chapin, a leading citizen of the State of Massachusetts. In 1852 she was married to Josiah Bushnell Grinnell and in 1854 came with him to the far west and became one of the founders of the town which bears his name. She was one of the charter members of the Congregational Church, and helped organize the first Mothers' Club west of the Mississippi. She took a deep interest in the cause of education and many times extended aid to needy students.





THIRD SERIES.

VOL. VIII. NO. 6.

JULY, 1908.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE
HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

CHARLES ALDRICH, Curator.

PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR. SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS.

DES MOINES, IOWA.

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at Des Moines, Iowa.



ANNALS OF IOWA

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1875

1875



JOHN H. CHARLES
A Pioneer of Sioux City, Iowa

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VIII, No. 6. DES MOINES, IOWA, JULY, 1908. 3D SERIES.

REMINISCENCES OF JOHN H. CHARLES.¹

INTRODUCTION.

BY FRANK HARMON GARVER.

Professor of History, Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.

The first plat of Sioux City was made in 1854. The late Mr. John H. Charles came to the new town on December 1, 1856, remaining here till the day of his death, which occurred on December 1, 1904, the forty-eighth anniversary of his coming. He was not a pioneer only; his residence in Sioux City had spanned at the time of his death practically the whole history of the town. He was here when the population numbered but a few hundred; he saw it increase to 40,000. He was here when the community possessed but little wealth; he saw prosperity come and abide. He was here when manners were rough and the country was wild; he saw culture and refinement come.

Mr. Charles' life was primarily a business career. He was successively a real estate dealer, surveyor, clerk, merchant and government transportation contractor. Though not a politician, and never an office-seeker, he was yet called upon to serve the community in the various capacities of justice of the peace, alderman and mayor. Other honors could have been his for the asking, but he had a distaste for public office, and rejected all suggestions of personal preferment. He chose to give his spare time and surplus energies to interests of a semi-private character. In this field several different subjects and enterprises claimed his attention and received his support. For years he was a loyal member of the Sioux City Scientific Association. He served the association as its president from 1892 to 1903. In the latter year he was foremost in the organization of the Academy of Science and Letters which was formed to succeed the Scientific Association. During its first year Mr. Charles was president of the Academy. At the time

¹ This article appeared in the Proceedings of the Sioux City Academy of Science and Letters, Vol. 2, 1906, and is now reprinted with slight changes.

of his death he was President Emeritus. Chiefly for his own personal pleasure he brought together from many places a numerous and valuable collection of geological specimens and Indian relics.

Mr. Charles was much interested in the Sioux City Public Library. To it he gave many books and much of his time serving as a trustee from the establishment of the library to his death. Personally he was a great reader. His private library was one of the largest and best appointed in the city. It also contained many rare volumes of great age and value, another example of his collecting spirit.

As a pioneer, who for fifty years had witnessed the remarkable changes brought by advancing civilization, Mr. Charles was anxious that the story of the early history of Sioux City and of Iowa should be preserved. A close friend of Mr. Charles Aldrich, Curator of the State Historical Department, he possessed a deep sympathy for the work of that institution and backed up his interest in a substantial manner. He was also for several years before his death a member of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The chief service of Mr. Charles to the cause of local history was in connection with the erection of the Floyd monument. He was one of the organizers, in 1895, of the Floyd Memorial Association, an organization formed for the purpose of commemorating, in some suitable way, the name of Sergeant Charles Floyd, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, who died on the upward journey, in 1804, and was interred upon a bluff within the present limits of Sioux City. From 1896 on until his death Mr. Charles was president of this association, which in 1900-1 crowned its years of labor with brilliant success by erecting over the grave of Floyd a stately shaft one hundred feet in height. This successful consummation of the association's work, though many devoted men and women contributed to it, was more the work of Mr. John H. Charles than of any other individual. This fact is recognized by the Floyd Memorial Association itself, since at a recent meeting it voted to place upon the Floyd monument a bronze tablet in appreciation of the services of Mr. Charles in the erection of the same.

It was Mr. Charles' desire to aid in the preservation of the early history of Sioux City that caused him to dictate to the editor, during the late summer of 1904, the following reminiscences. In doing this no especial system was followed. Mr. Charles talked as the inspiration came, choosing his own subjects to some of which he would return on later days and make additions. The first task of the editor was to write out the dictations and read them to Mr. Charles for his correction. Such occasions were often seized by him for still further additions. One result of this method was to produce a fragmentary effect. The narrative was not always consecutive.

The chief task of the editor has been to rewrite and rearrange the Reminiscences, to verify statements and to correct what errors had crept in. Mr. Charles' exact words and phrases have been retained wherever possible. No facts have been altered. The meaning has always been preserved. One has a right to his own views, hence no changes of mere opinion have been made.

Mr. Charles was asked to spell all personal names as he dictated. His spelling has been preserved in the text. Sometimes it was that of the frontier which, though common then, would not always pass now. Where a different spelling has been suggested by the editor it has been placed in brackets in the text. Sometimes initials and given names have been missing. Whenever it has been possible to supply these they also have been placed in brackets. Other minor corrections have been indicated in the same way.

Foot-notes have been added by the editor for two reasons: partly for the purpose of making corrections more important or more extensive than those mentioned above; partly with the view of adding more light to the subject in hand.

What follows is not an autobiography of Mr. Charles. He makes no attempt here to tell the complete story of his life. Mr. Charles has limited his remarks mostly to life in Sioux City prior to 1865. His remarks are largely local and personal. The latter part, in which he recalls and describes a dozen prominent characters of early days, was added at the suggestion of the editor.

I.

PERSONAL AND LOCAL AFFAIRS.

My ancestors, on my father's side, were Swiss. My great-great-grandfather's name was Henry, or rather Heinrich, Karli. He was a native of the canton of Zurich, Switzerland. In 1734 he emigrated to America and settled in Manor Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was the father of three sons, namely: Joseph, John and Jacob. Joseph had two sons named John and Joseph. John, the eldest of these, was my grandfather. He also had two sons named respectively Joseph and John. Joseph was my father. He spelled his last name Charles, the family name having been Anglicized since their immigration to America.

I was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, on January the 19th, 1826. My mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Kauffman. Her people, who were also Swiss, had come to America and settled in Pennsylvania in 1717. I was the oldest child in a family of six children, four boys and two girls. In May, 1826, when I was four months old, my father moved from Pennsylvania to Mifflin Township, Richmond County, Ohio. A little later a shifting of county boundary lines threw my father's farm into Ashland County. This farm is still in the family. One of my sisters, Mrs. Ben J. Urban, now lives upon it [1904]. It is located about nine miles east of the city of Mansfield, Ohio.

I lived on this farm until I was twenty-four years of age. The first fifteen years were uneventful. At fifteen I began to learn the trade of a carpenter and joiner, at which I worked most of the time during the summer months until I was twenty-four. For four or five winters I taught school. For this employment I received during the first year eleven dollars a month and "boarded around." When I quit teaching I was receiving twenty dollars a month, the highest wages paid to teachers in Ashland County at that time.

In the spring of 1850 the news of the discovery of gold in California reached our place. I, as well as many others, caught the "gold fever." Being a strong young man, and in my prime, I soon made up my mind to go. My folks were not

much in favor of my plan. They, however, made no objection to my departure, though they saw me go with great anxiety. It was on the 13th day of March, 1850, that I left the old home for the far west. I went by rail from Mansfield, in an adjoining county, to Sandusky City, where I stopped over night. Next day I went by rail to Cincinnati, where I took passage on the Yorktown, a large steamer commanded by Captain Haldeman, for St. Louis. The trip down the Ohio and up the Mississippi rivers took us ten days. While in St. Louis I stopped at the Missouri Hotel, which a gentleman who was waiting for passengers on the levee said was the "cheapest dollar a day house in the town."

I left St. Louis on the steamer El Paso and went up the Missouri river as far as Liberty Landing,¹ from which place emigrants started at that time for California. At Independence, Missouri, we "fitted out" for California, which was the "far west" then surely. We bought four yoke of oxen for each wagon, loading each with about two thousand pounds of provisions, outfit, etc. This was not a large load for such a team, but we thought it safest to have enough oxen. There were about eighty persons in our crowd. Altogether we had twenty-one wagons, which with their four-yoke teams made a very formidable appearance. We had not gone far, however, before grass became scarce. Then, too, we could not always agree as to the best route to be taken. For these reasons our large party soon split up into smaller ones, each taking whichever route it pleased.

By the middle of May we reached Grand Island, Nebraska, where we found our first good grass. This was an important item, since our cattle were already getting weak and thin. From Grand Island, where we struck the valley, we moved up the Platte river to old Fort Carney [Kearney], thence west by Ash Hollow and the North Platte to Fort Laramie, situated at the point where the Laramie fork enters the North Platte. Arrived at the Rocky Mountains, we did not follow the usual route, but took rather the South Pass over the mountains, which were passed about June 1. Once over the Great Divide

¹ In western Missouri, just south of the town of Liberty and a little east of Kansas City.

we went down the Humboldt¹ river to the Carson river and then up the Carson river to its head. The journey across the Sierra Nevada range, which was reached early in August, brought the greatest suffering of the whole trip, for the snow was heavy and it was biting cold. The crust on the snow was strong enough to bear up our heavy wagons, for which we were thankful, since it lessened the hardship somewhat. Descending the western slope of the Sierra Nevada range we reached the gold fields at a place called Hangtown [now Placerville], California, about September 1.

The three greatest trials of our four months' journey had been in crossing the Sierra Nevada mountains, some difficulty in always finding grass for the cattle, and scarcity of water, which was felt at times. It was in Nevada that we suffered most for water. On one occasion we ran out and while I stayed to guard camp my colleagues made a detour of many miles on either side in search of water. While I was awaiting the return of my friends a man came across the sands bearing a small keg of water upon his shoulder. When he came to camp I asked for a drink and was informed that I could have a cup of water for one dollar. I was so thirsty that I paid for the drink. Before leaving the man asked if we had an abundance of food. I answered "Yes." He started away, but soon came back and asked for something to eat. I charged him a dollar for a square meal and so got even with him.

I soon tired of prospecting for gold, and went to work for a mining company. The miners almost coerced newcomers into working for them, they wanted men so badly. Wages were high, so by May of the next year I had saved one thousand dollars. We had sold our surplus provisions upon arrival for a good price. Not liking life in the mining region, I now decided to return to Ohio, making the homeward journey by way of the Isthmus of Panama.

I now remained at home for eighteen months. Upon my arrival there I was sure I should never go west again. But soon several young men in my county began to plan a trip to California and I joined them. We went again to Indepen-

¹ In Nevada. No effort has been made to identify the exact route taken on this journey because the story of this trip may be considered as merely introductory to the main narrative to follow.

dence, Missouri, for our start across the plains. Here three of us who had made the trip to California before bought up a hundred cows. We got them for less than twenty dollars per head. We had an idea that we could drive them to California and make some money on them. We followed about the same route which I had taken two years before. We reached the mining country in the spring of 1853 and had no trouble in selling our cows at eighty dollars per head. Our party tried prospecting near Sacramento City. After a time I gave that up and superintended the construction of a plank road leading out of Sacramento City. During the spring and summer of 1855 I farmed. In December of the same year I started east again, this time by way of Nicaragua, reaching Ohio in February, 1856. I remained at home until fall.

During the summer of 1856, while in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on a visit, I learned that the United States government had made some rich land grants to three railroads¹ that were going to build across the State of Iowa. Several things turned my attention westward again. First, I had been west twice and got something of the western spirit. I had an uncle who was loaning money on Wisconsin lands and he talked about the west to me. Then the nomination of Buchanan for president that summer seemed to promise trouble with the south, and finally I thought the land in Iowa would make a good investment. So I made up my mind to go west and settle down for good. After a careful study of the maps I chose Sioux City as my destination and started. From Mansfield I came by rail via Chicago to Iowa City.² Thence I went by stage to Des Moines, where I stopped off a few days. A second stage brought me to Fort Dodge. The hardest part of the journey lay between that point and Sioux City. No regular stage ran between these two places, only a lumber wagon which carried mail. In this I took passage. It took us six days to make the trip. The first night we spent at Twin Lakes, the next at Sac City, and the third at Ida Grove, where I stopped with a friend, Judge [J. H.] Moorehead. The last three nights we spent at Mapleton, Smithland and Sergeant's Bluff respec-

¹ These three railroads grew into the present Rock Island, Chicago and Northwestern, and Illinois Central systems.

² This was as far west as the railroad came in Iowa in 1856.

tively. At the latter place I passed the night with Mr. [W. P.] Holman. We finally reached Sioux City on Monday morning, December 1, 1856, during a fierce snow-storm. That night I stopped at the Hagy House, or Western¹ Hotel, of which John Hagy was proprietor. The hotel was located on the levee at the corner of Second and Water streets. It consisted of two log cabins near together, the space between enclosed only with rough hewn boards. The house was ordinarily referred to as "The Terrific."²

A dozen men were in the hotel lobby. All were in shirt sleeves, but each man wore from two to four flannel shirts. One old man named Cowan, known familiarly as "Colonel," sat by the stove with an umbrella raised over him. The storm was very severe and blew so much snow into the upper part of the room that it settled down all over the floor. Above the stove the heat changed the falling flakes into rain, hence the umbrella. The men were a hard-looking set, harder than I had seen in the California mines or even on the Isthmus. They were dirty and ragged, but talked chiefly of their real estate sales and of the money they had made. But they looked harder than they were, for some of them were well-educated and have since made their mark.

Near bedtime I looked around for a sleeping room. Seeing none, and wishing to make inquiry, I approached the only man in the hotel whom I saw wearing a white shirt. He answered that none of the men had rooms, that there were no rooms, and that I would be lucky to get even a bed. He said that he himself slept between the two houses, and not having any bedfellow I could sleep with him. He probably noticed that I also wore a white shirt, and since we two were the only guests that did, this may be the reason why he took me in preference to anyone else. We soon retired to sleep, under a buffalo-robe. That is all that kept us from freezing. In the morning we were covered with snow several inches deep. Frost had formed around our eyes and mouths and our faces were covered with snow and ice.³

¹ The Hagy House of 1856 was called the Northwestern House later. The nickname "Terrific" had been applied to the house before Mr. Hagy became proprietor.

² Mr. Charles' bedfellow that night was Charles K. Smith, afterwards postmaster of Sioux City.

When we arose in the morning we found the kitchen snowed up. The cook-stove was completely covered. The dining-room was half full of snow and it was still storming; indeed, it continued storming all that day and the next. It was nothing less than a genuine northwestern blizzard of wind and snow. On the whole, coming as I did almost direct from California, where running water never freezes, I thought I had been given rather a cold reception in Sioux City.

Since the kitchen was snowed under, our hotel could not serve breakfast. About 8:30 a. m. I started out to get a bite to eat. The storm had not abated and I found the streets almost impassable. But I was successful in that I finally succeeded in getting what was called a "hot breakfast" at the Sioux City House, located on Pearl street between Fifth and Sixth.¹

While going in search of this meal I met at the postoffice² Mr. Samuel T. Davis, whom I looked upon as a friend as soon as I learned that he was from Pennsylvania, the State in which I was born. The severeness of the storm caused some of those who went through it to give up their half-formed intentions of locating here, but after talking with Mr. Davis about Pennsylvania, California and some other states we made up our minds to stay in Sioux City. In closing the conversation I said to him, "I'll be in Sioux City on the morning of January 1, 1900, and as the sun rises over the hills to the east I'll say, 'Hail, old Fellow! I'm still here.' " It came to pass. On the morning of January 1, 1900, Mr. Davis took breakfast with me at my house. Forty-four years had passed since we first met that stormy day in the little post-office. You can guess what we talked about.

After looking around to see what could be done I made up my mind that I must pay expenses during the winter. So I went across the river, took up a claim in Nebraska and went to cutting cord-wood and saw-logs. In this way I made enough extra money to buy a compass in the spring so I could take

¹ Rather on the corner of Fifth and Pearl. Building is still standing.

² Located on the corner of Second and Pearl streets.

up surveying, an occupation much to my liking. I soon had a chance to use my compass. During the last days of February, 1857, a man from Ohio, named Bennett, came to Sioux City. He represented an Ohio company which desired to locate a townsite somewhere along the Missouri river above here. None of this country had been surveyed and townsites had to be located as best they could in order to be held against the settlers. The pre-emption law allowed this to be done providing certain conditions were met. Mr. Bennett engaged me to locate his townsite for him. Accordingly on March 1, 1857, I took my compass and started, together with Father Martin of Dakota City, from Covington¹ where my claim was for the upper river. We had a span of horses and a sled to haul the provisions. The claim-men, ax-men, etc., walked, I with the rest. Towards evening of the first day we got as far as St. Johns,² Nebraska, where John Tracey³ lived. The snow was two feet deep and we could make but slow progress. On the second day the expedition reached Ponca, where we stayed over night. The next day we started for Concord,⁴ which is at the head of Lime Creek. When we got there we found some Sioux City people—S. B. Mulhollen (Mulholland) and [Wesley S.] Treseott among them. The fourth night we camped on the open prairie and almost froze to death, as it was the night of a terrible blizzard. It was only by building a big fire that we managed to live through it.

Next night we stopped at St. James,⁵ Nebraska, on the Missouri river, where we found trappers who had gone there to trade with the Indians. I made my bed on a pile of beaver

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¹ Located on the Nebraska side of the Missouri opposite Sioux City. Both town and claim have since been washed away.

² Town has disappeared and site has been washed away. The present town of Jackson (Dakota County, Nebraska) is said to represent the former town of St. Johns.

³ A Catholic priest and founder of St. Johns, having led a colony of Irish Catholics there in 1856. The fiftieth anniversary of this event was celebrated at Jackson during the summer of 1906.

⁴ There is a town named Concord in Dixon County, Nebraska, but it is too far south to be the town here indicated because the party was following the Missouri river closely.

⁵ In Cedar County.

skins and was sleeping away, like a pig under a gate, when, sometime during the night, I was awakened by loud talking and swearing on the part of the trappers. They had remained up late to play cards and got into some dispute about the fairness of the game. They were so abusive that I thought some one would be killed, especially since their revolvers were much in evidence, yet no harm came of it. These four men were Bill Copeland, John [Henry] Campbell, Bill Craven[s] and [John] Mitchell, commonly called "Old Mitch."

Next morning we went up the river to a point opposite the present site of Yankton, S. Dak., where we found a party of New York men holding a townsite. On the way we had passed a high rocky point, which had looked so good to me and commanded such a fine view that I now recommended that we return to it. This recommendation suited Mr. Bennett, so we went back and staked out a townsite consisting of over 2,000 acres, or more than three sections. This took us nearly a week, after which we were ready to return to Sioux City. In the meantime the snow had melted and the return trip was not so difficult. After reaching home I platted the town, naming it Opechee, a name afterward changed to St. Helena. It was in Cedar County, Nebraska, opposite¹ the present village of Gayville [which is in Yankton County, S. Dak.]. Bennett went east and had the plat lithographed and sold lots right and left, getting himself into trouble,² since the land had not yet been surveyed by the United States government.

In the fall of 1857 I was elected a Justice of the Peace in and for Woodbury County. One of the first cases to come before me was the trial of a man named William O. Allen, for killing Bill Craven[s], one of the quarrelling trappers whom we had met at St. James. Allen was bound over to the District Court, and, since there was no jail any nearer, the Sheriff³ started off with the prisoner to Council Bluffs. They got as far as the Floyd river, then the Sheriff came back and reported that the prisoner had broken away. One thing is certain, he never came back.

¹ The town is still in existence.

² And into the penitentiary.

³ John Braden.

Previous to our leaving St. James, the four trappers had had a second quarrel. "Old Mitch" was killed¹ by a blow on the head, "decently" buried in a shoe box, and nothing was ever done about it.

During the spring elections of 1858, Bill Copeland had a quarrel with H. W. Tracey, in front of the latter's store on lower Pearl street. As a result Tracey shot him. This was the third violent death among these four men inside of a year. But such things were not uncommon on the frontier in those early days. The survivor, John [Henry] Campbell, soon went east "for his health," and what became of him I do not know. I had had enough interest in these men to keep track of them as far as stated.

Because of the escape of Allen and the miscarriage of justice in other cases I became so disgusted with the office of Justice of the Peace that I would have nothing more to do with it. But before leaving the subject altogether I might mention another of my exploits as Justice.

One day while I was putting up an office opposite the Sioux City House, on Pearl street, a man drove up and asked me if I was Mr. Charles. I replied that I was. Then he asked if I was a Justice of the Peace. Again I gave him an affirmative answer. He said I was wanted at the Pacific Hotel, down on Fourth street, where there was a small settlement.

I got into his rig and went with him, expecting that I was wanted to make acknowledgment of a deed. Reaching the hotel I was led to the parlor, and there introduced to a Miss Livermore and a Mr. [Osmond] Plato, who, I was informed, desired me to marry them. I wouldn't have been more surprised if they had told me I was to be shot. Up to that time my experience with weddings had been slight; I had seen just one, my sister's. What to do I did not know. Just then the men who had come after me handed me a paper and said: "This is their license." I took the license and looked it over, pretending to read, but, in reality, I was trying to make up my mind what to say. Having made it up, I asked the parties to stand up and join hands. Then I asked if there were any

¹ By Henry Campbell, mentioned in the following paragraph.

objections to the union of the couple. There being none, I said, "By virtue of the authority vested in me as a Justice of the Peace I pronounce you man and wife," and it was all over and just as well done as if it had been performed according to the elaborate Episcopalian ring service.

On the first day of January, 1858, there came to my office in Sioux City a company of half-breeds and Indians from across the Big Sioux, who wanted me to come over there and marry a Frenchman and a Crow squaw.

While I was first a Justice the title "Squire" became attached to my name. After I had thrown up the office, following the escape of Allen, the murderer of Craven[s], I was still "Squire." Some years later I was appointed Justice by J. P. Allison, County Judge, to fill out an unexpired term. But when asked to go over to Dakota Territory¹ to marry this couple I was not a Justice at all, and so had no authority to perform such ceremonies. Even if I had been a Justice, my jurisdiction would not have extended outside of Woodbury County, much less outside of the State. So, of course, I refused to go.

The company went down town and saw Mr. L. H. Kennerly, who sent them back with instructions for me to go over and marry the couple. By and by Mr. Kennerly, himself, came up and talked with me. He said the Indians wanted me very badly and honestly believed that I could legally perform the ceremony. I repeated the statement that I had no authority, but finally, after Mr. Kennerly had presented the matter at length, I arranged for an escort of some twenty men and promised to go.

In truth, I was afraid of the half-breeds and didn't want to go. I know now that it was not a serious matter, but I thought differently then.

Next day we crossed the river. Arriving at the hut where the ceremony was to be performed we found everything in readiness. Without much delay I had the couple stand up. The Frenchman could not understand a word of English nor the Squaw a word of either French or English. The Squaw


¹ This phrase is allowable, though Dakota Territory was not established till March 2, 1861

had insisted that an American perform the ceremony. She had been deceived upon a previous occasion and now would trust only an American.

After the ceremony I asked a Mr. [Enos] Stutsman, who was present, a one-legged man,¹ but talkative, to make an address. This he did, giving the newly married couple some good advice (which they could not understand), and wishing all present a good time and finally that all might go to the Happy Hunting Grounds and have a continual good time there.

The next thing on the program was the feast to be given at another house down on the bank of the Missouri river. To this place we proceeded through the brush and timber, each fellow for himself. Even the bride and groom had to travel in this way. Arriving at the house we found ample provision had been made for the feast. Great camp kettles full of bouillon (soup of dog) made up the principal dish. Of this all were invited to partake. Nearly all present did, but for some reason I had no appetite. Then I was given a piece of beaver tail, considered by the Indians a great delicacy. This was considered an honor for me, for, since I had performed the marriage ceremony, I was looked upon by the Indians as a great chief, and treated as one—at very little expense to themselves.

After we had sat down to the feast some one asked where the bride and groom were. We all looked around but they were certainly not present. Upon investigation we found them outside. We at once made room for them and brought them in so



and Indian blood in his veins, but that made no difference with him. He considered himself a white man, and as far as he was concerned, that settled it. After the dance our party returned to Sioux City. This was the first wedding in Dakota Territory after white settlers came to Sioux City.

Whatever became of the married couple I do not know. I presume, however, that the Frenchman learned the Indian language, since the French did this readily, and perhaps became a fur trader. Of the twenty white persons who accompanied me across the river to perform that marriage ceremony but two or three are left to tell the story [1904]. One still living is James E. Booge, of Sioux City, and another is "Gov." F. M. Ziebach, of Yankton, S. Dak.

In 1857 there were two clusters of houses in Sioux City, one on the levee on Second street and the other in the region of Sixth and Douglas. At the latter place were located the United States land offices for the receiving and registration of claims, as well as the offices of many private land agents.

The first settler in Sioux City, probably, was Joseph Lyonais [Leonais] or Theophile Brughier [Bruguier].

Dr. John K. Cook, government surveyor, laid out the first city and named the streets. It consisted of a half section, laid out into lots, on the west side of Perry creek. This was in 1854.

Then Sioux City East was laid out on the east side of Perry creek, followed by a half section up on the bluffs known as Chamberlain quarter.

The population in 1857 numbered less than one thousand, though it was larger in this year than at any subsequent date till 1865, the last year of the war. Of the population, anywhere from two-thirds to three-fourths were transients, many of whom were frightened away by the hard times following the panic of 1857 and by Indian scares during the war. The population came largely to make money out of the sale of north-western Iowa lands. One-fourth of the State was for sale at the Sioux City land offices.

The inhabitants came from all parts of the United States, but in largest numbers from Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois. Pennsylvania and Ohio were not so numerously rep-

resented.¹ I was called a Pennsylvanian because I was born there, but, as I had lived most of my life in Ohio, I was more truly an Ohioan.

Everything needed in a frontier town came up the river by steamboat from St. Louis or Council Bluffs. The regular mail came in this way.

I remember I came into Sioux City from Fort Dodge in an open wagon, called a stage by courtesy, which carried mail. This was one of the first overland mails to come to Sioux City. During my first year of residence in Sioux City [1857] a number of boats ran regularly in the Sioux City trade. Coming up from St. Louis about once a month they brought us almost everything. I remember especially the Omaha, Captain Wineland, as being one of the most regular. The American Fur Company's boats for the upper river made but one trip a year, it was so long and perilous. Going up in the spring, loaded with merchandise, they did not return till fall, full of valuable furs. These boats all stopped at Sioux City both going and coming.

The year before I came to Sioux City there occurred a three-cornered contest² for the county-seat between Sioux City, Smithland and Sergeant's Bluff. Sioux City outvoted the others, and got the prize.

The election was held near the corner of Sixth and Douglas streets at the United States land office.³ Out in the street in front of the office there was a well. A barrel of whisky was brought, placed beside the well and tapped. Whisky was as free as water that day, and as easily obtained.

The first election after I came to Sioux City took place in August, 1857. It was the charter election, i. e., the election when a city charter was voted on. The charter carried unani-

¹ A study by the editor of the nativity of seventy of the old settlers of Woodbury County showed that the largest number was born in New York. Other states ranked in the following order: Vermont, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, etc. These old settlers did not all come to Woodbury County directly from the states of their birth. The states from which most of them came were in this order: Illinois, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana and Pennsylvania.

² This county-seat election was held on April 7, 1856.

³ Incorrect. The election was held at Thompsonstown or Floyd's Bluff. The incident following, though it probably did not apply to this election, was more or less typical of early elections here.

mously. I was one of the judges of the election, and as Kirkie [Cartier], "the wild Frenchman," came up to vote someone challenged his vote on the ground that he was not a citizen of the United States, but he swore that he was. I administered the oath to him, closing with the words, "So help you God," whereupon he exclaimed, "I hope so, too, for no one else ever helped old Kirkie."

A number of votes were sworn in in this way, among them that of Joe Leonais and others who had been fur traders for the American Fur Company. We did not know whether they were legally citizens or not, but it was safe to have them swear in their votes.

At these early elections we voted everybody. Everyone who could swear in his vote did so. Half-breeds were generally challenged, but since they were always willing to swear in their votes they were allowed to cast them.

There were three wards in Sioux City at this time [Aug., 1857]. Two aldermen were chosen from each ward. I was chosen an alderman from the Second Ward. My colleague was Enos Stutsman. Since the city government was not organized at this time, as will be explained, we never served the city in the capacity of councilmen.

The candidates for mayor at this election had been Ezra Millard¹ and Captain J. B. S. Todd, both democrats. Millard received the largest number of votes, but because of some irregularity the votes of one ward were thrown out and Todd declared elected. Not satisfied with such proceedings Todd refused to serve, leaving the town without any municipal organization until the following spring.

Again [April, 1858] two democratic candidates were pitted against each other. They were Doctor Townsend and Col. [Robt.] Means. The latter was elected, and served as mayor one year.² Colonel Means was quite a character. Immediately before retiring each night he always blacked his boots and brushed his hat. The first thing he did upon rising in the morning was to brush his hat and black his boots. Questioned

¹ A brother of United States Senator Joseph A. Millard, of Nebraska.

² It was at this election that Tracey shot and killed Copeland.

as to why he did this he would reply, "I black my boots twice so that I may always have a shine left after the top one wears off."

In 1857 Sioux City was a land office town. The two United States senators from Iowa were George W. Jones and A. C. Dodge, both democrats. The democratic party was so strong here that there were not enough republicans to maintain an organization. But the democrats were divided into two factions, called the "Hards" and the "Softs" and this gave the republicans a chance. There were many regular fire-eaters here at that time and elections were generally disorderly.

I remember that when, in 1857, we voted upon the new State constitution I voted to strike out the word "white" and this offended many of my friends. But it was a matter of principle with me. I could not agree in all things with the dominant party. If I had been entitled to a vote in 1856 I should have cast it for Fremont and Dayton. But I had left California too late and had not attained a residence here before election day. I had lost my vote in 1852 in much the same way. In 1848 I cast my first ballot voting for Van Buren and Adams, the third party candidates.

I well remember Thanksgiving Day of 1857 because of a dinner which I attended at the Tremont House, a new hotel built in central Sioux City. Mrs. Hagy kept the hotel. I was made chairman of the evening because I came from the president's State. On my right sat J. P. Allison; on my left H. W. Tracey. Some of the others present were: L. C. Sanborn, Jerome R. White, J. B. Flagg, Al Lovering, Charles Warren, Colonel Means and L. H. Kennerly. All are dead now [1904] except Kennerly, Allison and myself; perhaps Kennerly is, but he was not a year or two ago.

This dinner I have good reason to remember vividly. We had a great old time. Mr. White and I were the only men present who did not drink. We were the only sober ones in the crowd, and sometimes I suspected White.

Each one had to sing a song or tell a story. Some of the boys got up onto the table and walked back and forth over it.

You will find this dinner reported in the *Sioux City Weekly Eagle*, Vol. I.¹

The *Sioux City Eagle* was the first paper published here. It was edited by Seth W. Swiggett, who died a few years ago in Chicago. In politics the *Eagle* was neutral with democratic leanings. Its first issue was put out on July 4th, 1857. About two years later it was superseded by the *Sioux City Register*, "Gov." F. M. Ziebach, editor.

As I said before, Sioux City was, in the early days, a land office town. The United States Government Land Office, where claims were received and recorded, was situated here, as well as many private real estate agents.

Land sold generally at \$1.25 per acre, except when competitive bidding ran it up higher. Men bought not only for themselves, but for friends who were not on the grounds and also for speculation.

An agent was allowed to enter five or six quarter sections at a time. His commission on a quarter was about \$40. A common plan was to enter a quarter section at \$1.25 per acre and sell it at once on a year's time for from \$2.50 to \$3.00 per acre. By going east an agent could sell a piece for \$4 an acre. There was much politics in the land business. Agents were partial and not all comers were treated with equal fairness.

Early in 1858 Colonel Means and myself were admitted to the bar. He had some knowledge of the law, but I had none except what little I had picked up while I was Justice of the Peace. But the boys were bound to have me be a lawyer, so Colonel Means and I gave a supper. Judge Marshall F. Moore of the District Court presided. He appointed a committee to examine us. They asked us only one or two questions, and then certified that we had passed our examinations. In this way we were admitted to the bar, or as the boys put it, we were admitted to be "eternally at law and solicitous of good chances."

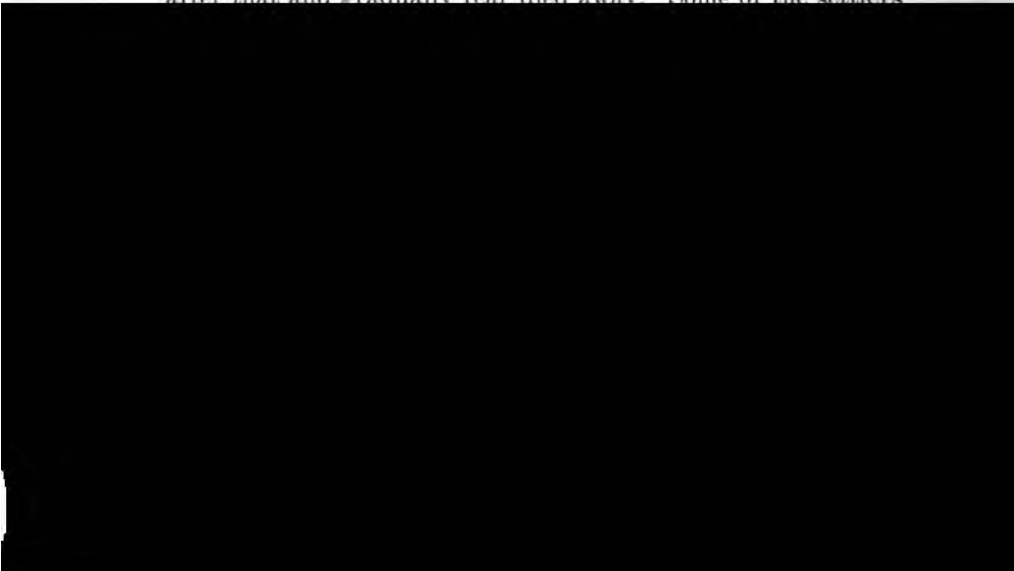
I never practiced law in spite of my highly successful examination for admission to the bar. In fact, about the

¹ The *Eagle* under the date of November 28, 1857, gives a column to the report of this banquet. Nineteen men are named as having been present, Mr. Sanborn's name not being among the list.

only advantage I received was to escape jury service thereafter.

In May, 1861, I was appointed by President Lincoln Indian agent for all the Indians on the Upper Missouri river. I did not accept the appointment because I was to be married the next week in Ohio, but I still have the commission in my possession. In July, 1861, we had an Indian scare here. On the 9th the Inkpaduta band¹ of the Sioux rose and murdered Thomas Roberts and Henry Cordway [Cordua] in Bacon's Hollow, now Greenville, while they were in their fields hoeing corn. It caused a great flurry among the people and stirred them to action.

A greater Indian scare² occurred in 1862, when the Santee Sioux rose and massacred the inhabitants of New Ulm, Minn. As the Indians proceeded west from New Ulm into Dakota the settlers along the Big Sioux and James rivers began to leave for Sioux City and the east. They abandoned their crops and newly made homes in such large number that the region was almost depopulated. Much plunder was left to the Indians for the taking. We, in Sioux City, did what we could to stop them. We placed a guard at the ferry across the Floyd river in order that their retreat might be shut off, but it was of no avail, for they would not be stopped. A stockade was built in Sioux City on the river front between Douglas and Pierce streets. Every man in town was expected to help in the work of making the town safe. But the Indians never came near us after that and gradually fear died away. Some of the settlers



town. By and by they left us and went south.¹ We were rid of them and still lived.

Next came the grasshoppers.² They were almost as bad as the Indians and soldiers. They mowed down field after field of corn; in fact, they ate up nearly all vegetation, causing much suffering and distress.

It did seem hard upon us to be preyed upon by Indians, soldiers and grasshoppers in such rapid succession. These were lean years for us in Sioux City. It was enough to make even the stoutest hearts quail.

In 1861 Dakota Territory was organized. Settlers had been going into that region for several years. Most of them passed through here on their way. Sioux City was also their depot of supplies, a kind of headquarters or capital for that territory. Some of our people went over there to settle. When Indian troubles threatened Dakota settlers fled here for refuge. Hence Sioux City and Dakota Territory had much in common in those days.

The settlers in Dakota used to be jealous because their judges and other officials often lived in Sioux City while holding office over there. But it was better living here and I couldn't blame them.

We used to go over there at election times to see that some did not vote too often and that all got a chance; in fact, to see that no frauds were permitted. At the first election in Dakota, after the territory was organized, for the choice of a delegate to Congress, J. B. S. Todd was a candidate and was elected. His opponents were [A. J.] Bell, regular republican, and Charles P. Booge, independent. Todd was the people's candidate. He had been elected first mayor of Sioux City four years earlier and his friends here were interested in his candidacy. I recollect that some of us went over the river when election day came to watch the proceedings. Todd was there,³ but later in the day he went up to Vermilion and left me to look after his interests. The Frenchmen fell out and began to

¹ They were, rather, sent up the river. Later they were mustered out at Sioux City.

² Fall of 1864 and spring of 1865.


³ At Sioux Point, where Frost, Todd & Co. had one of their stores.

quarrel and fight and had an awful time. I wouldn't go through that experience again for all Dakota. Finally, when the votes were counted, it was found that less than 1,000 had been cast, but of these Todd had received a majority, and so was elected.¹ Todd had hardly gone down to Washington before he came back appointed by President Lincoln a Brigadier General and went into northeastern Missouri to fight the guerillas.

During my first four years in Sioux City, i. e., from 1856 to 1860, I was engaged in the real estate business. I also did considerable surveying. During most of this time I was closely associated with George W. Ryall, who had been a friend in Ohio. Our office was situated on Pearl street, across from the Sioux City House.

In August, 1860, I consolidated my business with that of Means, Allison & Co. The firm name was Allison & Charles. Our office was located on the lot where the public library building now stands. I remained in this firm but one month, selling out on September 6th to George Weare, who is still in the banking business in Sioux City, the oldest banker here and a good one.

I at once entered the general merchandise business of Milton Tootle as a clerk. I received \$65 per month. The store was on the corner of Second and Pearl streets, and faced the river. Tootle lived in St. Joe, so I was virtually manager of the store. In 1864 Mr. Tootle recognized this and I became a partner with him in the business, the firm name becoming Tootle &



Five years later [1880] I helped organize and became interested in the Benton Transportation Company. I became secretary and manager, holding those positions till July 1st, 1900, when the company ceased to exist.

Our business was entirely that of steamboating. From a large business at first, requiring as many as eight steamboats to handle it, we came at last to have almost none, owing to the building of railroads into the west. At the dissolution of the Benton Transportation Company I retired to private life.

The steamboat business was fascinating and romantic. The Missouri river is very treacherous, the channel always shifting. To be a pilot required great skill and courage. The pilot was extremely well paid. But the river was not the only danger. Some of the Indians of the upper river were extremely hostile. It required great courage on the part of the captain, too.

When the steamboats first began to come up the river they were a great curiosity to the Indians and were warmly welcomed, indeed, by the whites. The approach of a steamboat was generally known long enough in advance for a good sized crowd to greet it at the levee when it came to land.

The first steamboat to come as far up the river as Sioux City was the Yellowstone, in 1831. In 1863 two new factors entered in, which increased the number of boats on the river very much. Fully sixteen or eighteen boats were doing business on the upper river, between here and Ft. Benton, in 1863. One reason for the increase was the discovery of gold in Montana, which called for a large amount of manufactured articles as well as for provisions. All freight destined for the mines was taken up the river to Ft. Benton and then hauled by teams to the camps. The second cause was Indian troubles. After the New Ulm disaster in 1863 the United States Government tried to punish the Indians. General Sully was sent up the river in 1863 and still more troops followed in 1864.

The business increased in 1864 and 1865 and then fell away again, until 1868, when it reached high water mark. In the spring of 1864 the first boat up took from our house express packages valued at \$6,000. The transportation charges on the goods were often equal to their value. Everything,

from the needles needed for sewing their buckskin to steam engines used for crushing quartz, had to go up the river by boat and had to come by way of Sioux City.

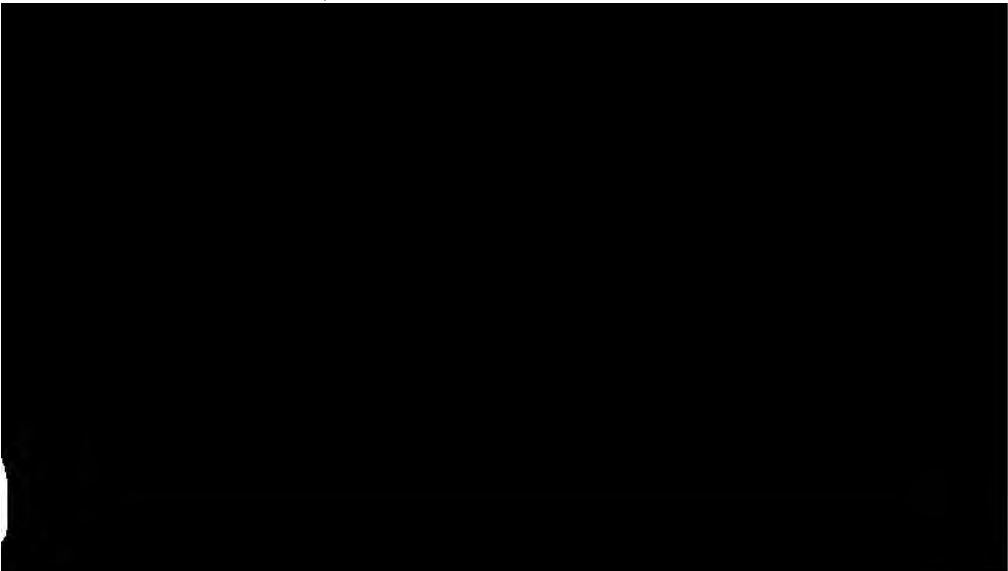
The orders which we used to get were something to be wondered at. Upon one occasion one customer ordered a marriage license and another a tombstone. All sent to me, supposing I could get them whatever they wanted.

The trade was so good that the public soon got its eye upon it. Competition set in, and became very keen. The Union Pacific hurried up construction on its western division so that traffic would go to Salt Lake by rail and thence to Montana by wagons.

I recollect the first gold brought back from Montana in 1862. The party owning it came down the Missouri in boats, which they abandoned here, and proceeded the rest of their way east by stage. I met one man in the party whom I knew. He was an old blacksmith from Mansfield, Ohio. Mr. Thompson, for that was his name, sat and told me stories of the far west for two or three hours. From Sioux City he went by stage to Dubuque and thence to St. Paul.

After the railroads reached Sioux City in 1868 steamboating revived here and became better than ever. A regular line of boats made this their headquarters. Cargoes coming here by the railroad were then reshipped and made the rest of the journey to Montana by boat.

Finally the Utah Northern was completed into Montana. Then, in 1870, the Northern Pacific was built and we were cut



cago. While in town Agassiz spent most of his time in the office of Dr. A. Lawrence, the owner of a line of steamboats. It was there that I met this great naturalist and had several talks with him. He was neither tall nor robust, though he enjoyed good health and was a very hard worker. In his dress I found him a little careless. He was smooth shaven while here and wore glasses when reading. Completely absorbed in his own thoughts, he was a poor conversationalist. Indeed, he was rather impatient with callers, or at least that was what several of us thought who honored him by dropping in to see him. Perhaps if our acquaintance had been longer I could not have said that.

Professor [E. D.] Cope, of the University of Pennsylvania, also stopped off in Sioux City on two of his Missouri river trips. With him I became quite well acquainted. Some time before his first visit a boat pilot had found, way up the Missouri river, some of the bones of a plesiosaurian. He brought them down to Sioux City and I gave him \$25 for them. When Professor Cope was here I gave the bones to him. Later he printed a description of the bones in a paper published by the University and in it he gave me a complimentary notice.¹

Professor Cope was intense, very much wrapped up in his subject [zoology]. He could hardly talk anything else. During his second visit here a trip up the Big Sioux was arranged

¹ The paper in question was entitled, *On the Structure of the Skull in the Plesiosaurian Reptilia, and on Two New Species from the Upper Cretaceous*, by E. D. Cope. It was read before the American Philosophical Society on February 2, 1894, printed in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 33, and reprinted in pamphlet form on March 6, 1894. The paper is a description of two specimens. One of these, termed "*Embaphias circulosus*," is declared to be both a new genus and a new species. After the description and measurements occurs this paragraph: "This is a species of large size, though not equal in dimensions to the known species of *Elasmosaurus*. It was found in the upper cretaceous bed of the Pierre epoch, at the big bend of the Missouri river in South Dakota. It was presented to the Academy of Natural Science by Mr. John H. Charles, of Sioux City, together with the remains of *Elasmosaurus* below mentioned. I wish to express my sense of the obligation under which Mr. Charles has placed the academy and myself by his liberality in this and other matters."


The second specimen, termed "*Elasmosaurus intermedius*," is declared to be a new species. Following the description and measurements occur the words: "This specimen was found with that of the *Embaphias circulosus* at the Big Bend of the Missouri in South Dakota, and was presented to the museum of the Academy of Natural Science by Mr. John H. Charles, of Sioux City, Iowa."

by D. W. Jenkins, Perrin Johnson, George W. Felt, Professor Cope and myself. On the morning of the proposed trip Cope came to my house after me before I was up. He seemed much interested in all we had to show him.

Professor Cope was a German looking sort of a man, with black beard and eyes. His appearance was neat. He was of wiry build, a good conversationalist, a travel-polished student and gentleman.

When the old Scientific Association, the parent of the present Academy of Science and Letters, was in its second year, having some money in the treasury, we decided to secure some noted man for a course of lectures. At the suggestion of D. H. Talbot, one of our charter members, correspondence was begun with Alfred Russell Wallace, the great English scientist, who was then in this country. The result of the correspondence was that Mr. Wallace, after finishing an engagement in New York State, came out to Sioux City and gave us a course of four or five lectures upon the subject of evolution.¹ We threw the lectures open to the public, and they were well received.

Several of us became quite well acquainted with Mr. Wallace during his stay of a week in Sioux City. We found him a typical English gentleman in every particular. He was a much traveled man of wide acquaintance. He understood himself and had confidence in himself. Though nothing of a society man he was easily approached by friends. Only those who felt antagonized by his views had any reason to feel his



hard for him to get away from the subject of evolution, I do not remember that he spoke a single time while here concerning his own great part in the working out of the evolutionary hypothesis.

In the fall of 1859 Samuel J. Kirkwood, republican candidate for governor, and A. C. Dodge, democratic candidate for the same office, held a joint debate in Sioux City. I met and became acquainted with both gentlemen. Abe White and I went down below Sergeant's Bluff and met Kirkwood, who drove in, and brought him back to Sioux City. Dodge came in a little later on the stage from Council Bluffs.

Kirkwood was a farmer, and looked it. He wore coarse shoes, no stockings and flannel shirt. But though he was simple and plain he was also honest and straightforward, and so impressed people. He took well here. Though he didn't carry the town, because of the big democratic majority here in those days, he succeeded in reducing that majority considerably. He was elected governor.

Dodge was the son of a United States senator from Wisconsin. He, himself, was one of Iowa's first two senators. He became a United States senator when Iowa became a state, in 1846.¹ He was re-elected once. Then he was succeeded by James Harlan, a republican. He was nominated by his party for governor in 1859. It was thought that his services to Iowa in Washington, D. C., both before and after the State was admitted, would elect him governor, but they didn't. He was just the opposite kind of a man from Kirkwood. He was very dressy, with his patent leather boots, white shirt and starched collars. In fact, he was quite a gentleman and aristocrat. He was a good man, however, and smart. In speaking he was earnest, but a little rhetorical. He was made much of here by his party, and probably lost votes here only because opinion in Iowa was turning strongly to the republicans.

George W. Jones, of Dubuque, was Dodge's colleague in the United States Senate. I knew him better than I did Dodge. Jones was interested in the establishment of Sioux City. He

¹This is not strictly true. Dodge was one of Iowa's first two senators but was not chosen until 1848. A deadlock in the legislature in 1846 left the State without representation in the upper house of Congress until 1848.

ANNALS OF IOWA

owned one-eighth of the town, and was the most important factor in getting governmental legislation favorable to the place. He did many things of advantage to the town; in fact, he was a sort of patron saint to Sioux City.

Jones used to come here very often. I remember that in the spring of 1857, while he was yet a United States senator, he went up the Missouri river as far as Ft. Randall. On his return he left the boat here, and went home to Dubuque, across the State.

Senator Jones was a good-looking man, small in size, but well built. He must have been about fifty years of age in 1857. To me he looked like an Englishman. He did not impress me as a very remarkable man, and yet he must have been, though Dodge was the brainier of the two men, I think. Jones was more democratic or common in his dress and appearance. He was not much of an actor, was easy to get acquainted with and had a strong hold upon the people. Dr. S. P. Yeomans was his best friend in Sioux City. Yeomans was in the legislature at the time of Jones' last election to the United States Senate and cast the decisive vote for him for that office. Jones made Yeomans first register of the United States land office in Sioux City.

One of the most interesting characters I ever knew in this northwest country in the early days was Charles Larpenteur, a French Indian trader. I say a Frenchman, but since he spoke German as fluently as he did French it is my judgment that his ancestry was Swiss-French. Larpenteur came from the region of the St. Lawrence river to the Upper Mississippi, where he traded for a time. Then he changed over to the Missouri river. At first he worked for the company of Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, but later for himself. While in the employ of Chouteau he was stationed as agent at various places up the river, among them Ft. Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone. I knew Larpenteur well. He purchased goods of me for his trade with the Indians for several years.

He was a delicately built man, though his life was one of much hardship. I believe he was thoroughly honest and upright. If he was more conscientious, he also had more refinement than the majority of the French Indian traders. His

wife was an American woman. At the trading business he was very successful, so I think he did not lose because of his honesty.

In 1848, or thereabouts, Larpenteur settled at a ford on the Little Sioux, in Harrison County, Iowa. This particular ford was on the route from Sioux City to Council Bluffs. A little town grew up around him, which he called Fontainebleau. There he lived till 1873, farming in the summer and trading up the river with the Indians in the winter season.

Larpenteur was alive to the romance of his career. He kept an interesting journal, which has since been edited by Coues and published by Harper. It is very interesting to me.

Two of the most prominent men ever connected with the fur trade of the Northwest and with the business of steamboating on the Missouri were Pierre Chouteau, Sr. and Jr. They were Frenchmen, descended from the men who first settled and laid out St. Louis. The father first traded upon the Upper Mississippi, but later transferred to the Missouri. He built the first steamboat on the river, and ran it up to the mouth of the Yellowstone in 1831, astonishing the natives and everyone else who saw it.

When I came to Sioux City they were the principal men doing business on the Upper Missouri. Of course, they always had competition, but it never amounted to much. I did business personally with Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and so was acquainted with him, but not with his father.

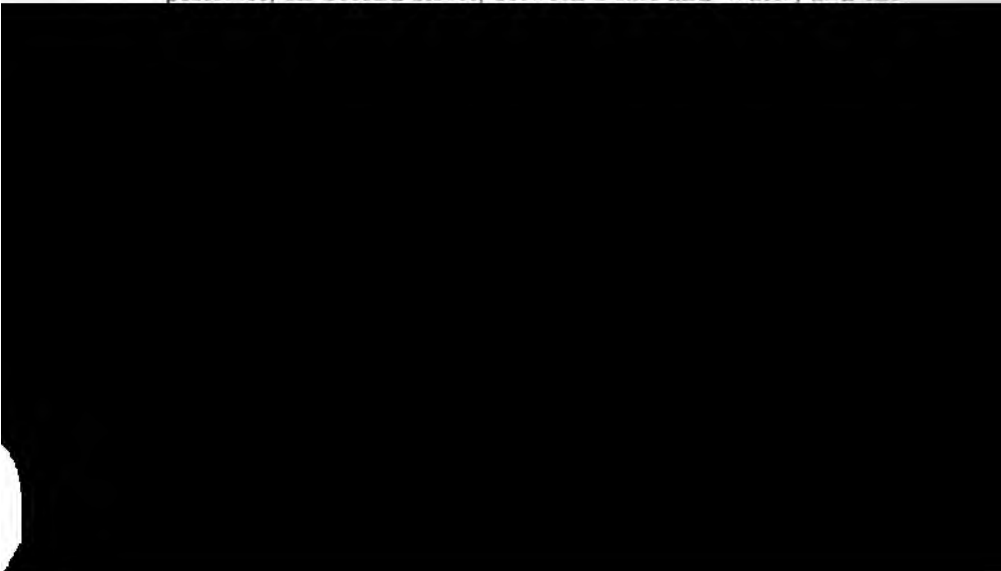
I was better acquainted with some of the steamboat captains and pilots than I was with the principals whom they served. Two of the greatest pilots that ever guided a boat up the Missouri river were Joseph and John LaBarge, two French brothers, who lived in St. Louis. After serving the American Fur Company for years they at length purchased boats of their own and operated them independently. For years they stopped at Sioux City both fall and spring. Our house acted as their agents here. John LaBarge, the younger of the two, died in the service of the Benton Transportation Company. Joseph, the elder, continued steamboating till the early nineties, when the business languished and finally died. His career was as long as that of the business he followed. In his *History*

of Steamboating on the Missouri River Colonel Chittenden weaves his story around the life of Joseph LaBarge, and makes a hero of him. While Joseph was older and was the head and front of the LaBarge interests, still John was a steamboat pilot and captain whom everyone looked up to. In my opinion he was as good a pilot as any the river ever had. He was a man of undoubted veracity and good character, too.

Joseph was a large, portly man. He used glasses and always wore a beard. He was a man of few words, much more dignified and reserved than John, who for this very reason was the more popular.

Among the first men I met after I came to Sioux City was Dr. John K. Cook. He was a man of splendid physique, an Englishman by birth, educated as a physician. He came here in the early days as a Deputy United States Surveyor. It was said that he came to this country for the purpose of joining the Mormons, but of this I have never seen any definite proof. He was a man of good habits, considering that everyone on the frontier drank whisky and chewed and smoked tobacco; all of which he did, but with moderation.

Cook was the first postmaster of Sioux City, and it was said that he had his office in his hat and handed out letters to the citizens whenever he happened to meet them on the streets. I can't vouch for the truth of this statement, for when I came here Mr. [S. T.] Davis was assistant postmaster, and whenever the mail came in he blew a horn and we all went at once to the postoffice, on Second street, between Pearl and Water, and the



on the river here for several years prior to the founding of Sioux City. From Canada he went to St. Louis, where he entered into the service of Pierre Chouteau [Sr.] and became a fur trader, his field of operations being the Upper Missouri. He became very intimate with the Indians, in fact he practically lived as an Indian until the whites came to this locality in large enough numbers to plant a colony.

Long before the Indians left this vicinity Bruguier settled at the mouth of the Big Sioux. This was about 1849. He had married a daughter of War Eagle, chief of the Yankton Sioux, and when she died he married a second daughter. War Eagle lived with him till he (War Eagle) died, whereupon he was buried upon the bluff along the Big Sioux, this side of Bruguier's place. Bruguier had lots of children, half-breeds of course, but they turned out to be the worst kind of Indians. Sometime after the whites came Bruguier went to St. Louis and married a French woman. He brought her up here and lived with her till he died. She made him a good wife.

Bruguier was a large man, with black hair and beard. He was careless in his dress. His education had been neglected. He was a good-hearted man, but his ideas of right and wrong were peculiar. They were not as well defined as they should have been, but it cannot be said that the frontier was the best place in the world to develop morals. Those pioneers, many of them still living, but rapidly falling off, who came through it all morally sound, were true men, indeed.

Bruguier was a sociable man, rather talkative. I think he was a little inclined to paint his stories to suit the occasion at hand. He especially liked to tell what "I done to the Injuns."

One of the most influential men in Sioux City when I came was J. B. S. Todd, early settler, trader, land speculator, politician and soldier. He was elected first mayor of Sioux City, but did not serve. Later he moved across the Big Sioux, his object being to get land in Dakota and become rich by holding it. He had seen land values rise in Iowa and expected the same to occur in Dakota. They sent him to Congress as the first delegate from Dakota Territory, after its organization in 1861. He didn't stay long, but soon came back, appointed a Brigadier General by President Lincoln. Todd was a demo-

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erat in politics, but supported President Lincoln, who was a relative of his by marriage.

Todd was in partnership with a man of means who lived in St. Louis. The firm name was Frost, Todd & Co. They had stores at Sioux Point, across the Big Sioux, at Vermillion, at Yankton Agency and Fort Randall.

Todd was a tall man, but slender. His health was not good. He had been sickly from birth. He wore while here a full beard, reddish in color, like his hair. Educated at West Point he was a very capable man. He always passed as a gentleman, was sociable and very popular. His one fault was a common one here at that time, he couldn't let whisky alone.

OLD LETTERS.

EDITED BY WILLIAM SALTER.

I.

GEORGE DAVENPORT TO GEORGE W. JONES.

George Davenport was born in England. Came to the United States in 1804; served in the United States army, 1805-15; came to Rock Island, 1816, where he built a trading-house and was an Indian trader for the American Fur Company. In 1835 George W. Jones was delegate to Congress from Michigan Territory, to which what is now Iowa was attached by act of Congress, June 28, 1834. In 1836-'8, he was delegate to Congress from Wisconsin Territory, which then extended from Lake Michigan to the Missouri river.¹

The following is a literal transcript of the letters:

Rock Island, Illinois
Dec. 20, 1835

To the Honble
Geo. W. Jones
House of Representatives
Washington City

Dear Sir:

KeOkuk the principle chief of the Sac & Foxes has had a letter mail to Govoner Reynolds requesting him to lay it before the presi-

¹*Annals*, First Series, I, 99; Third Series, III, 392. The "Flint Hill Settlement" was what is now Burlington.

dent wishing to sell his reserve on the Ioway River. You cannot confer a greater favour on the settlers of your territory, than by advocating its purchase, it will be nessary for Congress to make an aproperation for the purchase.

KeOkuk and the chiefs wish verrey much to visite Washington City and make sale of the reserve to commissioners appointed at that place. They wish to visite the United States at their own expence paying it out of the money they are to receive for their lands, rather than not be permitted to come on. You will oblige me if you will forward the wish of the Indians, it will be the greatest benefit you can confer on your frendes in the Territory and particularly flint hill Settlement, as the country is valuable and verrey much wanted by the Settlers.

Will you please to confer with Gov. Reynold on the subject, who is verrey friendly to the Indians and a well wisher to the prosperity of our western territory—

I am Respect'ly your friend

GEO. DAVENPORT.

Washington City
Feb. 6, 1837.

Honbl Geo. W. Jones
Sir.

I understand that two Indians is hear Belongin to a small band of Indians of the Sac Tribe that left the nation some years since and now reside on the Missouri

I am informed that thay want the government to assign part of the annuertys Belongin to the nation to them.

The Chiefs of the Sac & Fox nation have been making application for the last five years for premission from the government to com on to Washington City to Settle the question respecting their treateys and Boundrey lines, but government has from time to time refused them premission, and the agent and Others advised them not to go to Washington without premission. that the goverment would not councl or receve them if they did.—

This being the impression on the minds of the Sac & Fox Chiefs they would think it unjust for the department to make aney alterations respecting their annuertys without their consent.

be pleased to impress uppon the department the propriety of Referring the complaint of those Indians to Govnor Doge Superintendant of Indian affairs, whear the depitation of the Sac of the Missouri could meet the chiefs of the Sac & Foxes and the settlement made in this maner would be satisfactory to the nation, but I hope the department will do nothing to affect the rights of the Sac

& Fox nation without giving the chiefs an opportunity to be heard, not one of the band that on the Missouri was a party in making the treaty for which those annuities is paid to the nation.

Respectfully your Ob. Ser.

GEO. DAVENPORT.

II.

HENRY DODGE TO JEREMIAH SMITH.

Jeremiah Smith was a member of the last legislature of Michigan Territory, which met at Green Bay, and of the first legislature of Wisconsin Territory, which held its first session at Belmont. It was upon his promise to erect at Burlington a suitable building for the next session of the Territorial legislature of Wisconsin, that the legislature voted to meet there. He put up the building in 1837 at his own expense, and the legislature met therein until it was destroyed by fire on a wintry night. Congress voted an appropriation to reimburse him for the loss, but another man of his name got off with the money. He had been an Indian trader, and was present at the treaty made by Governor Dodge with the Sacs and Foxes, Sept. 28, 1836, by which they sold to the United States their reserve on the Iowa river, and they agreed to pay out of their annuities in the course of ten years what they owed to various traders, including Jeremiah Smith. He had a farm immediately west of the original boundary of Burlington, over which the city has since been extended. Black Hawk was a visitor there the year before his death; the cabin in which he was entertained still stands in the rear of the home of Mrs. Amelia Hay, 2700 West Avenue, the eldest daughter of Jeremiah Smith, born in Burlington, April 18, 1835.

Superintendency of Indian Affairs
for the Territory of Wisconsin

Mineral Point, June 7, 1837.

Major Jeremiah Smith

Burlington, Des Moines Co., W. T.

Sir—

The Senate of the United States having confirmed and ratified the Treaty with the Sacs and Foxes of the 28th September, 1836, with an amendment to the Second article thereof providing for the payment of \$48,458 87-100 to enable said Indians to pay such debts as may

be ascertained by the Superintendent to be justly due from them to individuals, in lieu of the residue of said article following the word "dollars" in the third line, I have appointed from the 28th day of June inst to the tenth day of July next at Mineral Point for the examination and adjustment of all debts due from them to individuals, when and where you will please to attend in person or by proxy with your account properly authenticated for settlement.

Very respectfully

Your obt. servt

HENRY DODGE

Supt. In Affs

III.

WILLIAM B. SLAUGHTER¹ TO JEREMIAH SMITH AND GEORGE W. JONES.

Mineral Point, Feb. 20th 1838

Major Jeremiah Smith

Burlington, Wisconsin Ty.

Enclosed is the letter I informed you I would write to Col. Jones in reference to your loss by the fire. I have no doubt that Col. Jones will do everything in his power to aid you, and he can do a great deal at Washington. I do not believe we could send a man there who would accomplish more than he.

Yr friend

W. B. SLAUGHTER.

Mineral Point, Feb. 20th 1838

Hon. George W. Jones, H. of Rep. Washington City

I intended long since to have written to you on the subject of Major Jeremiah Smith's loss by the burning of the temporary Capitol constructed by him for the accommodation of the Legislature of Wisconsin. It is almost unnecessary to say to you anything in reference to the building itself, for you have seen it and know that it was calculated for the purpose, and that such a building could not have cost at the time it was built much less than eight or nine thousand dollars. The country is new and the materials for building scarce. Labor is high in all the country and provisions also of every description.

A good deal is due to Major Smith on account of his energy and enterprise in undertaking a building of that kind on his own individual resources, and still more for his patriotism in thus providing

¹ Mr. Slaughter was the second Secretary of Wisconsin Territory (*Annals*, III, 334-5).

for the convenience & comfort of the Representatives of the people. We can only appreciate such motives and conduct when we contrast them with the miserly selfishness of the great mass who seek their own advantage to the exclusion of the interests of all others. I hope you will exert yourself to procure a sufficient sum to reward him amply for his loss and for all his exertions and patriotism. As ever your sincere friend

W. B. SLAUGHTER

IV.

JOHN CHAMBERS, GOVERNOR OF IOWA TERRITORY, TO JEREMIAH SMITH.

Burlington, Iowa, 16th Sept., 1844

Major J. Smith, Present

Sir—I deem it unnecessary that you should go to the District of Columbia as a Witness against Jeremiah Smith Sen'r, and will immediately write to Mr. Penrose, Solicitor of the Treasury, and inform him of having given you this statement.

Respectfully yours &c

JOHN CHAMBERS

V.

T. S. WILSON, J. WILLIAMS, CHARLES MASON TO JAMES K. POLK.

Iowa City, January 21, A. D. 1845

To His Excellency James K. Polk, President of the United States

The undersigned Judges of the Supreme Court of Iowa having understood that the friends of James Clarke, Esq. of Burlington, would present his name to your Excellency for the appointment of the office of Marshal for Iowa, take with great pleasure this opportunity of bearing testimony to his talents, high standing and great moral worth, and of expressing the great gratification which his appointment would afford us. There is no man in the Territory better qualified or more worthy, and from a long and intimate personal acquaintance with him we can say that his business habits are of the highest order, and that the duties of the office would be well attended to by him. Thus far we have spoken of him as a citizen and friend. So far as political considerations are concerned, Mr. C.'s claims are of the highest character. He has been the Editor of the best and most influential paper in the Territory,—a paper which has done much towards the promulgation of Democratic principles and to bringing about the triumphs of the Democracy in the Territory. Mr. C. was appointed by Mr. Van Buren to the office of

Secretary of the Territory, the duties of which were discharged by him with great satisfaction to the people of the Territory, but he was removed by Gen. Harrison when the Whigs here acknowledged that he was the most faithful officer that had ever performed the duties of that office. Believing him to have been badly treated in this matter—knowing that there could have been no ground for such removal except his ardent attachment to democratic principles, and that such is the feeling of the party towards him, we would like to see justice done to him.

With sentiments of the highest esteem we are Yours respectfully

A letter similar to the above was sent to President Polk from Dubuque, signed by Charles Corkery, George Greene, Warner Lewis, John King, David S. Wilson, J. M. Emerson, C. H. Booth, and others.

VI.

JAMES CLARKE TO A. C. DODGE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Burlington, Nov. 16, 1845

* * * Chambers has left for Kentucky, and the Sec'y is now discharging the Executive duties. If I am to receive the appointment it would have pleased me to have been commissioned in time to meet the Legislature, so as to have had the advantage of a message; but I despair now of such a result. My only course therefore is to call all my philosophy into requisition and patiently take things as they come.

This is one of the first letters I have written since my return from Wisconsin. For four weeks I was confined to my bed with ague and a salivated mouth, during which time I was a most miserable being. A week ago I ventured out for the first time, and have since been slowly but gradually improving. I feel that it will require the greatest care and prudence during the whole of the winter to prevent a relapse, and am resolved to be as prudent as possible in avoiding all danger.¹

¹Two days after the date of the above letter, Mr. Clarke received his commission as Governor, and he sent his message to the legislature, December 3rd.

VII.

GOVERNOR CLARKE TO JUDGE T. S. WILSON.

Burlington—Feb. 22, 1846.

Hon. T. S. Wilson

Dubuque

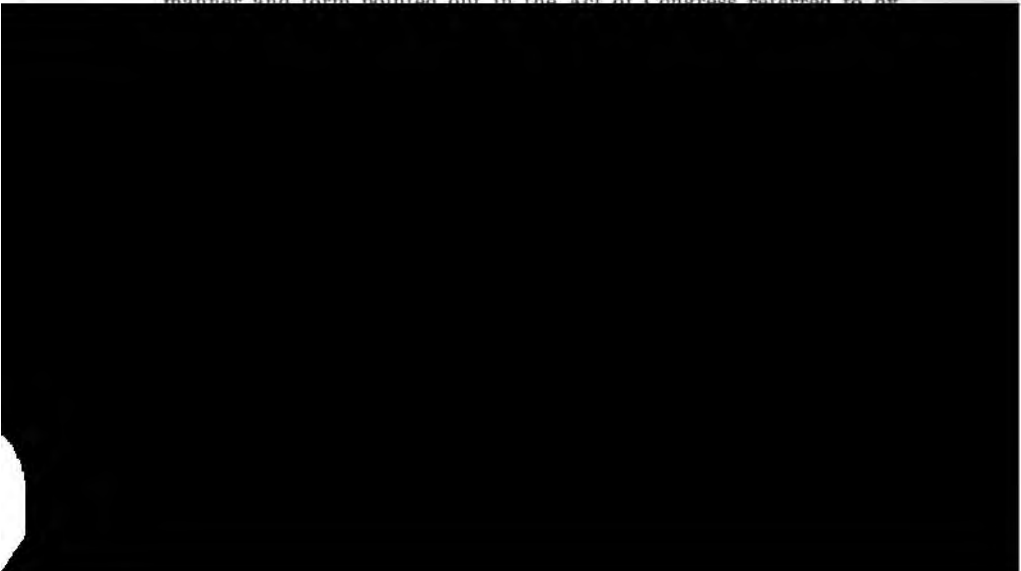
My Dear Sir:

A letter written by L. A. Thomas, Esq. of your place and dated Jan. 27th in relation to the trial of the Indians confined in the Dubuque jail on a charge of murder did not reach me till last night. By some mistake it was forwarded to Libertyville, Ill., and thence to this place. I regret the blunder which prevented the letter from coming into my possession for so long a period after it was written, inasmuch as its contents were of a character requiring an immediate reply.

Mr. T. expresses the conviction that the offence with which these Indians are charged is cognizable under the laws of the U. S. and under these laws only; and refers to the act of Con. of 30th June, 1802, to sustain his position.

My impression is (and I think an examination of the subject will lead you to the same conclusion) that the provisions of this act are intended to apply to offences committed within the Indian country and elsewhere where the laws of the States and Terry's do not extend; and in this opinion I am borne out by Judge Mason with whom I have conversed on the subject. The murder of Hertze was committed in Clayton county, and is, I have no doubt, cognizable under the laws of the Territory. The case is a parallel one with that of the Leagarden murderers, who were tried and sentenced in your district.

I know of no instance in which crimes committed within the organized limits of a State or Territory have been prosecuted in the manner and form pointed out in the Act of Congress referred to by



amination and reflection, I become convinced that my conclusions were erroneous.

I write you at the request of Mr. Thomas. Estimating very highly his legal talents and acquirements, I differ with him not without distrust of the correctness of my views. He may, however, have given the subject but a cursory examination. Your opinion on the point involved I should like to have in writing, at an early day. If the case is not cognizable under the laws of Iowa, then have all the trials of Indians which have heretofore taken place been irregular and illegal.

Have you determined to hold a special court in Clayton Co. for the trial of these Indians? It is very desirable that a speedy trial should be had, both on account of the Indians (to whom confinement is worse than death) and of the expense which their protracted imprisonment must entail on Dubuque and Clayton Co's.

Either show, or detail the contents of this letter, to Mr. Thomas, at your pleasure. I am anxious that he be apprised of the delay in the rec't of his letter, so as to stand exonerated from the *seeming* lack of promptness in giving it the necessary attention.

Respectfully and truly, yours

JAMES CLARKE.

VIII.

JAMES CLARKE TO A. C. DODGE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Burlington, Feb. 14, 1849

*** There is little or nothing doing at the Land Offices at present, and the country is full of warrants [bounties of land to soldiers in the Mexican war]. They are selling very low and but little can be made on them. I sold two the other day for \$110 each. Others here are selling them at this price rather than lose a sale, and I concluded it best to meet them in the market. There is another risk which should not be overlooked—we are compelled to receive in payment notes of very many banks, and it is unsafe to keep these notes on hand a moment longer than is necessary.

Have you ever talked to Gen. Cameron on the subject of a Land Warrant speculation? Jesse Williams says that fifty warrants might be *loaned* at their face, with 10 per cent interest for one or two years, and he would like to be interested in such a speculation.

The California feeling runs very high, and will take off a large number of people from Iowa in the spring. In this county the prospect is that not less than 100 will leave. Had I not gone into business just at the time I did, I would have been on my way to the land of gold weeks ago.

We very much regret to hear of the impaired health of your father. Christy feels quite sad; but we both hope to hear of his speedy recovery.

The weather is very cold, and there is no prospect of a break-up.

Try and persuade your father and Gen. Jones to stop with us a day or two on their way home. Give to both of them our highest regards.

IX.

MRS. CHRISTIANA DODGE (HENRY) TO MRS. CHRISTIANA CLARKE¹
(JAMES).

Washington, February 19th, 1850

* * * Your father's health is improving; a bad cold gave him a backset, but he is getting better of that and gains. This climate is very changeable; bad colds prevail very much. Give my love to Mr. Clarke and the children and kiss them all for me. Your father joins me in love to you all. God in his mercy bless you, my dear daughter, is the constant prayer of


Your affectionate Mother.

X.

JULIUS F. TALLANT TO A. C. DODGE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Burlington, August 7, 1850

It was almost the last request of our departed friend, Gov. Clarke, that I should write you, and give a full account of the mournful occurrences of the last month. Extreme mental excitement consequent upon overexertion, day and night, among those



good man from Washington to take charge of it, strong-minded enough to steer clear of cliques, and clear-headed and intelligent? I have been doing all that has been done for the paper since Mr. Clarke's death, except one article, but I can never do it justice, following as I do a business which requires my undivided attention, and a laborious county office on top of it, to say nothing of the exertions all of our citizens have been compelled to make among the sick and dying, in the most sultry and oppressive weather ever felt, for the last month.

When Mr. Clarke was taken ill, he engaged Judge Webber to take charge of the paper, but when the epidemic appeared, the Judge left town and has not returned yet. We will try to get along somehow till Mr. Coolbaugh comes back, and do what we can for the paper.

The Democratic ticket has been again dragged through, despite the bolting of the grocery keepers, and the Catholics, both Irish and German. We may now consider our county as permanently Democratic. We lost heavily by the California emigration, and felt very apprehensive that the Whigs would have a majority.

We are happy to say that the epidemic has left us entirely now. It *has* left, but in its track is many a desolate household, many a mourning widow and weeping orphans. Heaven it is to be hoped, will find friends for those in need, and there are many such. As a body our citizens have behaved admirably, many devoting themselves entirely to the sick, regardless of fear of infection. Their nobility of mind has not been unrewarded; not a man of those who thus offered themselves as voluntary victims of its wrath, has suffered. Our friend Carpenter (Anthony W.) has been truly a ministering angel in this dread hour. A Township trustee, and as such called on by all whom poverty had rendered incapable of assisting themselves, day after day he devoted himself to alleviating their sufferings and ministering to their wants.

XI.

ROBERT E. LEE, BREVET COLONEL TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS, TO
A. C. DODGE.

Honble A. C. Dodge
Senator of Iowa
Washington City D. C.

Fort Carroll
15 Dec. 1851.

Dear Sir:

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 12th Inst. in reference to the practicability of improving the navigation of the Mississippi river at the Des Moines and Rock River Rapids. You are aware that the Act of Congress under which I operated in the

ANNALS OF IOWA

years 1837 and 1838, confined the application of the App'n to the bed of the river. I therefore in my examinations did not look beyond it. At the Des Moines Rapids but two plans seemed worth considering. One was to build a continuous wall in the bed of the river, from the foot to the head of the Rapids, along the Iowa shore and at a sufficient distance to form with it, an ample canal for the passage of Steamboats, with a lock at each extremity.

The other, to improve the natural channel of the river, by opening a passage through the reefs that separated one basin from the other, and thus form a continuous channel through their whole extent.

The first if completed would be certain in its results, and afford a sure communication at low water through the Rapids. But of no advantage in an incomplete state; would cost much time and money, and had it been adopted, would to the present time, as experience now shows, been of no advantage.

The second I considered equally practicable; affording more speedy relief to the Commerce of the Country, which was labouring under the greatest disadvantages; and by operating at the worst passes first, would produce with the means then available, a general benefit which would be felt at mean stages of water, as well as at the lowest.

This plan was accordingly recommended.

Similar considerations influenced me in reference to the improvement of the Rock River Rapids.

I did not then think, nor had I any reason to apprehend afterwards, that the water above the Rapids would be sensibly diminished, if care was taken in opening the main channel, to stop up with the stone excavated the minor ones.

The effect would be to unite in one channel the water that flows through many, and which the two seasons that I was on the Rapids, even at the low stages of the river appeared ample for the purposes of navigation.

You can judge better than I can which system of improvement is better adapted to the present state of the country. Whether its Commerce and development can wait for the perfection of one, or would be more advanced by the progressive improvement of the other.

Believing it to be a question of great moment not only to the great country of the Upper Mississippi, but to the country at large, I have taken the liberty to give you the reasons that governed me in the matter; that in resuming the subject, you might examine it in its different bearings, and adopt that plan best calculated to promote its success.

With my earnest wishes that such may be the result of your efforts I remain very resptYour Obt. Servt.

R. E. LEE,
Bt. Col. Eng'rs.

XII.

ENOS LOWE TO GEORGE W. JONES, U. S. SENATE.

Enos Lowe, M. D., was born in Guilford, N. C., May 5, 1804; came to Indiana, where he was elected to the State legislature; removed to Burlington, Iowa, 1837, and was second postmaster of the town, then in Wisconsin Territory. He was a member of the First Constitutional Convention of Iowa, 1844, and of the Second, and its President, 1846. He was Receiver of the Land Office at Iowa City and Council Bluffs, and afterwards one of the founders of Omaha, Nebraska, where he died, Feb. 12, 1880. T. S. Parvin paid a just tribute to his life and character in *Iowa Historical Record*, VIII, 289-296.

Burlington, January 9th, 1853.

Esteemed Friend—

Carrying the mails on Sunday years ago troubled the consciences of some persons, and they petitioned Congress to pass a law to stop them on that day. These petitions were referred to a Committee, of which Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was Chairman, who made a report adverse to the prayer of the petitioners. This report was unanswerable, and so satisfactory that the question has not been disturbed since. And so esteemed was this production by many acquaintances of mine, of undoubted piety, as to be considered worthy a place beside the Declaration of Independence in an ornamental frame. In short, I understand it to be the settled policy of the Government that the transmission of mail matter is not to be retarded on any day—that the transmission of intelligence to the people is to be facilitated, not delayed, and that the regulations of the post office should be in accordance with this design.

Notwithstanding we receive the Eastern mail at about 8 o'clock A. M., on Sundays, we are not permitted a sight at its contents until 4 o'clock P. M. under a petty rule of Fitz Henry Warren or somebody else, who delights in a display of his official power, thereby frustrating the object in a great degree of sending us the mail thus early.

When I was postmaster here under Amos Kendall, the rule governing the case of "mails arriving on Sunday" required the office to be kept open one hour after such mail was opened. This rule is in conformity with the rule and contract which brought us the mail on Sunday. But the present rule leaves us in almost as bad a condition as if the mail was detained in Illinois over Sunday. It matters not to us whether the mail is in this or some other office, if it is withheld from us. The P. Master should be required to open &

distribute the mail as soon as it arrives on Sundays as well as any other days, and to open the office as soon as it is done, and keep it open one hour.

Can this regulation be procured *now*?—if not, if there is virtue in a change of administration, may we not look for it soon after the 4th of March.

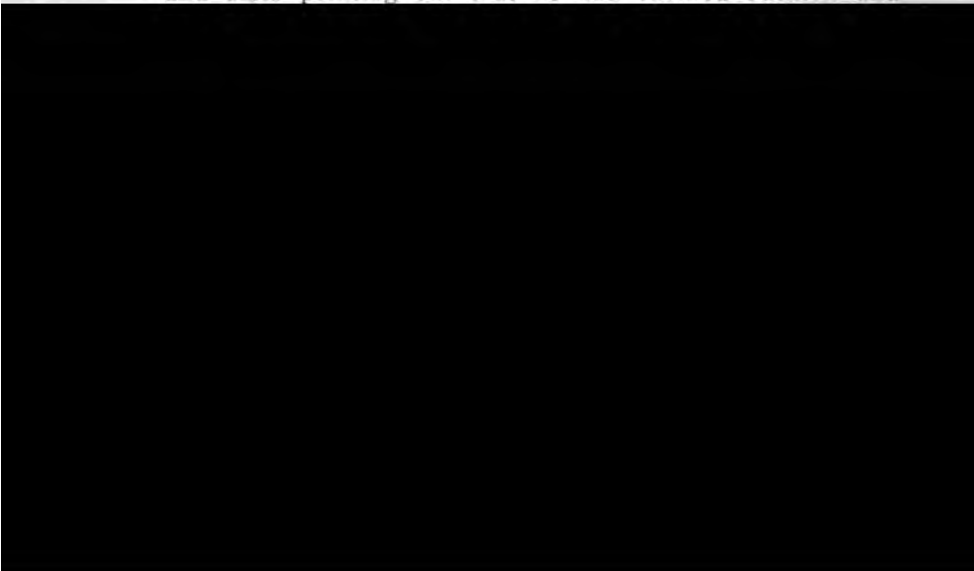
IOWA AND THE FIRST NOMINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By F. I. HERRIOTT,

Professor of Economics, Political and Social Science, Drake University.

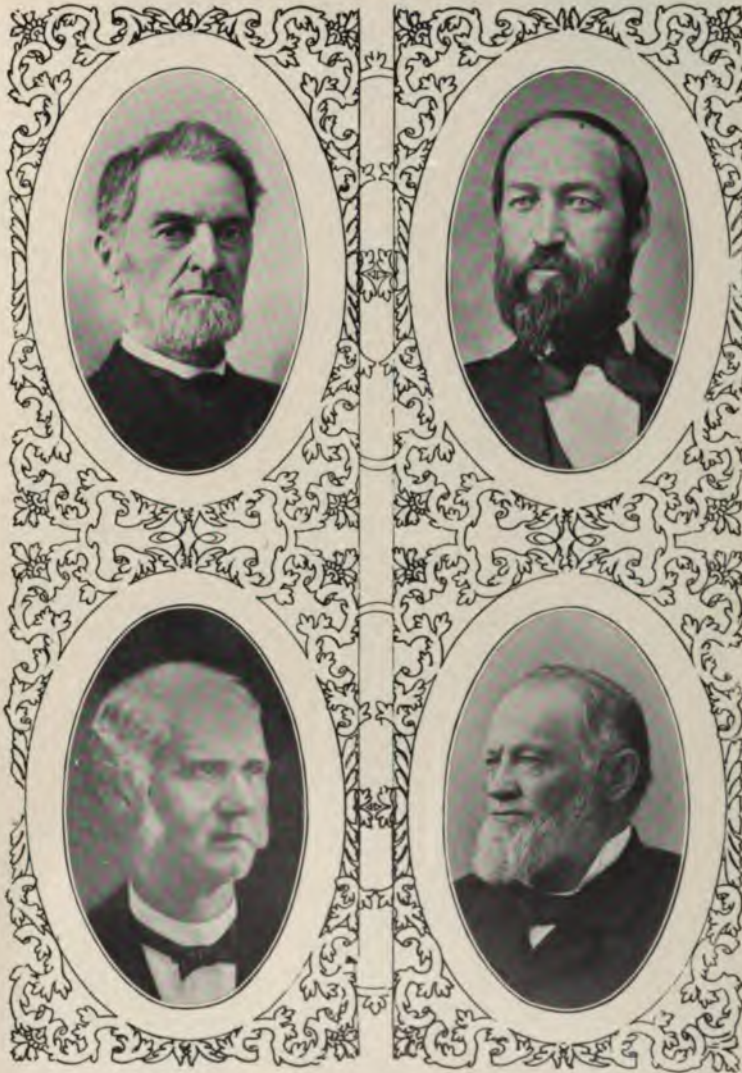
1. *First Expressions*—1856-1857.

Forecasting the Presidential fates is an inveterate habit of Americans, particularly of editors and politicians. The quadrennial election is no sooner over than some venture upon predictions or suggestions as to candidates for the ensuing Presidential contest. The practice was vigorous in the fifties. The returns showing Buchanan's triumph in 1856 had hardly been certified before the *N. Y. Herald* ran up Fremont's name as the best candidate for the Republicans in 1860. It asserted that the opponents of the Slavocrats could "only hope" for success "under the name of Fremont;"¹ that his nomination would signify the popular overthrow of the oligarchical rule of politicians "who care for no earthly thing but the spoils;"² and after pointing out that he had excelled Jackson and



SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES

Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860



REUBEN NOBLE
District Judge

WM. M. STONE
Governor of Iowa

WILLIAM SYMTH
U. S. Representative

JOSIAH B. GRINNELL
U. S. Representative

conflict of 1860 than that of any other man in America. Such we believe the sentiment of the Republican party everywhere." Just a week later Mr. C. C. Flint urged caution in the *Dubuque Daily Republican* under the suggestive caption "Let us Go to Work:"—"It is not wise to keep up the names of Presidential candidates for the next four years, with all the drill of a Presidential campaign. We say this without abating in the least the love and honor which we shall always bear to Colonel Fremont, and with the firm determination of supporting him for the Presidency in 1860. He is our man for that office and we know that we shall elect him then if he lives. But men die; times change, principles—the principles of Truth and Justice embodied in the Republican platform—they alone are permanent. What then, shall we do! Let us keep up our local organization." The writer was not certain whether he should let prudence or sentiment prevail. It was not strange perhaps for we are told that the Fremonters of St. Charles (now Charles City) felt their defeat so intensely that on November 27 they not only had their party pennants still flying but had the national ensign "dressed" in mourning and displayed at half-mast, and though defeated "seem to have lost none of their energy, none of their enthusiasm for their youthful leader."¹ Mr. Mahin, on the same day urged Republicans to direct their attention to the "organization:" "Such is the watchword everywhere." He then gives some sound advice that their recent defeat made very pertinent, namely, to conciliate the Fillmore vote by "as liberal policy towards the American party as fidelity to the fundamental principles of our creed will permit."

Specific discussion of candidates and issues for 1860 suffered a lull for several months. Discussion was stirred in the east when in June 1857 the Republicans of New Hampshire at their State Convention by resolution commended Fremont to the country for the Presidency in 1860. There were but few echoes in Iowa. Mr. Howell briefly noted the fact with the cautious observation: "It is too early yet to commit ourselves very decidedly. But if, when the proper time comes, the name of Fremont should prove most acceptable to the re-

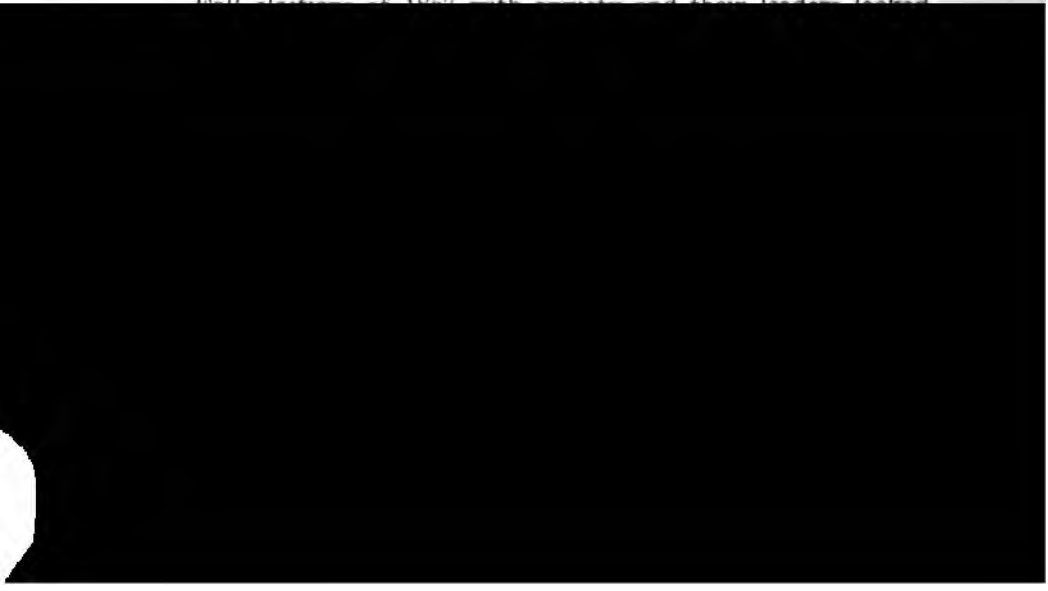
¹ *St. Charles Intelligencer*, Nov. 27, 1856.

publican masses, we shall do battle for him with a right good will."¹ The State campaign that year, however, elicited a noteworthy expression from Mr. A. W. Hackley, editor of the *Dubuque Daily Tribune* (September 11, 1857): the immediate considerations in the local canvass provoked it but he clearly had ultimate developments in mind. Discussing "The Real Issue" his initial sentences were:

"The real issue now before the people is Slavery, and this will continue to be the all controlling issue until either Freedom or Slavery triumph. Two such antagonistic principles cannot long exist and both be struggling for mastery; one or the other must yield."

Mr. Hackley here stated forcefully the same thought that Abraham Lincoln ten months later put into more luminous phrase in his speech at Springfield (June 16) when he was chosen to contest the Senatorship with Stephen A. Douglas; and that Wm. H. Seward later expressed in his celebrated speech at Rochester (October 25) which Von Holst tells us had the effect of a "mighty clap of thunder."² Complete originality cannot be claimed for Mr. Hackley as the *Richmond (Va.) Enquirer* had in 1856 (May 6) clearly pointed out the inherent antagonism between Free Labor and Slavery.

A point may here be noticed in passing as it indicates the nature and range of general public interest in Abraham Lincoln in Iowa three years before his nomination. The Republicans of Iowa had good reason to regard their prospects in the Fall election of 1857 with anxiety and their leaders looked



he asked Governor Grimes for data relative to the points in issue affecting the old and new constitutions. He was unable to fulfill his promise, but the fact that Governor Grimes, one of the keenest judges of political ability and popular speakers, should seek to secure the assistance of Lincoln in such a campaign indicates very clearly that the Illinois lawyer was then a man with an interstate reputation.¹

In commenting upon an address of N. P. Banks before the American Institute in New York Mr. A. B. F. Hildreth in an eulogistic editorial comes very near putting him forward as a candidate but he merely recognizes his strong qualities and suggests that his remarkable achievements theretofore would not make his achievement of Presidential honors at all surprising.²

So far as I can discover the first clear cut expression of specific preference and advocacy of a candidate was made in northern central Iowa. In the issue of *The Hamilton Freeman* of December 10, Mr. Charles Aldrich placed at the head of his editorial column:—"For President, 1860—JOHN C. FREMONT," and immediately below "For United States Senator—James W. Grimes." The names appeared with little comment and no exhortation. In an editorial note of a few lines he says simply:—they are "two statesmen whom we ardently desire to see chosen. . . . They are so thoroughly known and appreciated by the people of North Western Iowa, that we shall not today enter into any exposition of their merits—Believing them to be the men of all others whose eminent services are demanded by the exigencies of the times, we shall contribute our humble efforts to swell the tide of their success."

The conjunction of the two names was probably not without significance. Governor Grimes was then a national figure. As early as 1855 a Cleveland (O.) paper had suggested his nomination for Vice-President as a running mate for Salmon P. Chase.³ Notwithstanding the hue and cry in northern Iowa for the selection of a Senator from the north half of the

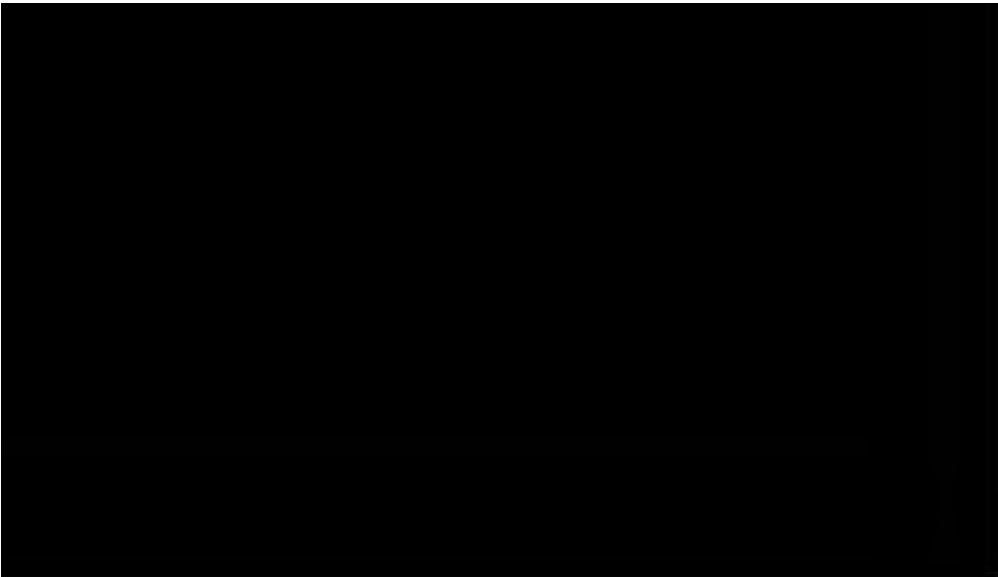
¹ Salter's *Grimes*, p. 95.

² *The St. Charles Intelligencer*, Nov. 5, 1857.

³ Salter's *Grimes*, p. 79.

State Mr. Aldrich urged Governor Grimes as one most fit to complete the party triumph begun in 1854. The announcement, however, has a more decided significance. Mr. Aldrich had but recently come from central western New York where he had been an influential factor in local and State politics as editor of *The Olean Journal*. He was there in the thick of the party contentions when Know-Nothingism and Temperance agitation were rampant, working the temporary defeat of his personal friend, Congressman, later Governor and Senator, Reuben E. Fenton. Being a New Yorker we should naturally anticipate that Mr. Aldrich would have been an enthusiastic advocate of his State's distinguished Senator for the Republican nomination for the Presidency. On the contrary we find neither advocacy nor so much as favorable reference to Mr. Seward. His reticence respecting the statesman of Auburn continued from 1857 up to the assembling of the convention in Chicago in 1860.

Following Mr. Aldrich a few days later Mr. Hackley at Dubuque noting the increased speculation of "politicians and wireworkers" and the action of the Republicans of New Hampshire respecting Fremont says that Fremont's name "is at the head of a number of country journals;" but he does not indicate whether in Iowa or not. Of possible candidates he says that N. P. Banks is "not unlikely to become one of the most prominent;" but "Wm. H. Seward is at the present time probably the strongest man in the party."



papers that made favorable mention of a possible candidate or referred in favorable terms to some of their public utterances. Thus Mr. Mahin made note of the "powerful" letter of Edward Bates against Buchanan's administration;¹ and Mr. John Teesdale notwithstanding the criticism of Hale and others lauded Seward as a Hampden and a Burke for his speech of March 5 that "poured such an avalanche of burning truth" upon the Administration.² Mr. Mahin pronounced "sensible" the suggestion of the *Richmond Whig* that the Southerners would do well to "fraternize with and support Seward for the Presidency" rather than Douglas whom they denounced as "worse than Seward."³ The *Crescent* of New Orleans in June declared that "Wm. H. Seward will be the next President if he lives and the Union lasts" and forthwith urged disruption as preferable. Mr. Howell reprints, but indicates no preference; he simply expresses defiance, observing—"if he is elected, or any other of the great republican leaders, all such fanatics as the *Crescent* . . . will be driven like dogs to their kennels or hung by the wayside as a warning to traitors."⁴ Mr. Aldrich kept Fremont's name at the head of his editorial page continuously until Nov. 5, 1858. He did not urge the consideration of Fremont editorially. He referred to him once. So far as I can learn he elicited no favorable echo from the party press of the State. He removed the name without comment and did not refer again to Fremont in his discussion of Presidential candidates. His purpose may have been, and probably was, purely strategical, namely, to develop public sentiment *pro* or *con*. If such was his purpose he certainly discovered that the sentiment was not *pro*.

One matter only seems to have educed any strong expressions during 1858. The violent break of Douglas with Buchanan and the southern leaders and his stout fight against the Lecompton constitution made a number of the Republican leaders in the east urge an alliance with him and the promo-

¹ *Muscatine Daily Journal*, March 17, 1858.

² *Tri-Weekly Citizen*, March 16, 1858.

³ *The Muscatine Journal*, June 29, 1858.

⁴ *The Gate City*, June 30, 1858.

tion of his leadership. Many expected and not a few advocated a new party organization that might comprehend all varieties of the opposition to the Administration especially the large body of Americans that had supported Fillmore. With Greeley of *The Tribune* favoring the former and Raymond of *The Times* suggesting the probability of if not promoting the latter a new order of things seemed imminent. The response in Iowa from the Republicans was not favorable.

Mr. Mahin while admiring Douglas' heroic opposition to the Administration and inclining to credit his course to sincere and patriotic motives nevertheless closed a judicial editorial with the following unequivocal language: "In whatever light we may regard him, we must still be forced to the conviction that he is unworthy of the confidence of the North until he arrays himself in sackcloth and ashes for his past political sins and by protracted service in the cause of freedom proves his faith by his works."¹ The proposal that a new political party be organized he gave short shrift: "It is idle to talk of any other party than the Republican to oppose the Administration. . . . The issue before the country is slavery or freedom . . . As Republicans we are not in favor of compromising . . . Our platform is broad enough for all the brave hearted freemen of the country to stand on. It needs no enlargement nor any additional planks."²

The scheme and schemers for the reconstruction or coalition of the opposition parties met with a scornful reception from *The Hamilton Freeman* June 24. Mr. Aldrich's editorial on "The Reconstruction of Parties" presents the case with such vigor and gives so many points of the hostility to the plan that it is given at length. There is much in the phraseology and in the attitude of the writer towards compromise that we find later in the racy letters of Fitz Henry Warren to J. S. Pike and to Samuel Bowles of *The Springfield (Mass.) Republican* in the forepart of 1860 when a movement somewhat similar was vigorously promoted.

There seems to be a general movement, says Mr. Aldrich, on the part of the Fillmore wing of the American Party, aided and

¹ *The Muncatine Journal*, Dec. 29, 1857.

² *Id.*, May 29, 1858.

abetted by some of the more eccentric of the Republican press to reconstruct parties, meaning by this, a union of that faction with the Republican party upon the basis of a new organization, a new party with a new name, with a platform that shall discard the doctrines of the Republicans—that "Freedom is National and Slavery Sectional," and that shall also be silent in regard to the extension of slavery into the Territories—in short, a party bound together and cemented by the sole object of opposition to the present administration and a *division of the spoils*.

The game of Americanism has been played out, and these old fossils have been left "sticking out,"—they now desire part and parcel with the victorious republicans, but true to their instincts and antecedents they must bring the great triumphant and rapidly increasing Republican party down to their own level. They have the unblushing impudence and effrontery to ask us to give up the republican organization—to strike from our Platform ALL for which we have been contending—ALL that gives life or vitality to the party—ALL that makes us any more elevated than the Democratic party—to stultify ourselves—renounce our principles—give up our name and all for what? Why simply, to allow this miserable, lying, petrified squad of unadulterated old fogies, who traduced John C. Fremont in 1856—and elected Buchanan President—to come in and share in the spoils of victory that the Republicans are sure to win *without them*—and (can impudence go farther?) upon terms dictated by themselves and disgraceful to us!

If we are wrong in our conclusions—if the Fillmore men do not desire this surrender on the part of the Republicans—but are willing to adopt our principles—and are from principle anxious to aid in the overthrow of the present party in power why do they demand any surrender of names or principles on our part? We have as a party conscientiously opposed James Buchanan, from the day he was nominated—and all measures of his administration. If the Fillmore men had done the same—if they had cast their votes for the only man who stood the least chance of defeating Mr. Buchanan—instead of throwing them away upon Mr. Fillmore—a good, reliable, competent republican would have stood at the head of the government at this moment—safely guiding the ship of state over the shoals and rocks on which Mr. Buchanan has well nigh foundered it.

The Republican Party to-day are in the majority in every free State in the Union with the exception, perhaps, of California; and yet this little squad of antiquated politicians, who are unable to control half a dozen school districts in the United States, gravely ask the Republican[s] to reorganize their party on such a basis, as will admit them to share the spoils, without any surrender on their part. Our preference stands at the head of our columns, [viz. Fremont.]

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dreth while not advocating a coalition recognized the concurrent and conciliatory actions of various factional leaders of the Opposition in Congress in resisting the Scompton frauds would doubtless lead to new party alignments favorable to Freedom and the Republican program. Noting the gathering interest in Presidential candidates and coalitions he said in the forepart of October: "The Presidential future begins to be discussed. The elements are various and curious. . . . As to the Republican party it is impossible to predict anything. He believed that the recent "patriotic votes" of the Republicans on the Crittenden-Montgomery bill in Congress and Lincoln's national canvass in Ohio, Greeley's concessions to popular sovereignty and the indisposition of the Republicans to insist on "no more slave states" would bring about a new alignment of national parties and hence the futility of predictions or the aggressive promotion of particular candidates.¹

3. *The Lincoln—Douglas Debates.*

Biographers, historians and literateurs have exalted beyond all peradventure the Debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in 1858 as the *causa causans* of Lincoln's later exaltation and the major fact that brought the people of the nation to their senses respecting the great issue in the quadrennium preceding the political revolution in 1860. More than this not a few would have us believe that the people were tremendously aroused and universally alert in their appreciation of the crucial character of the encounter. Thus one learned historian tells us that the debate "was followed by the whole people with strained attention."² This may have been so; but if so the people of Iowa were for the most part in the state of mind described by Sir Walter Scott's little friend—"more than usual calm."

An examination of some seventeen different papers published in ten different communities demonstrates that the public interest in the debates on this side of the Mississippi was

¹ *The St. Charles Intelligencer*, Oct. 7, 1858.

² Von Holst, *History*, Vol. VI, p. 287.


very various and curious withal. One or two editors only seem to have had a lively sense of the strategic importance of the contest but none apparently at the time perceived that anything besides Douglas' senatorial and perhaps his presidential chances hung in the balances. Most of those who manifest any interest at all exhibit but little beyond the common concern that is aroused by an interesting spectacle. Several of the influential papers, both Democratic and Republican, show practically no interest, scarcely noticing it either in editorial or in news column. As Douglas spoke at Galena and Rock Island, and Lincoln at Augusta and Carthage, and both met at Quincy all within hail and each separately crossed the river, visited and spoke at Burlington during the canvass the amount of attention to the progress of the debates was somewhat more in the eastern cities of Iowa than in the inland towns. A brief summary of the notes and comments is not inappropriate nor without value.

The columns of *The Gate City* contain nothing especially noteworthy. Lincoln's challenge and the virulent opposition of the Administration to Douglas are noted. Douglas' gross misrepresentation of Lincoln's connection with the "Abolition" conspiracy and platform in 1854 in the initial debate at Ottawa are branded by Mr. Howell as a "forgery." (Aug. 31.) The fatal answer of Douglas to the second Freeport question is noted (Sept. 17); an extract from Lincoln's Charleston speech relative to negro quality is given (Oct. 1). An excursion to Quincy (\$1.50 round trip) is advertised and "several hundred" went down. The debate at this place is concisely related and the jubilation of the Republicans and the depression of the Democrats at the outcome are asserted (Oct. 15). When Lincoln was advertised to speak at Carthage all who desired "to hear one of the most celebrated" orators were advised to go (Oct. 20). But there is nothing whatever that signifies public interest that is abnormal; at most there is nothing more intense than is frequently witnessed in national and state campaigns.

In the latter weeks of the contest between the meetings at Galesburg and Quincy the people of Burlington were per-

mitted to hear Abraham Lincoln speak on the great questions in issue. Douglas had spoken in the city a short time before. The chairman of the Republican county committee, Mr. Charles Ben Darwin, one of the best lawyers of Burlington, knowing Lincoln's tactics of following close on Douglas' trail, invited him to favor the city with an address. As he was listed to speak in the afternoon of Oct. 9 at Oquawka he consented to stop over and speak in Burlington in the evening, in the open air if the weather would permit. The arrangement apparently was not announced before the morning of the 8th. A brief but effective notice of the speech and the speaker was published in *The Hawk-eye*. Referring to the debate at Galesburg, Editor Clark Dunham states: "Those we conversed with think Mr. Lincoln the ablest and most popular speaker they ever heard and say he had altogether the advantage of Douglas in the argument, even Douglas' friends acknowledging it." The notice closes with "Huzza for Lincoln." In the next morning's issue three separate notices are inserted, one, two and three line notices—one of which reads: "There will be a Grand Concert at the People's Garden this evening immediately after Mr. Lincoln's speech." Concerning "Abe Lincoln's Speech at Grimes Hall," Mr. Dunham remarks on Monday:

Grimes' Hall was filled to its full capacity . . . So great is the sympathy felt here in the spirited canvass in Illinois, and so high is the opinion entertained of the ability of Mr. Lincoln as a speaker that a very short notice brought together from twelve to fifteen



labors of the last two months—nothing to show that immense labors of the canvass had worn upon him in the least. In this respect he has altogether the advantage of Douglas, whose voice is cracked and husky, temper soured and general appearance denoting exhaustion.¹

Several queries suggest themselves that are pertinent in determining the degree of public interest in Burlington regarding Lincoln at that time. Was the Grand Concert referred to one of the inducements to lure a crowd to hear him? If so much was expected of the speaker why, with two or three days' notice, was not *The Hawk-eye* prepared to give its readers a verbatim report of the speech? If the speech so greatly exceeded anticipation why was not the public not present given a detailed summary of the main points made by the noted speaker, so that the cause which Mr. Dunham favored no less could be promoted far beyond the circuit of that particular audience? The three hundred words or so devoted to the occasion and the man, while highly laudatory, do not demonstrate an abnormal or extremely acute public interest. I have found no reference in the contemporary press of the State to the fact that Burlington was favored with the presence of the two noted political gladiators during the progress of their celebrated canvass in 1858 and no one now-a-days, aside from old residents of Burlington is aware of the fact.²

So far as his pages indicate the editor of *The Journal* at Muscatine felt but little more than a languid interest in the forensic contest on the other side of the river. A short dispatch or extract from some account by another appears relative to most of the debates but there is no especial editorial

¹ *The Hawk-eye*, Oct. 11, 1858.

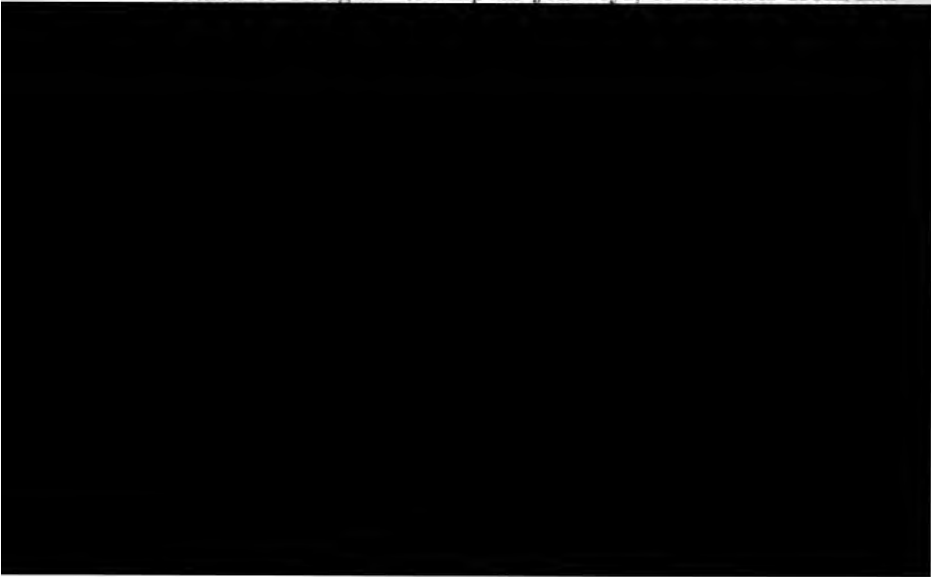
² The writer is indebted to Dr. William Salter, Iowa's venerable historian, to Mr. W. W. Baldwin, Tax Commissioner of the C., B. & Q. Ry., and to Miss Daisy N. Sabin, Librarian of the Free Public Library—all of Burlington for the data in the paragraphs above relative to Douglas and Lincoln's appearances in Burlington. Mr. Baldwin's letter of June 10, 1907, relates the following incident that strikingly illustrates the simplicity of manner and method of Judge Douglas' opponent, an eye-witness telling him the story.

When Mr. Lincoln arrived at the old Barrett House where he stopped while in Burlington he had in his hand a small package, wrapped in a newspaper. Handing it to the clerk at the desk he asked him to "Please take good care of that. It is my boiled shirt I will need it this afternoon." It was his only "baggage".

As Mr. Baldwin remarks in a later letter the incident is interesting for the contrast it affords with the methods of far less important people, who can not go about without a valet or a retinue of servants.

mention. The space given seldom exceeds a "stickful." Mr. Mahin evidently went up to Rock Island where he heard Douglas; and he closes his summary of the speech with the interesting observation: "We venture to say that the majority of his audience went away with the conviction that Mr. Douglas was on the wrong side and knew it himself but feeling more sorrow than anger in the conviction." (Oct. 30.) The organ of the Democrats in that city although it devotes some space to Douglas' speeches in July gives the debates no consideration. It expresses great satisfaction when the returns gave Douglas the senatorship,¹ but there is no sign of recognition of the political revolution that was so greatly hurried forward by that now celebrated tournament.

The liveliest interest in the Illinois contest is manifested perhaps in the *Davenport Daily Gazette*. Its editor, Mr. Add H. Sanders, realizes the national importance of the campaign. "Our sister state is in a gloriously excited condition Indeed with the elections approaching in many other states, the eyes of politicians everywhere appear to be turned most anxiously toward the election in Illinois. The reason is the coming election fixes the political destiny of Stephen A. Douglas, so far as any single event can accomplish that object. If defeated he will be politically dead. If successful it will give him higher hopes of attaining the great goal of his ambition, than he could have reasonably indulged during the last four years." (Sept. 3.) There is considerable space given to accounts of Douglas' triumphal journeys, to extracts from Lin-



SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES

Chicago Convention. May 16-18, 1860



J. C. WALKER
Physician

JOHN SHANE
District Judge

THOMAS SEELEY
Farmer

GEO. A. HAWLEY
Lawyer

A. F. BROWN
Lawyer

ence at the Douglas meeting in Chicago, July 9; and sneers at "That rank Abolitionist Lincoln" who dares to presume to seek the place of the "Little Giant," who it declares, is "the greatest man in the American Senate." Aug. 25.) At the Galena meeting Mayor Hetherington of Dubuque was one of the notables who escorted Douglas to the platform. (Aug. 26.)

Going inland we find much less interest in the debates so far as the pages of newspapers afford evidence thereof, although there were at least two instances of marked appreciation of their importance. The *Ottumwa Courier* reprints Lincoln's entire speech at Chicago, July 10th—seven solid columns—and Mr. J. W. Norris observed editorially (Aug. 12): "The indications are that it will be the most exciting canvass that we have ever had in this country." Mr. Norris immediately thereafter went east and nothing further is found in his columns about the contest in Illinois. Mr. A. J. Dowling, editor of the *Montezuma Weekly Republican*, has frequent notes and comments upon the debate but none that indicate extraordinary interest.

At Vinton, the editor of *The Eagle*, Mr. Thomas Drummond, indicates a keen appreciation of the contest in Illinois. Lincoln's great Springfield speech he reprinted almost entire (Aug. 21). He makes the following observations upon the character and significance of the senatorial contest (Oct. 23):

The political contest now waging in Illinois in the earnestness, zeal, and even bitterness with which it is conducted by all parties exceeds anything of the kind ever before known in that state or perhaps in the Union. Even the memorable campaign of '40 sinks below it for intensity and enthusiasm. Men now think of nothing else—the struggle is for life or death. Upon the result in Illinois this year depends the Presidency in 1860. If Douglas is beaten now for the Senate he is beaten forever and consigned to political oblivion. If he is successful he will be the acknowledged chief of the whole Democratic Party, hold Buchanan at his mercy and without doubt receive the nomination of the Charleston convention.

Mr. Drummond thought that Lincoln would triumph over Douglas, although he perceived that an unjust apportionment might give the legislative majority to the latter. In his comments upon the victory of Douglas Mr. Drummond says that Lincoln's defeat was due to two causes; first, the adverse

apportionment and showed the attitude of the eastern press, saying scarcely a word in condemnation of Douglas and dubiously commending the Republicans of Illinois who had to bear the brunt of the bitter fight. Mr. Drummond, while he watched the debates with keen zest, says nothing about Lincoln that indicates that he perceived his remarkable ability and achievement, and he makes no mention of the Freeport question.¹

At Indianapolis was the *Weekly Union*, an "Independent" in political sense edited by Mr. James H. Knox, had strong anti-slavery expansion views but one can find no mention of the debates. The same is true of the two Democratic papers published at the State Capital. Neither the *Iowa State Journal* nor the *Iowa State Democrat* demonstrate even ordinary interest in the contest after the election; the latter observes

"Nov. 11. — *Washington* — The election in the recent elections which were so generally full of misfortunes, DOUGLAS IS SAFE. The struggle has been a political Waterloo, with this difference—the Unionist Victory is victorious over the allied powers."² The columns of both papers are filled with discussions of new railroad projects, agricultural meetings,

public school matters, local business, taxes, and other local affairs. The *Unionist* does not say a word about the contest after the election.

None of the newspapers of the influence of the press, and it is not surprising that the *Unionist*. The *Boston Globe* published the Declaration of Independence on the week following the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and the *Unionist* makes no direct reference to the contest; the *State* and *Unionist* papers says nothing officially to quote the contest or the Freeport incident in Illinois. On July 14, 1858, it reports some incidents of the debate. The *Unionist* and *State* papers are critical of the contest. It is apparent from the evidence that many of the principles of the Freeport incident were "more than usual" in the Freeport incident.

¹The writer is indebted to Mr. J. H. Knox for the above excerpt and other data from *The Freeport*.

²Later *The Independent* (1858).

it is the fact that the editors of the first and third papers last mentioned, Messrs. Aldrich and Rich, both fine types of the efficient Yankee character, gave their columns to recital of the details of the Morrissey-Heenan Prize Fight in Canada while virtually ignoring the momentous encounter of principles and wits near their own doors,—a fight of the fates in very fact.¹

But were the Iowans different from their compatriots in the older States to the east? Not appreciably. The *New York Herald* mentions the debate infrequently and always refers both to it and the disputants with scorn and contempt. It is a "Senatorial Prize Fight." Douglas' recreancy and disastrous course constitute the burden of its references. The seismic effect of his answer to the Freeport questions is realized; but Lincoln is ignored. The files of Greeley's *Daily Tribune* have not been available but the columns of the semi-weekly are perhaps not less instructive. The speeches of Lincoln and Douglas in June and July are reprinted, but the speeches delivered at the first debate at Ottawa are alone reproduced. Three editorials (Aug. 27, Sept. 24, Nov. 9) discussed the struggle in Illinois but Douglas is the man chiefly, almost wholly in mind; the last deals with his "signal triumph," Lincoln being ignored. There is no comment on the Freeport questions and answers. On October 22d the entire front page (six broad columns) of Mr. Greeley's great journal was given over to a minute description of the Morrissey-Heenan Prize Fight and at the bottom we read "(See Eighth Page)" As much news space, lacking two columns, was given over to the fistie bout of those two bruisers as to the now famous combat of statesmen pronounced by *The Tribune* itself to be "two eminent masters of the art of intellectual attack and defense."² The many thousands of Greeley's readers in Iowa received either the semi-weekly or the weekly issue. Wm. Lloyd Garrison's paper, *The Liber-*

¹ *Hamilton Freeman*, Nov. 12 and *The Guardian*, Nov. 11, 1858. Not long before his death, in response to the writer's inquiry concerning the matter, Mr. Aldrich said, with the glint of a smile in his eyes: "Well, sir, the fact is that in some respects we editors in those days were not much better than they are now-a-days."

² *N. Y. Tribune*, (S. W.), Aug. 27, 1858.

ator, does not notice the debates except to quote Douglas' reply to Lincoln respecting the Dred Scott decision.¹ New York's "Journal of Civilization" *Harper's Weekly*, makes no mention of the debates during their occurrence but it does give us an extended account of the pugilistic bout (three columns or more), and its first and leading editorial discusses "The Great Prize Fight." Its columns on "Domestic Intelligence" during all of those months were filled with such items of news as we found in the press of Iowa, such as the doings of the Mormons, Gold discoveries, etc.²

The fact is our chroniclers and eulogists are likely to suffer from *ex post facto* obviousness in dealing with the career of Abraham Lincoln. A people, like persons, seldom realize the significance or anticipate the consequences of current events. They appreciate their sensations but not their sense and sequences. The people generally in 1858 only realized that an interesting spectacle was taking place in Illinois at the end of which one or the other contestant would be a national senator and in the case of one increased prestige would enhance his strength as a Presidential aspirant. There were but few discerning ones who saw that it would split assunder a great national party and bring about new alignments and a new national leader. These results gradually dawned upon the public consciousness.

Neither the Republicans nor the people of Iowa were oblivious of the pith and point of the discussions in Illinois. The

¹ *The Liberator*, Oct. 15, 1858.

² *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 30, 1858. It is but fair to state that *Harper's Weekly*, prior to the debates, did recognize the great importance of the contest in Illinois, although it signified no interest whatever in the developments and results of the debates. On July 31 in an editorial written before they were under way, entitled "The Canvass in Illinois" the writer asserts: "There can be no question but the pending canvass in Illinois is one of the most memorable contests which ever took place in the political history of the United States." After succinctly outlining the positions of the three parties in interest he closes with the words: "As such, the canvass is worthy of the closest attention."

It is a curious commentary upon the foregoing that the only signs whereby the editors manifest their interest in that memorable canvass are by two meagre items relative to Douglas, namely: one, Oct. 16, an excerpt from Douglas' account of his birth "away down in Yankee land"; and the other, Nov. 6, Vice President Breckenridge's letter favoring his re-election to Senate. From neither, however, could one infer that an epoch making discussion had created new political conditions in our national party strife.

large crowds that went from Iowa to attend the debates at Freeport, Galesburg and Quincy, to hear Douglas at Galena and Rock Island and Lincoln at Augusta and Carthage, not a few going from towns 20 and 40 miles west of the river as Fairfield, Mt. Pleasant and Keosauqua, indicate a keen popular interest. Some of the Republican politicians speedily discerned the practical usefulness of the points scored in Illinois and pressed them home upon their opponents in their bouts on the hustings. Thus at Vinton, Aug. 9, the editor of *The Eagle*, Mr. Thomas Drummond, harried Judge W. E. Leffingwell, the Democratic candidate for Congress, with "a series of questions which had been first propounded to Judge Douglas at Bloomington to which Mr. Drummond added several of his own."¹

The effect of the debates upon opinion regarding the Presidential succession, while ultimately very important, was but vaguely apparent during their progress and immediately following. General Cyrus Bussey, a Marylander by stock, was then a resident of Bloomfield in Davis county. He was an admirer and staunch supporter of Stephen A. Douglas and followed the debates in Illinois with lively interest. He informs me that generally throughout southeastern Iowa the Democrats, while they scoffed at Lincoln for his temerity in venturing to break lances with the "Little Giant," and tried to make themselves believe that he was some sort of a cross between a buffoon and a monster, "half-horse-and-half-alligator" who advocated Amalgamation and "Equality with the nigger" nevertheless felt "in their bones" that the Sangamon lawyer got the better of their doughty champion. They felt, too, that notwithstanding Douglas' nominal success his opponent emerged from the contest the larger man, both intellectually and morally and they were conscious of the fact that if Douglas was of Presidential size then Lincoln must be likewise and the later suggestion of Lincoln for the Presidency did not seem illogical or strange, although as a matter of

¹*Dubuque Express and Herald*, Aug. 17, 1858—Editorial Correspondence from Vinton. Mr. Drummond's interrogatories are set out at length in *The Eagle*, Aug. 7, 1858.

political form they "hooted" at the Rail-Splitter as a fit man for the highest office in the land.¹

Two of Iowa's leading lawyers heard the two champions in debate and were so much impressed by the intellectual prowess of Lincoln that they instinctively felt that he was a man of Presidential proportions and so expressed themselves at the time. Mr. Austin Adams of Dubuque, later Chief Justice of Iowa, attended the debate at Freeport and he is quoted as saying: "I have just heard the greatest man I ever listened to; he ought to be President."² Mr. Henry Strong, then one of the rising young lawyers of Keokuk,³ heard the debaters in September. He wrote his college classmate, Manton Marble, then associate editor of *The Boston Journal*: "I have just heard the next President of the United States—mark my prediction, Manton." He writes me that the substance of his letter was published by his friend.⁴

The discussion of Presidential possibilities came on apace in the latter months of 1858. The effect of the debates in Illinois and of the "mighty clap of thunder" resulting from Seward's speech at Rochester are manifest. As was the case two years before *The New York Herald* lead off; but a new name was on its pennant. Douglas' answers at Freeport produced an upset; on September 15 it averred that by them he had "proclaimed himself an advocate of the higher law doctrine." On the 23d it declared the nomination of Winfield Scott, "a necessity for the Opposition." A week later it appeals to the Opposition not to imitate the Democrats and "go off in petty squads under the lead of Seward, Crittenden, Banks and fifty others . . . Scott or annihilation is their only choice." Its insistence upon the hero of Lundy Lane was earnest indeed.⁵ Seward's Rochester speech, however, produced such a violent shock to the *Herald's* sensibilities

¹ Interview with the writer, October 8, 1907.

² *Iowa, History of Iowa*, Vol. IV, p. 2. Mr. Gue, or the author of the biographical sketch from which the above is taken, states that Mr. Adams heard Lincoln and Douglas at Galena; Freeport must have been intended.

³ Mr. Strong's law partner in those days was Mr. John W. Noble, assistant Secretary of the Interior in President Harrison's cabinet.

⁴ Adams (MSS.) to the writer, June 4, 1907.

⁵ *N. Y. Herald*, Oct. 11, 13, 15, 19, 1858.

that it entirely forgot General Scott and thenceforth devoted itself to denunciation of what for nearly two years it branded as Seward's "brutal and bloody" programme.¹

Meanwhile the Republican press of Iowa was exceedingly unconcerned. I have not discovered a single reference to the *Herald's* advocacy of Scott for the Presidency. Seward's speech is "eloquent and truthful," according to Mr. Mahin:² in Mr. Aldrich's judgment "it is a great speech" and he reprints it in seven and a half solid columns.³ None of the Republicans view the sentiments of Seward with alarm. The doctrine he enunciated apparently did not seem revolutionary.

There are but few signs of direct interest in the prospective Presidential nomination. On Nov. 11th Mr. Mahin has a three line editorial note, stating, "*The New York Courier and Enquirer* proposes Mr. Seward for the Republican candidate for the Presidency of 1860." He makes no comment, however. A week later he notices the zealous contention of the *New York Herald*, that "so far as the results of the late election from having improved the chances of either Seward or Douglas for the Presidency, that the great Agitator and the 'Little Giant' have thus been farther removed from the goal of their ambition than ever they were before." The design of the editor in such notes and comments, if other than recording items of passing interest, is not manifest.


Both desire and opinion respecting the Presidency among the Republicans of Iowa at the close of 1858, it is clear, were incoherent, indefinite, vague. The consideration of candidates was not deemed urgent or wise because premature. The situation had become more definite, however. A figure was looming large in the political horizon. The entire country was becoming conscious of his remarkable strength and proportions and commanding influence. The political leaders for some time had had to reckon with Abraham Lincoln. The papers of the east no less than those of the west had ex-

¹ *Ib.* Oct. 30.

² *The Muscatine Journal*, Nov. 4, 1858.

³ *The Hamilton Freeman*, Nov. 12, 1858.

tensively reported his speeches and quoted his pithy sayings. The votes he had received in 1856 for the nomination for the Vice-Presidency signified a much wider and more decided political acquaintance with Lincoln than most of our chroniclers have realized. Speaking at Litchfield, Maine, Mr. James G. Blaine, on June 28, 1856, referred to Lincoln's "reputation beyond the lines of his own state" gained by his acute discussions of Douglas' course in securing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.¹ Before the celebrated debates were arranged for Greeley said of the Springfield speech, which he printed entire in the *Tribune* (June 24); "We need not ask attention to this concise and admirable statement. Mr. Lincoln never fails to make a good speech if he makes any and this is one of his best efforts." Such language is not used of "an unknown." In July that year the Chicago editors were surprised to find the eastern press discussing and quoting his speeches.² One finds that the editors of Iowa were likewise alive to the marked attention paid to Lincoln in the press of the eastern States. *The Gate City* (Aug. 30) cites the *Louisville Journal*, "the leading American paper of the country" which expresses admiration of Lincoln's "superior talents and noble nature" and bespeaks for him success; and also the St. Louis *Evening News*, "the leading American organ of Missouri" that endorses the sentiments of the *Journal*. *The Hawk-eye* (Oct. 8) reprints a letter written from Illinois to the Rochester (N. Y.) *Democrat*, recounting



been read with great interest throughout the country . . . ” On Nov. 30 Mr. Howell gives his readers the great Greeley’s opinion of Lincoln’s speeches: “. . . they were of a very high order—they were pungent without bitterness, powerful without harshness. The address at Springfield in which he opened the canvass is a model of compactness, lucidity and logic. As a condensed statement of the issues which divide the Republicans from the Democrats of our day, it has rarely, or never been exceeded.” This high praise, it must be remembered, came from no willing witness—Greeley had strongly opposed the Republican opposition to Douglas.

In the south meantime expressions much more significant were being made. The southern press and leaders were outspoken in their sentiments hostile to Douglas whose position at Freeport had shown the fatal weakness of their much prized doctrine of Popular Sovereignty. The intellectual acumen of his antagonist who had so successfully forced its doughty champion to make his fatal admission was of necessity felt if not always formally recognized. Such recognition was constantly manifested by their joint condemnation, and the Iowa press was not unmindful of its significance. Thus Mr. Howell quotes (Nov. 27) from Jefferson Davis’ speech to his constituents in Mississippi, when he said that he “considered Mr. Douglas’ opinions as objectionable as those of his adversary, Mr. Lincoln.”¹ Douglas himself continued to force the public to recognize the pre-eminent abilities of his great antagonist. He started upon his southern tour which he planned with a view to placating the hostile friends of the Administration in the south. His speeches at Memphis and New Orleans were little less than earnest pleas in mitigation of the Freeport answers and Lincoln was referred to directly by

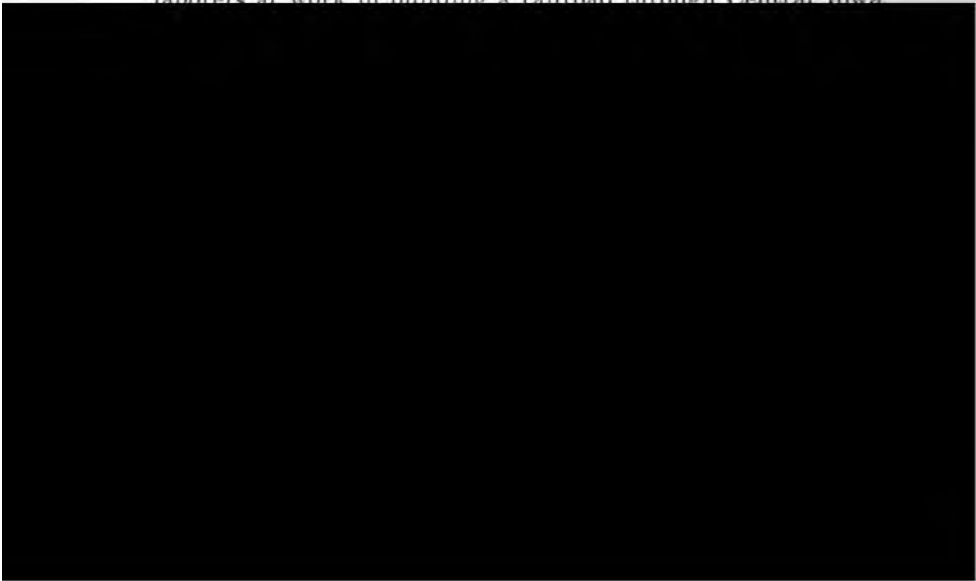
¹ See *The Gate City*, Nov. 29, 1858—Editorial on *Senator Douglas in the South*

The Muscatine Journal on June 4 quoted the following from the *Montgomery* (Ala.) *Mail* of May 21 relative to the reception of Douglas in that city:

“The Squatter Giant—S. A. Douglas, the great advocate of Squatter Sovereignty, arrived here yesterday, in the eastern train, and went down in the steamer in the afternoon. A few persons hunted him up to take a look at him as they would a grizzly bear, but there was no welcome. Why should there be, of the great assassin of the South?”

him in those discourses. But a more decided, not to say dramatic, appreciation of the tremendous damage done the Democratic party and the Slavocracy by the Illinois lawyer was the summary deposition at the opening of Congress of Stephen A. Douglas from the chairmanship of the Senate committee on Territories, a position he had held for eleven years and which he had made famous or infamous in their service in connection with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. All these things were noted in Iowa as elsewhere and the people no less than the politicians were becoming aware that Illinois had a dominating man—dominant because he possessed not only a profound, far-seeing mind, but wonderful powers of compelling speech. King makers could ask for no more favorable conditions than those which confronted the friends and admirers of Abraham Lincoln at the close of 1858.

DO WE NEED A RAILROAD?—This question is asked by a correspondent of *The Citizen*. Every man, woman and child in Central Iowa will promptly answer yes. We not only need a railroad, but should have one as soon as possible. It is true that the late commercial revulsion has operated disastrously upon railroads, but still there are means at our command and advantages possessed, which if properly and promptly applied would in a short time have thousands of laborers at work in building a railroad through Central Iowa.







ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

" * * When he [Mr. Aldrich] closed his desk, for the last time, there were within it manuscripts * * * some editorials and much material undeveloped or in outline. * * * It will be the purpose of the writer, who has been appointed Acting Curator * * * to continue the form of the journal identical with that preceding the death of Mr. Aldrich, and make use of such material * * *. If any deviation shall be made it will be in the number closing the volume [which may] include all * * * communications * * * incident to Mr. Aldrich's death.*

EDGAR R. HARLAN."

(Annals of Iowa, Third Series, Vol. 8, P. 385.)

BOONE MOUND EXPLORATION.

For a score of years a large mound near the Des Moines river, almost directly west of Boone, Boone county, Iowa, had attracted many interested in Iowa archaeology. It was first called to the attention of the late Charles Aldrich by Mr. Carl Fritz Henning of Boone. Mr. Aldrich, upon careful examination, approved the opinion that it was of prehistoric origin. He had done some considerable mound exploring during the latter years of his activities in Hamilton and Boone counties and from the size and locality of the one in question determined it was worthy the attention of public authorities. Consequently he referred the matter to the Board of Trustees of the Historical Department of Iowa. He was authorized to secure permission to explore, and to thoroughly explore it.

During the spring of 1907 Mr. T. Van Hyning, in charge of the Department Museum, submitted to Mr. Aldrich plans which the latter approved for the work. Arrangements were made to proceed under Mr. Aldrich's personal oversight, when notice was served on all concerned that in the mound was the unmarked grave of Oliver Perry Coffey, who was there interred about 1850. The advancing crop season, the failing health of Mr. Aldrich, and these objections, combined to defer the work for a year. In April, 1908, the Department secured per-

mission and transferred the remains of Mr. Coffey to the Mineral Ridge cemetery in Boone county and began the work of exploration.

The mound was oval in form, 90 by 110 feet in extreme dimensions, and 14 feet high. Mr. Karl Kastberg, city engineer of Boone, made a careful survey of the mound and locality, and prepared working plans. It was laid off in horizontal sections five feet square, and perpendicular sections one by five feet. The dirt was removed by beginning at the northerly side and shoveling a row of sections out upon the surface. The dirt of the second row of sections was in the same manner shoveled out into the space from which the first was thrown, and so on throughout the work.

From a datum point maintained throughout the work, each object disclosed was located on the plans. After the work was done the so-called "stone work" was topographically surveyed as the mound had been before it was disturbed.

Before the settlement of the country there were heavy forests of elm, hard maple and oak throughout the region of the mound. At the time of its exploration there were two oak trees and one elm standing near the top, each of twenty-four inches diameter. Three feet of the surface of the mound was soft, sandy loam. Five feet was very compact but of the same character otherwise as the first three. Its hardness was such as to suggest its having been baked together. Beneath the compact stratum the dirt was soft to the foundation of the mound. There were found on every level and practically in equal distribution throughout the mound pottery fragments, but no complete vessel or other such object. These fragments, 4,000 in number, seem to be tempered with disintegrated granite. They indicate burning on their convex sides. They show ornamentations in more than thirty patterns. At least one fragment of the rim of a vessel shows finger prints evidently made in the plastic state and preserved through the burning. Many, if from circular vessels, show the diameters of these to have been over three feet. Clam-shells in thin sheets, small heaps and singly occurred generally throughout, and especially numerous near the bottom. These are of species extant in the

river nearby. Some of these have adhering a very hard cementum. At different places and levels occurred single bones of human beings. All were fragmentary, having the appearance of having been gnawed by rodents. Four or five separate skulls, and other bones, probably from as many bodies, were found near the bottom. Only three or four implements were found and these were of flint. They were not together and had no apparent relation to other objects. A floor of irregular outline, some twenty-one by twenty-six feet in extreme dimensions, rested on a dirt stratum about fourteen inches thick. It was made of flat stones fitted closely and evenly, of a thickness of two to four inches. Ash heaps of a foot in diameter occurred frequently between the encrusted stratum and the stone work.


An irregular parallelogram of edgewise stones rested on this floor. These formed practically an unbroken wall twenty to twenty-four inches high. The enclosure was some ten by sixteen feet, and in each of the four angles were enclosures or small parallelograms about two by four feet in size. The longer walls of both the large and small enclosures ran nearly due north and south. Within the smaller enclosures were found most of the bones, including the only complete skull that was discovered. On a level with the upper portions of the edgewise stones and near the east and west sides of the parallelogram there were two decayed oak timbers running the entire length of the stone work. At right angles with these ran timbers of the same character three in number, which appeared to lie above those first mentioned. On a slightly higher level, and in the same general plane, were granite boulders six to twelve inches in diameter, in rows extending nearly due east and west. These boulders were left undisturbed until after the floor was cleaned off when the whole was surveyed and photographed. Boulders of the character found occur on the surface of the bluffs half a mile away, while the flat stones do not now crop out nearer than three-fourths of a mile north.

A detailed report of the work will be prepared by Mr. Van Hyning.

MARKING CHANGE IN METHODS OF TRANSMISSION

Discussing industrial conditions President Roosevelt in an address at Cincinnati, September 20, 1902, stated the remarkable fact that here a century ago news was transmitted and merchandise carried exactly as in the days of the Roman Empire. We had on our rivers the flatboat and on the ocean the sailing-ship, we had the pack-train and we had the wagon. "Every one of the four was known when Babylon fell." The change in the last one hundred years has been greater by far than the changes in all the preceding three thousand years. Applied to Iowa, our life was well established before a different method from these four materially affected us. The Black Hawk purchase was populated, its surface made habitable, its commerce established, its township, county and territorial government fixed under the Babylonish era of transmission and transportation. The State of Iowa, then, is coincident with a new and most wonderful era of methods for interchange of intellectual and physical properties. In this fact is the basis of much controversy in every field of American life. Litigation, legislation, and commerce in Iowa are most concerned now with conditions that were merely dawning when our present constitution was adopted in 1857.

Conceiving that the last of the old tavern days and the first of the Pullman car epoch are but just out of memory of the present generation, the Historical Department joined a



Iowa trunk lines and telegraph companies, which wrote out its messages on tapes in the Morse dot and dash alphabet seems to have completely vanished, and no old timer was able to provide one for the exhibit. But there was assembled a most interesting and instructive documentary collection illustrative of the operating methods of the first railroad days in Iowa. General rules, train orders, schedules, freight books, hat checks, photographs and personal letters disclosed the establishment and development of method not before known in the handling of men out of military life. There were assembled also the predecessors of the present day time-table in some numbers. These are the pocket "traveler's guides" common in the stage coach and steamboat days. They are folding maps by Colton, by Mitchell and others, usually containing tables of distances, charges, census items, land laws and similar data. Many valuable cuts and illustrations designed to fire the public desire to travel, such as Centennial Exposition literature, Rocky Mountain travel enticements and western homestead and other land inducements. The acquisition was made of one of the old "prairie schooners" whose handwrought timbers and iron members bore its great burdens over the National Road from Wheeling west in 1820 and until routed out by the railroads. Then it came to Iowa and other portions of the west until deposed from business on the Sante Fe Trail by its everlasting competitor. It left its legitimate character in Oklahoma to return to Iowa as a curiosity in the parade of a medicine show and when by that enterprise abandoned was brought in from the weather to remain in the collections. It will have part in the Iowa State Fair exhibitions as an object of instruction to the mechanic and industrial student of Iowa, having within the memory of Iowa pioneers become quite as unknown to the youth of the State as the Spanish galleon or Ohio keel-boat. The Department recognizes, and expects to provide as best it may, the materials from which may be studied that portion of our history which has for a half century been and will for the future be, more largely than ever before, made by men not alone in the lines of statecraft or in war; that part wherein

ANNALS OF IOWA

a p course is being affected and perhaps directed by new conditions, not to say a new force, comparable with any of the old.

IOWA SENATORIAL SUCCESSION.

When the federal constitution was adopted, Article I, Section 3, clause 2, provided that the United States Senators should be divided into three classes, the first to serve for a period of two years; the second, for a period of four years; the third for a period of six years, thus providing for a continuity of that body. When Iowa was admitted to the Union her two United States Senators, George W. Jones of Dubuque and Augustus C. Dodge of Burlington fell, respectively, into classes two and three. They began their service in the Senate on the same day, December 7, 1848. Jones was 44 years of age and Dodge was 32. Succeeding Jones, James W. Grimes of Burlington was installed, March 4, 1859, at 42, being re-elected and re-installed March 4, 1865, resigning his office December 6, 1869. Mr. Grimes was succeeded by James B. Howell, of Keokuk, at 53 years of age, who was installed January 18, 1870, and retired at the end of Mr. Grimes' second term, March 3, 1871. Mr. Howell was succeeded by George G. Wright, of Des Moines, at 51 years of age, on March 4, 1871, who served one term, retiring March 3, 1877. Mr. Wright was succeeded by Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa City, at 63, March 4, 1877, who resigned March 7, 1881, James W. McDill of Creston, at 46, succeeding him March 8, 1881, being appointed by Governor Gear, and serving out the Kirkwood term, retiring March 3, 1883. James F. Wilson of Fairfield, at 54, was installed March 4, 1883, and served continuously until March 3, 1895, being succeeded by John H. Gear of Burlington, at 69, March 4, 1895. Mr. Gear died on July 14, 1900, and Jonathan P. Dolliver of Fort Dodge, after appointment by Governor Shaw, was installed August 22, 1900, at 42 years of age, serving to the end of Gear's term March 3, 1901, and, by election, until the present time, the term ending March 3, 1913.

The term of Augustus C. Dodge ended March 3, 1855, when James Harlan of Mount Pleasant was installed, at the age of 34, March 4, 1855, and served until January 12, 1857, when his seat was declared vacant by a resolution of the Senate. On January 17, 1857, he was re-elected and installed, serving out the term to March 3, 1861, then by re-election, he served from March 4, 1861, to May 15, 1865, when he resigned to enter the cabinet of Andrew Johnson, having been recommended and confirmed before the death of Abraham Lincoln. Samuel J. Kirkwood on January 13, 1866, was elected, at the age of 52, and served to the end of the term, March 3, 1867. James Harlan after election was again installed March 4, 1867, serving until March 3, 1873, when he retired being succeeded by William B. Allison of Dubuque, March 4, 1873, at the age of 44, who has served continuously since that day, and has been nominated for the term ending 1915.

RECENT PORTRAIT ACQUISITIONS.

The collection of portraits in oil now in the Historical Department Galleries has been recently augmented by two which were publicly installed June 20th. These both represent a phase of interest in the collections awakened by Mr. Aldrich, but which he did not live to see bear fruit. His oft repeated purpose was to acquire good portraits of representative Iowa citizens and of men representative of classes or of movements that aided the development of the State and its institutions. He desired to obtain good art objects of every kind including portraits and not limited to the borders of Iowa. He desired to obtain the permanent and artistic likeness in oil of Iowa men and women who contributed to the good name and fame of our State. In this purpose he invited the negroes of Iowa to place in the collections an adequate portrait of Frederick Douglass, and they, with the aid of their friends and of the Legislature provided such a canvas from the brush of Freeman Thorpe. Thus there is acquired as representative of a

large body of Iowa citizens and with their assistance, the portrait of their greatest citizen, though not of Iowa.

Recognizing the office of the Christian religion in the building of our State, Mr. Aldrich solicited with an especial ardor the portraits of the Christian ministry. Thus were installed the portraits of Bishops Lee and Perry of the Episcopal church; Bishops M. C. and Thomas Lenihan of the Catholic clergy, Rev. Dr. Salter of the Congregational church, and no less was the ardor with which he presented the matter as to others of the great denominational leaders in and out of the State. Out of this policy came requests for portraits of Luther, Wesley and other leaders, and a fine oil portrait by George D. Chiswick, of Des Moines, of Alexander Campbell, presented by the Iowa membership of the church of which Mr. Campbell was a founder.

The portrait is a copy of one painted by James Bogle in 1858. It was formally presented to the State by the congregations in their annual convention in Des Moines, June 20th. The presentation address was by D. R. Dungan of Drake University, a student under Campbell at Bethany, West Virginia. Hon. B. F. Carroll, Auditor of State, accepted the portrait on behalf of the State. The Douglass portrait was installed without special ceremony.

THE "SCATTERATION POLICY."





MONUMENT, COMMEMORATIVE OF OLD FORT DES MOINES
Dedicated and presented to the City of Des Moines by Abigail Adams Chapter,
D. A. R., June 14, 1908.

This action, however, established a precedent of scattering the various institutions of the State which has prevailed from that time to the present. This course has from time to time caused serious apprehension in the minds of many good people. The fear has been entertained widely and possibly with a large sense of justice, that this "scatteration policy" would result disastrously to the State. There seemed in some minds to be danger that the friends of the various institutions would combine for the purpose of securing large appropriations and thereby that our taxes would be greatly and unjustly increased. But some time before these fears came to any such unjust culmination, our legislature, thanks to the wise suggestions of Hon. John D. Hunter, late of Webster City, passed a law that a Board of Control should be set in authority over the institutions, excepting those devoted to education, which existed upon the taxation of the people. Since that wise law, which was put into force by three such eminent business men as Ex-Governor William Larrabee, Ex-Chief Justice L. G. Kinne of our Supreme Court, and Hon. John Cownie, who had long held a high place among the foremost farmers of Iowa, these fears have measurably, if not wholly died out. There is no longer any fear that a combination of the institutions can unduly control our tax levies. And, as a further measure of protection, the legislature has a veto upon the recommendations of the Board of Control. We have here a system of checks and balances which seems wisely adapted to the situation in our State. The "scatteration policy" will no doubt go on.

TWO COMMEMORATIVE ACTS.

The fact that one of the frontier military outposts was established and for a time maintained within the present limits of the city of Des Moines has received some attention in print. But it remained for Abigail Adams Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Des Moines, adequately to commemorate the event by erecting a visible mark. On June 14th this patriotic body dedicated and presented to the city of Des Moines a monument of massive carved granite. On

ANNALS OF IOWA

the stone is a bronze tablet twenty by thirty inches
the Gorham Company. This bears the following
in raised letters:

Size-
inscri

SITE OF OLD FORT DES MOINES

ESTABLISHED 1843

EVACUATED 1846

ERECTED BY

ABIGAIL ADAMS CHAPTER OF THE DAUGHTERS OF
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

PARK COMMISSIONERS AND SETTLERS OF DES MOINES
DEDICATED JUNE 13, 1908

The monument, enclosed by a substantial iron fence, is in a small plot of ground upon the identical site of the Old Fort Des Moines. The order for the establishment of the fort was issued from Jefferson Barracks, Saint Louis, February 20, 1843, and directed Captain Allen to establish a post "at as early a period as the weather will permit, on the River Des Moines, at or near the junction of the Raccoon, for the protection of the Sac and Fox Indians, and the interests of the Government on that frontier." Captain Allen reported that he went into camp for the first time on May 20, 1843. He received an order bearing date February 23, 1846, for the abandonment of the fort, and the last of the troops departed under command of Lieutenant Grier for Fort Leavenworth March 10, 1846 (*Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. 4, 161 *et seq.*).

On July 1st, the Des Moines Commercial Club commended the act of a negro resident of the city in presenting him a gold medal appropriately inscribed:

TO GRANT FERGUSON
FROM
THE DES MOINES COMMERCIAL CLUB, JULY 1, 1908.
FOR
HEROIC RESCUE OF MAN FROM DROWNING

JUNE 13, 1908.

CRUDE LEGISLATION.

(Written by Charles Aldrich, September 1907.)

Much legislation has resulted from the erection of the Historical Building. A study of this legislation at this time discloses many crudities. Some of it is obsolete and some unnecessary. Much is awkward and clumsy. While the Curator of the Historical Department may justly be held responsible in a general way for this legislation, much of it was never approved by him but its passage could not be prevented. One may draft a bill in the form that suits his purpose or the general purposes sought, but when it passes into committees and then is subjected to thorough consideration in the legislature its form in the end cannot be predicted. The Curator has always felt it more important that the work upon the building be kept in motion than that his mere personal preference be followed or his opinions accepted. In one instance a bill for the promotion of the building was amended in a way he considered absurd and irrelevant. He appealed to the chairman of the committee to recommend the bill in the hope of a proper change in its construction. The chairman, who was friendly to the measure, objected that the proposition to that effect would result in a contest wherein the bill might be lost. His counsel that no change should be attempted, and later sessions relied upon for the correction of any injustice, was adopted, and the bill passed in its imperfect state. The writer hopes that the legislation resulting in our beautiful and commodious Historical Building when studied in future may be considered in the light of the above statement and that he may be exonerated from a portion of the blunders of hasty and ill-considered legislation.

The erection of the Historical Building went ahead until its completion and that, after all, was the matter of chief importance. Men who placed obstacles in its way doubtless acted unwittingly. In fact one of them years afterward was frank enough to confess that he had sinned through ignorance—"he did not know better." The legislation to which reference is thus made should be superseded by a brief and simple statute that may be readily comprehended.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

CHARLES ALVORD BISHOP was born near Waukesha, Wisconsin, May 22, 1854; he died while in attendance at the meeting of the Iowa State Bar Association at Waterloo, July 9, 1908, and was buried at Woodland cemetery, Des Moines, Iowa, July 14. His parents were Mathew Patrick and Roxanna (Alvord) Bishop. He gained his education in the public schools of Palmyra and La Grange, Wisconsin, and studied law in the office of Mr. Weed at Palmyra, being admitted to the bar at Waupeca, Wisconsin, in 1875. He came to Iowa in 1875, locating at La Porte, in Black Hawk county, entering into the law practice and becoming editor of the *Review* of that place. He was elected to the legislature from Black Hawk county in 1881, serving in the House through the Nineteenth General Assembly. He served on the committees on Judiciary, Insurance, Libraries, Institute for the Education of the Blind and Asylum for Feeble-minded Children. He continued both as lawyer and editor for eight years, when he went to Minneapolis, Minnesota, to devote his attention exclusively to the law. His associate was Judge Bagg of the Dubuque bar, who died shortly after the new venture began. Judge Bishop soon returned to Cherokee, Iowa, to publish the *Times* of that city, which, however, he disposed of in a few months, removing permanently to Des Moines. His career as a lawyer may be dated from his arrival at Des Moines in 1885. He entered the firm of Baker & Kavanaugh, which consisted of Hon. A. J. Baker, now of Centerville, Iowa, then Attorney General of Iowa, and Marcus Kavanaugh, now judge of the Cook county superior court of Chicago. Judge Kavanaugh retired when elected to the Polk county district bench and Judge Bishop joined the firm, which became Baker, Bishop & Haskins by the admission to the firm of Alvin A. Haskins, now deceased. Attorney General Baker's administration included among its tasks that of advising Governor Larrabee in carrying into effect the railroad legislation for which the Larrabee administrations are remembered. Judge Bishop, as assistant counsel, is to be given much of the credit to which the Attorney General's office is entitled. In the disposition of the Chester Tourney case Governor Larrabee relied solely upon Judge Bishop as counsel and in the trial work that ended with credit to both the client and attorney. In 1889 Judge Bishop was appointed by Governor Larrabee Judge of the Polk county district court, a vacancy existing by reason of the elevation of Judge Josiah Given to the supreme bench. He was defeated of election the next year. He was again appointed to the district bench in 1897 by Governor Drake to a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of W. A. Spurrier. The next year he was elected and served to March 3, 1902, when he resigned and entered the practice at Des Moines in the firm of Bishop, Dowell & Parish. Governor Cummins appointed him to the vacancy on the supreme bench made by the resignation of Judge C. M. Waterman in June, 1902. He was nominated and elected to fill out the term, then nominated and elected to serve for the current term ending January 1, 1911. Judge Bishop was one of the most gentle and affable of men. He was active and popular in fraternal societies and social clubs. He was a distinguished public speaker, in particular on memorial occasions, when some of his addresses have been almost classic in character. His record as a judge is most excellent. To the law he was devoted, caring but little for financial undertak-



CHARLES ALVORD BISHOP.

**Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court and Member of the Board of Trustees of
the Historical Department of Iowa.**

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ings or success along those lines. He was one of the largest hearted, most companionable of men, charitable toward all, censuring the wrong rather than the individual, tempering justice with mercy during his judicial career. Hence a model husband and father, not only loved by his family, his friends and his associates, but by all who really knew him. His modesty was proverbial. He might have been a member of the supreme court during Governor Larrabee's administration, but having some misgivings as to his own ability, he advocated the appointment of another and with his own hands wrote and delivered the commission that he himself might have retained.

L. S.

STEPHEN N. FELLOWS was born May 30, 1830, in North Sandwich, New Hampshire; he died in Iowa City, Iowa, June 2, 1908. He attended Rock River Seminary at the age of eighteen for a short time, later taking the course and graduating in 1854 with the degree of A. B. from Asbury University, now De Pauw, Greencastle, Indiana. He at once came to Iowa and began work as professor of mathematics and natural science at Cornell College, Mount Vernon. In 1856 he joined the Upper Iowa Conference of the Methodist church, entering the ministry in 1860, when he ended his connection with Cornell College. He was elected to the principalship of the Normal Department of the Iowa State University in 1867, retaining his active connection with the institution for twenty years. He was president of the State Teachers' Association from 1869 to 1872. He served once as president of the Iowa State Temperance Alliance. He was the Iowa delegate to the Ecumenical Conference of the Methodist church at Washington in 1893 and a member of the Advisory Council of Religions at Chicago in 1893. He received the D. D. degree from Cornell College in 1891. He was a leading factor in the organization of the Indian Rights Association of Iowa. He was an effective preacher and successful pastor, one of the strongest and most telling advocates of temperance of his time, a force in the educational enterprise of his day and a writer of distinction. His most valuable book is a history of the Upper Iowa Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church.

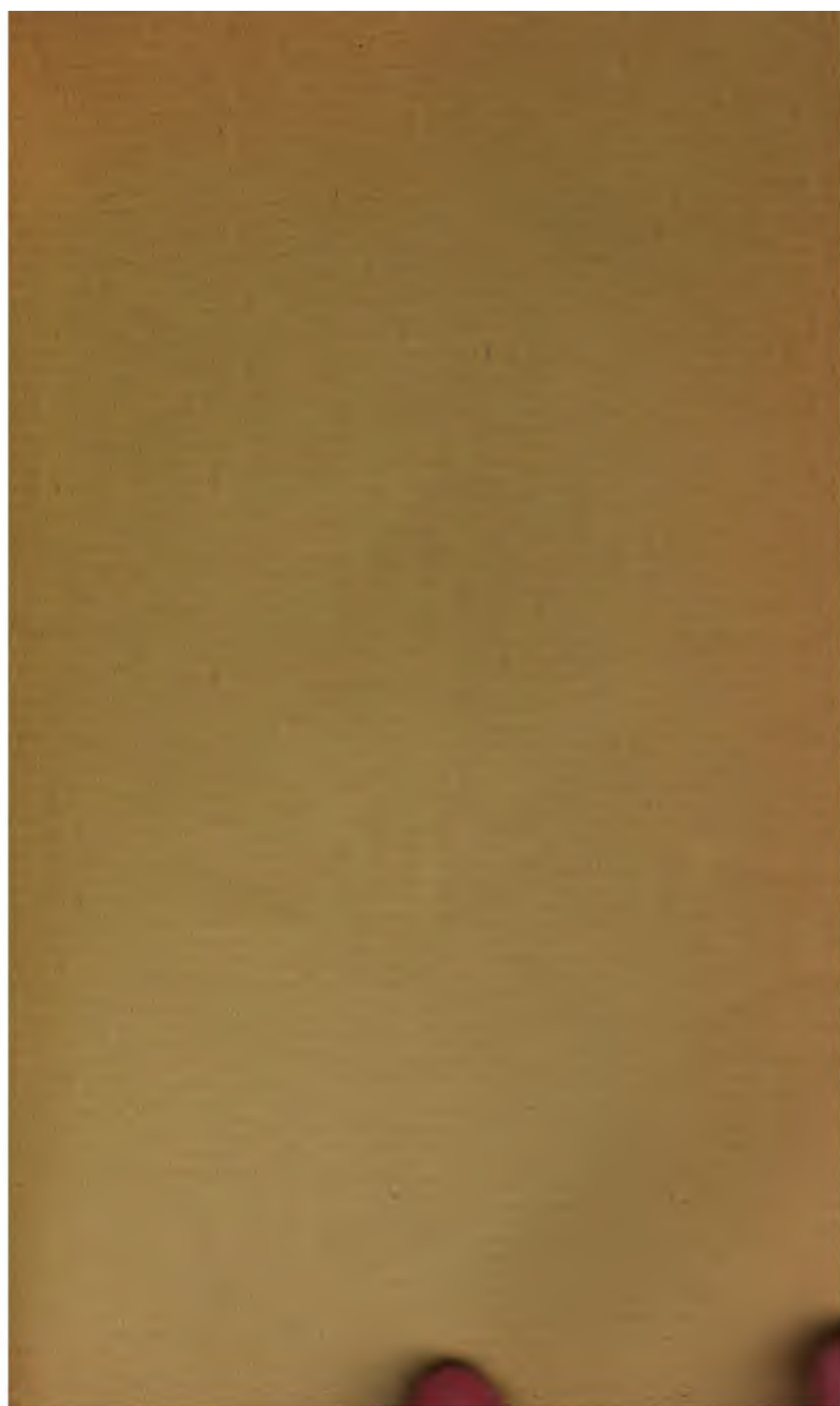
"AUNT BECKY YOUNG"—Sarah A. Graham was born in Ithaca, New York, August 9, 1830; she died in Des Moines, Iowa, April 6, 1908. She was first married on August 22, 1849, to Abel O. Palmer, who died before her enlistment, in 1862, as an army nurse. In June of the latter year she served in hospitals in Baltimore, Bladensburg and Beltsville, of which last she was placed in charge. She established and had charge of a hospital at Falls Church and was active and efficient in the service with the union army until the fall of Richmond. Besides the love of thousands of soldiers whom she aided, she received commendations from officials, including General Grant and President Lincoln. She was married to Mr. D. C. Young April 10, 1867, and the following year they removed to Des Moines, where Mr. Young survives. In the organization of the Iowa Sanitary Commission in 1898 Mrs. Young was a leading factor, serving as president and also as chairman of the purchasing and forwarding committees. Brief as were hostilities with Spain, this organization was thoroughly perfected and did measureless good.

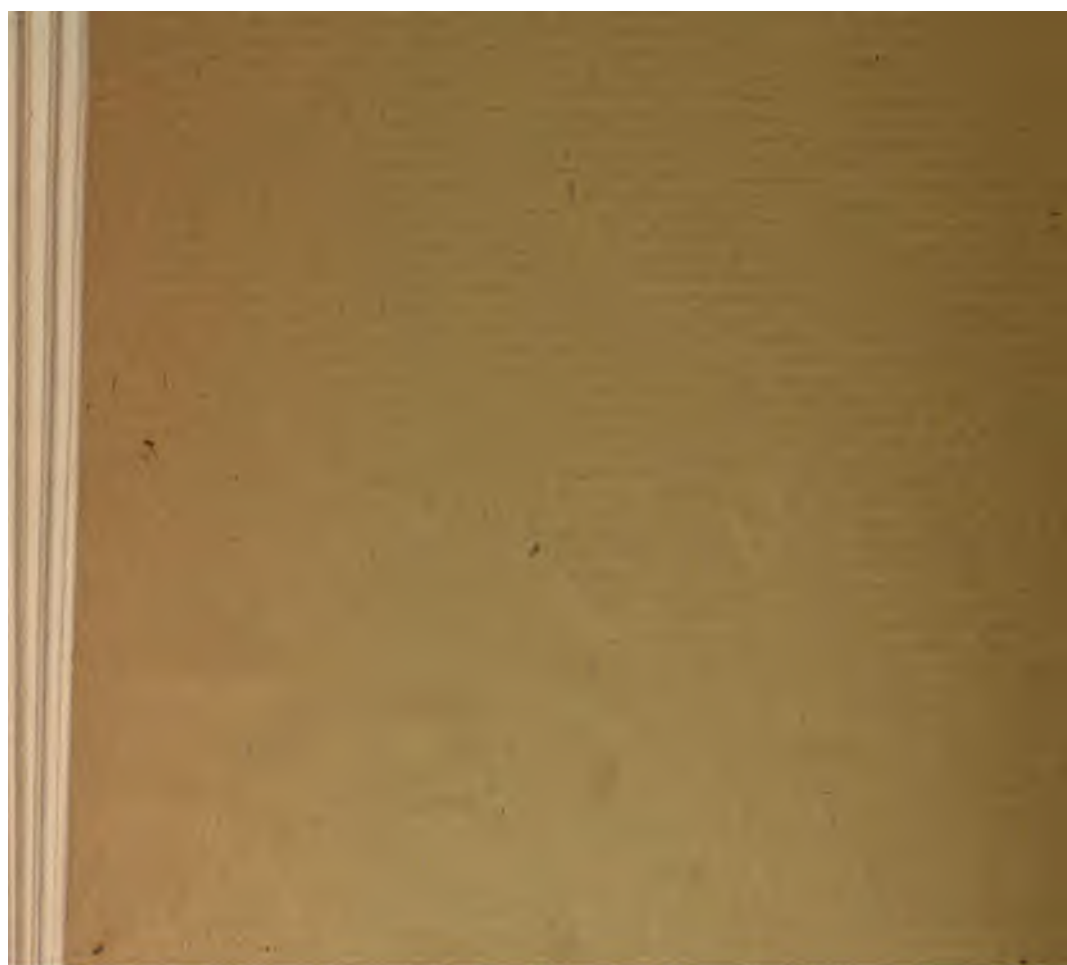
D. R. HINDMAN was born in Otsego county, New York, May 10, 1834; he died in Boone, Iowa, April 17, 1908. His early education was received at Whitestown Seminary and his legal training at the Clinton Law School. He went to Portage City, Wisconsin, in 1860 to commence the practice and soon enlisted in the Nineteenth Wisconsin Infantry, rising from the ranks to be captain of a company. In 1866 he removed to Boone county, Iowa, actively and successfully engaging in the legal profession until his appointment to fill a vacancy on the bench of the Eleventh Judicial District in 1888. He served with distinction for eleven years and returned to the practice in which he held a prominent place up to within a few months of his death.

THOMAS E. HAINES was born in Carroll county, Ohio, January 21, 1831; he died at Altoona, Polk county, Iowa, May 9, 1908. Mr. Haines left Ohio in 1863 and in company with a friend shipped twelve hundred sheep to Chicago and drove them to Mahaska county, Iowa. The sheep industry was followed for four years, when Mr. Haines entered the grain business at Altoona, continuing this until 1906, when he closed up business affairs and retired. He served in the Iowa House of Representatives of the Nineteenth General Assembly, being on committees on Public Buildings, Roads and Highways, Claims and Reform Schools. He was very successful in business, a member of the Masonic order and of the Christian church.

J. SCOTT RICHMAN was born at Somerset, Perry county, Ohio, March 11, 1820; he died at his home in Muscatine, Iowa, May 17, 1908. He removed to Knoxville, Illinois, and studied law about 1837 and to Rochester, Cedar county, Iowa, in 1839, where he was admitted to the bar. In 1840 he removed to Muscatine, where he began and thereafter remained in the active practice of the law throughout his long career except for nine years ending in 1872, when he served on the District bench. Judge Richman was a member of the Iowa Constitutional Convention of 1846 and was the last survivor of that noteworthy body of men. He served as chief clerk of the Iowa House of Representatives in 1848, and as a member of the extra session of the Fifth General Assembly in 1856, filling a vacancy caused by the death of Reason Pritchard. He maintained a reputation for high character, strong attainments and success at the bar for the longest period of any person in Iowa annals. He was a Whig, but became and remained a republican in politics. He was an early member of the second lodge of Masons instituted in Iowa and received many honors in the order.

MRS. MARCIA M. (Sutherland) MERRITT was born March 27, 1827, in Chautauqua county, New York; she died in Des Moines, Iowa, June 5, 1908. She was married to Col. William H. Merritt on January 8, 1846, removing at once with her husband to Iowa. Colonel Merritt founded the *Dubuque Herald* and the *Des Moines Statesman*, which later became the *Leader*; he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Iowa Infantry and once mayor and once postmaster of Des Moines. He died in Des Moines in 1891.







THIRD SERIES.

VOL. VIII. NO. 7.

OCTOBER, 1908.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE
HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

CHARLES ALDRICH, Curator.

PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR. SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS.

DES MOINES, IOWA.

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at Des Moines, Iowa.

ANNALS OF IOWA

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C. C. Morse

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VIII, No. 7. DES MOINES, IOWA, OCTOBER, 1908. 3D SERIES.

BEGINNING FIFTY YEARS OF PRACTICE AT THE IOWA BAR.

BY C. C. NOURSE.¹

In the spring of 1850 I had determined to seek a location for the practice of law in some western state. I first thought of migrating to Oregon on the Pacific coast, but I feared if I travelled that far from my intended wife I might never have the means to return to Kentucky to claim her, so I fixed upon the idea of removing to Iowa. Before deciding this important question, however, I wrote to her explaining the situation and again calling her attention to the uncertainties of the future. I felt that it was hardly justice to her to insist upon our engagement if she felt that my future was too uncertain. I received in answer to this letter a kind assurance that her faith had not failed, and she cited that beautiful passage of scripture containing the answer of Ruth to Naomi: "Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go: and where thou lodgest, I

¹A man whose career will be noticeable in Iowa annals from 1851 until his late retirement from active life is Charles Clinton Nourse. He was born at Sharpsburg, Maryland, April 1, 1829. His father, Charles Nourse, was of English descent, born at Frankfort, Kentucky. His mother, Susan Cameron, was a Virginian of Scotch descent. She died October 10, 1835. The father took his orphan children to Kentucky in 1841, and between that state and Ohio, Charles C. Nourse passed his youth. He was taught the rudiments of learning by his father whose occupation was that of a school teacher. Young Charles served some time as assistant to his father in schools in Ohio and Kentucky; the last position of this kind being four years in the Lexington public school. He advanced himself in learning until in the fall of 1849 he could avail himself of a scholarship tendered by the city of Lexington in the law course of Transylvania University. He graduated in 1850. His preceptors were Judges Robinson and Marshall of the Kentucky Supreme Court. He had decided on a career at the bar whilst residing in Lancaster, Ohio, where he was influenced by acquaintance with Henry Stanbery, afterward U. S. Attorney-General, and Thomas Ewing, afterward U. S. Secretary of the Treasury. During his residence in Lexington while specially applying himself to the study of law, he received the tremendous benefit of contact with Thomas F. Marshall, Henry Clay and other great lights of the old Kentucky bar. After graduation he soon decided to go west, and, locating in Iowa, he spent his life there.

Besides the honors he won before removing to Des Moines in 1858 he has lately discharged the offices of District Judge and Attorney General and maintained his position in the forefront of the Iowa bar.

will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God: Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me."

In the spring of 1851 I returned to Kentucky for a short visit, my brother Joseph having loaned me fifty dollars in money and trusted me for a new suit of clothes. In the meantime my father had removed to Millersburg, Ky., and commenced teaching there a branch of what was known as Johnson's Military Academy, the principal school being at Blue Licks, Ky., in charge of James G. Blaine, afterwards a Republican candidate for President of the United States, and the lady he afterwards married also assisted my father in his school, and received visits from Mr. Blaine on Saturdays and Sundays.

It was the latter part of May, 1851, when I started west to grow up with the country. We had then no railroads reaching the Mississippi river from the east, and I took the steamer at Louisville, Ky., for St. Louis, Mo. At St. Louis I took the steamer for Iowa, not yet determined as to my landing. The waters of the river were at flood-tide. On our passage up the river we saw frame houses floating past us. I landed in Burlington the last day of May and stopped at the Barrett House. I was not acquainted with a single person in the State of Iowa, had no relative, kindred or friend to whom I could apply for advice or assistance. After a hearty dinner I retired to my room, took a chair, put my feet upon my trunk and held a consultation with myself. The question before the house was what to do next. I had with me a general letter of recommendation from Professor Dodd, then President of the Transylvania University and a particular friend of my father, and another from Dr. T. O. Edwards of Lancaster, Ohio, a member of Congress from that state, and also my letter as a member of the Methodist church, and my diploma signed by the law faculty and trustees of the Transylvania University. After proper consideration I inquired of the landlord of the hotel where I could find a Methodist preacher. As I was satisfied there must be such a person in

the city. He directed me to the parsonage; I called upon the minister and made his acquaintance, the Reverend Dennis, who afterwards obtained some notoriety as a pastor in Kansas at the time of the Kansas troubles. He was a tall, white-headed man of pleasant countenance and affable manners. I showed him my papers and told him my object in calling was to, through him, make the acquaintance of some of the leading lawyers of the city from whom I could obtain information and determine in what part of the state I should attempt to locate.

At that time the Supreme Court of the State of Iowa was in session in Burlington, consisting of Joseph Williams, Chief Justice, and George Green and John F. Kinney, Justices. Mr. Dennis informed me that the judges were boarding at the Barrett House, and he made an appointment to go with me to their consultation room that afternoon and introduce me. We made the visit and I found the judges of the court very cordial. At their request I produced my diploma from the law school, told them who I was and where I was from and that I desired some information in regard to the best possible location for a young attorney. They requested me to call at the court-room the next morning at the opening of court, and they would have me admitted to the practice of law throughout the State. The next morning, at the request of Judge Kinney, Mr. Dixon of Keokuk who was then in attendance at the court made a motion for my admission to the bar, and suggested the appointment of a committee to examine me. The Chief Justice announced that that was unnecessary, that the court had already examined the applicant and was entirely satisfied with his qualifications, and requested me to come forward and take the oath of office, which I did. I made the acquaintance of the Clerk of the Court, "Old Timber," as we afterwards called him, his real name being James Woods.

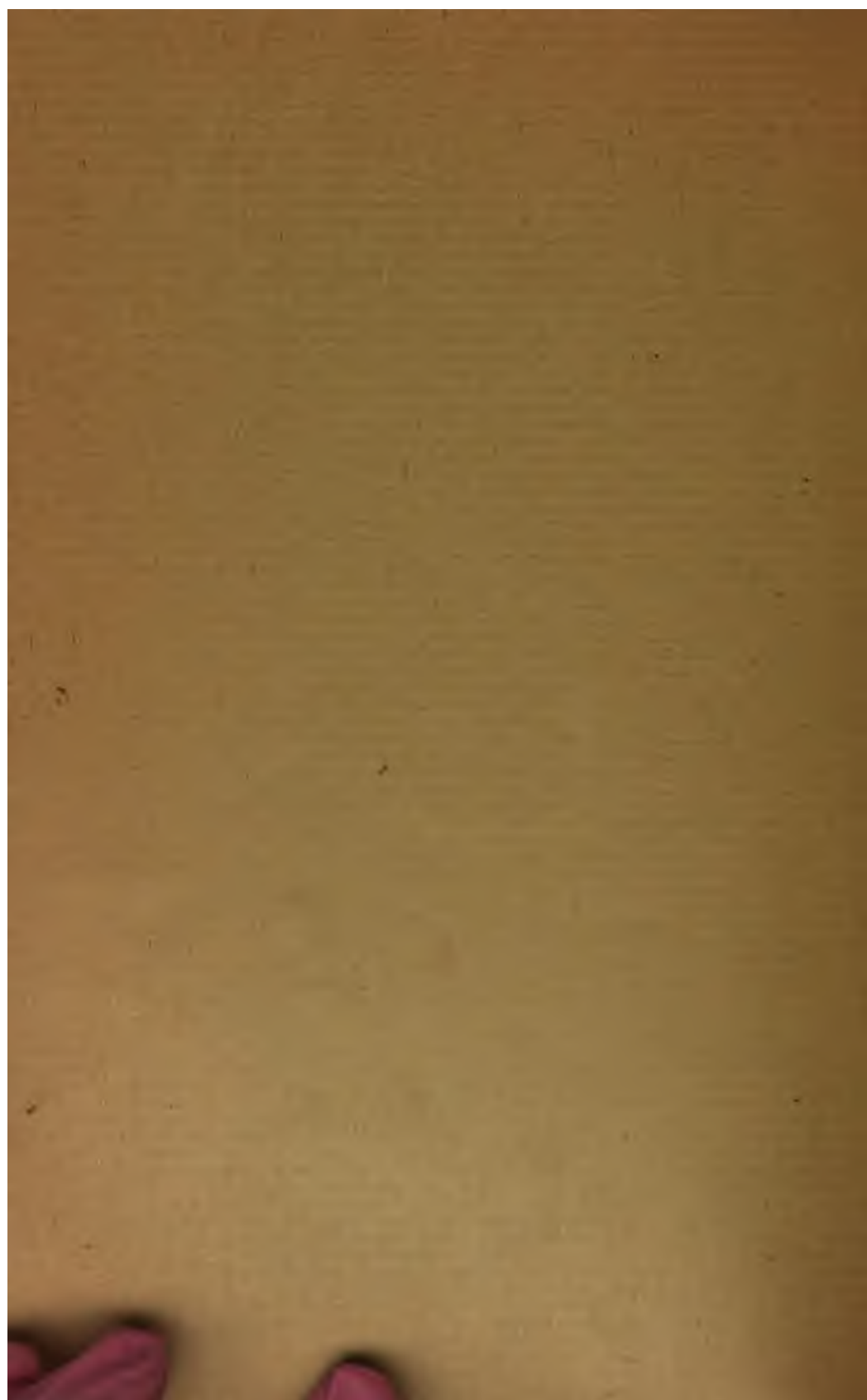
That evening Judge Kinney asked me to take a walk with him. He told me he had a brother-in-law, Augustus Hall, living at Keosauqua, Iowa, who was desirous of having a young lawyer associated with him and if I would go there

he would give me cheerfully a letter of introduction. I ascertained that the stage fare to Keosauqua would be six dollars. Upon taking an inventory of my pocket-book I found I had only about eight dollars. I had with me two trunks, one filled with law books, the other with clothing. I told the landlord my situation financially and proposed to him that I would leave my books in his custody and leave my bill unpaid, if agreeable to him, until such time as I could send for my books, as I was still uncertain where I should settle. He readily agreed but proposed that I should take my books as he would risk my sending the amount of my bill, this offer, however, I declined. The next morning Judge Kinney called me to one side, kindly suggesting that it was not unusual for young men who were short of funds to visit Iowa for the purpose of locating, and he would be glad to loan me a small amount if I would accept of it. This kindness I also declined. I had no doubt that he had been advised by the landlord of my situation, and he was kind enough to attempt to help me.

The next morning I took the stage-coach for Keosauqua, but owing to the condition of the roads and particularly of Skunk river, I was taken to Keokuk where I had to stay all night. After paying my bill there the next morning I found I had only twenty cents left. The next day the stage-coach took me up The Divide, as we called it, as far as Utica post-office in Van Buren county, and there left me, the hack that should have taken me from there to Keosauqua having already gone. I could not stay there all night because I had no money to pay any bill, so I left my remaining trunk in charge of the postmaster to be sent to Keosauqua the next day on the hack, and I started to walk to Keosauqua, about ten miles distant. I had not walked far before I found that I had sprained my ankle slightly in jumping from the coach that morning. The walking became very painful, but I managed to reach Keosauqua about sundown that evening. The first building that looked like a hotel or public house was a frame building that stood southeast of the court-house. The high waters of the Des Moines river had flooded the lower part of

the town. I found this place was a boarding house and took my seat on a bench on the porch near the front door. Presently the lady of the house appeared, and looking at me very inquiringly wanted to know who I was, where I was from, what was my business, and where I was going. I was a sorry looking subject, having waded through the mud for ten miles and I presume I looked as I felt—very tired. I gave her my real name, told her I had no business, that I did not know where I was going, and that I came from Keokuk that day. She told me her house was full and she did not believe she could accommodate me with a night's lodging. I then asked her very politely for permission to remain upon the porch until I was sufficiently rested so that I could go further down town and obtain lodging. I asked her about the town, its population, and about the high waters. She turned out to be Mrs. Obid Stannard, the mother of Ed Stannard, afterwards Lieutenant Governor of Missouri and a very successful business man of St. Louis. She was a good talker and after conversing with her about twenty minutes, I got up to take my leave, thanking her very cordially. She relented and told me she thought if I would stay that she could find accommodation for me, but I told her no, that I could not put a lady to any inconvenience when it was unnecessary and I must go; so I left and went down to the front street in the town to the Keosauqua House kept then by "Father Shepherd," as we always called him, with whom I boarded until after I was married in 1853.

Keosauqua at that time, as indeed it has been ever since, was a small town of about 1,500 inhabitants, located on the Des Moines river, the county seat of Van Buren county. It possessed one of the best bars of the State, and among its inhabitants then were men who became distinguished in the history of the State. The men more actively engaged in practice were George G. Wright, for many years afterwards a judge of the supreme court of the State, and United States Senator Joseph C. Knapp, judge of the district court of that district, and afterwards United States District Attorney, and Augustus Hall, afterwards a member of Congress from



make the acquaintance of these officials as they visited his hotel from time to time, and that his pay for my board depended largely upon my success in business. I asked him to be my friend, and at least let people know why I was there and what my proposed business was. He became my fast friend and helped me to make very many valuable acquaintances, though he was a Democrat and father-in-law of Delazon Smith, one of the leading young Democrats in the county.

Early in the spring of 1853 I received a letter from my intended wife, suggesting that my success in business she thought gave sufficient promise for the future, and that it was not necessary for us to wait longer. Accordingly I got together one hundred dollars in money, made a trip around the river to Louisville, Ky., and thence via rail to Lexington for the purpose of realizing something of the deferred hope. We were married on the 15th of April of that year. Before going to Kentucky and claiming my bride I purchased from the Reverend Daniel Lane a house and two lots in Keosauqua, at the price of three hundred and fifty dollars, and borrowed fifty dollars from Thomas Devon to make the first payment. I had also attended several auction sales and bought some chairs and tables, a cook stove and a few dishes. My wife's mother had packed a feather bed, some pillows and bed clothes and quilts of the old style in a store box, and we returned to Iowa the latter part of April, 1853. The expense of my trip and marriage left me only two dollars of the one hundred I had when I started for my bride. We arrived in Keosauqua on Sunday in a slight April shower. On Monday we proceeded to the house I had purchased, which was in need of repair. We whitewashed the walls and my wife washed the windows. The next day we made a bill of about forty dollars at the store for additional house-keeping facilities—I bought a sack of flour and a ham of meat and on Tuesday evening we took tea at home. It was the first home I had had, in the proper sense of the term, since we left Maryland, and when we sat down at our own table to drink our cup of tea and eat the biscuit made by my own wife, I could not repress the

tears that came to my eyes, and I thanked God for the mercy that he had bestowed upon us.

In the fall of 1853 I made a trip west through the southern tier of counties, attending the courts in Davis, Appanoose, Wayne and Decatur counties. I made the trip on horseback with a pair of saddle-bags that contained my necessary baggage.

From Bloomfield I was accompanied by H. H. Trimble and Mr. Palmer, members of the bar, and at Centerville Mr. Tannehill and Ames Harris joined our party. The country west of Centerville was very sparsely settled and the road consisted merely of two paths worn by the horses and wagon wheels on the prairie grass. In Wayne county we applied at a settler's house for accommodations for the night, but the housewife informed us that her husband had gone to mill, and that she had nothing in the house to eat save a little bacon. She said if we would remain she would entertain us with such accommodations as the place afforded. The corn was hardly yet ripe enough to feed our horses, but if we would select the ripest and use some salt in feeding we were welcome to do so. We also, at her request, plucked some of the softer ears of the corn and these she grated upon a large tin grater, and frying some of the bacon in her skillet she made cakes of the grated corn and fried them in the fat. She also gave us a cup of good coffee and with the appetites we had acquired in our travel we made a very hasty and palatable meal.

When bedtime came she made us beds upon the floor. The next morning we had a breakfast of the same corn, bacon and coffee. The lady made a very reasonable charge for our entertainment, and she had no reason to doubt the sincerity of our compliments upon the fare. The next morning we rode into Corydon, the county seat of Wayne county. The only hotel in the place was a small one and one-half story frame house, with a shed addition for kitchen and dining hall. Our bed-room was the upstairs and our beds were in two rows with our heads under the eaves, and our feet touching each other in the center of the room. We had

no separate apartment and our wearing apparel furnished the pillows.

The court was held in a frame schoolhouse on the public square. The boundaries of the public square were ascertained by a lot of wooden stakes or pegs. There was no general store in the place. An enterprising peddler with two large peddling wagons came through with us from Centerville and erected a tent in the center of the square for the display and sale of his goods, and whenever the court was not in actual session his store was opened for business. Judge Townsend, of Monroe county, was the judge of the court.

From Wayne county we went to Decatur county, the peddler also keeping us company with his itinerant dry goods establishment. During this trip I made the acquaintance of very many young men that afterwards became distinguished as lawyers, legislators and judges. The only lawsuit in which I was consulted was a slander case tried in Wayne county. The suit was brought in behalf of a young woman for damages because of words spoken against her reputation. Amos Harris, from Centerville, was engaged as attorney by the defendant. When the case was about to be called for trial Harris asked my advice as to the course to be pursued. I retired with him to the shady side of the schoolhouse for consultation. He told me that his client was a man of some property and that the plaintiff had some witnesses who would testify clearly and positively to the slanderous words spoken by his client of and concerning the young lady. He said his client really had not injured the reputation of the young woman at all because nobody believed him nor believed anything that he said, as he had a very bad reputation for veracity. He said they could make no defense whatever for the girl's character was good and he was afraid of a large verdict for damages against his client. He asked me if I could think of any way that he could help his client out of the difficulty. I asked him if he could prove that nobody believed what his client said. He said, yes, there were plenty of persons that would testify to that, but he could not see how that was any defense. I told him it was no defense against the slander, but

it might be proved with advantage in mitigation of damages, provided his client would be willing to save his money at the expense of his reputation. Harris called his client out and suggested the course I recommended. The fellow winced, but finally consented that Harris might make the proof. I suggested that as the lady's witnesses were all friendly to her, that Harris might, on cross examination, prove by them that they did not at the time or ever believe the slander that his client had uttered against the lady and that they had never repeated it to anyone except accompanied by the statement of their belief that it was false. This Harris did and introduced several other witnesses to prove the bad reputation of his client for truth and veracity. The plaintiff's attorneys objected and the Court first hesitated to allow the witnesses to so testify, but upon the suggestion that it was the best thing for the lady's reputation, and that as nearly the whole population of the county was there attending court, it was better to clear up her reputation by this testimony than to give her money to heal her wounded feelings, the Court finally took this view of the case and permitted the evidence to go to the jury in mitigation of damages. The jury found a verdict in favor of the lady for the sum of only twenty dollars. She

went home with her character thoroughly vindicated and her reputation restored. The only one unhappy over the result appeared to be the attorney for the lady. He was undoubtedly expecting a handsome recovery as the only means of compensating him for his professional work. From Decatur county I returned home, having learned much of the country and its people, and having made many interesting acquaintances among the members of the bar.

I may now tell something of my political career, which properly begins at about this date. I had been made chairman of the County Committee of the then fast dissolving organization known as the Whig party. In the fall of 1854 I was a candidate for re-election as County Attorney. We had nominated a county ticket of two candidates for the State Senate and four candidates for Representative. James W. Grimes was the candidate for Governor. The Democratic

party had passed what was called the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill" containing a clause repealing the Missouri Compromise measure, adopted in 1820, that prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude in the territories of the United States that had been acquired by the Louisiana purchase, north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes of north latitude. This had resulted in the partial disorganization of the Democratic party throughout many of the northern states. I had left Kentucky because of my opposition to slavery, and especially what I regarded as the baleful influence of that institution upon the white population. I had settled in Iowa because it was a free state and because I felt that the opportunities for success in life would be greater than in a slave state. I had observed whilst in Kentucky that the fixed conditions of political, social and business life made the success of the young man, depending only on his own energies and abilities, always doubtful and difficult.

Upon my defeat as prosecuting attorney in 1854, at the suggestion of several members elected to the legislature from Van Buren county, I went to Iowa City in their company at the beginning of the session, and through their influence I was elected clerk of the House of Representatives of the State of Iowa. I found this position of great advantage and help, not only pecuniarily, but I made the acquaintance of public men of all parties during the session. Afterwards in 1856-7 I was elected Secretary of the State Senate. In 1854, at the dissolution of the old Whig party there existed a political organization in many of the states of the Union called the "Know Nothings." It was a secret political organization, having for its principal doctrines opposition to the Roman Catholics and to the foreign born citizens of the United States. I refused to affiliate with this Know Nothing organization for the reason that I did not believe in secret political societies or organizations in this country, and I did not believe in making the religious faith or affiliations of any man a test for office, neither did I believe that anyone should be excluded from the confidence and respect of his fellow men because of the place of his birth. Hence, as county chairman of the expiring Whig party, I issued to the people of Van Buren county a circular

stating my position and declining to call any convention to co-operate with the Know Nothing organization. I did this for the further reason that the opposition to the extension of slavery into the territories was becoming every day more and more pronounced in the northern states of the Union, and the nucleus of what was afterwards the Republican party had already been formed in many of the northern states.

It may be interesting to have the history of how Henry Clay Dean became a Democrat, and to note how a slight thing may change the destiny and fortune of a man in this life. In the fall of 1854 the Methodist Annual Conference for Iowa met at the city of Dubuque. It was the custom at that early day for the members of the conference to become guests of the citizens of the locality where it had its meeting. Dean was then a member of the Conference and had been receiving and filling regular appointments as a pastor. At Dubuque resided Hon. George W. Jones, then a Democratic United States Senator from Iowa. Jones maintained a good table and was a good liver, and his wife an excellent, hospitable lady. In assigning the members of the Conference to the different citizens, Dean was assigned as the guest of Senator Jones and his wife. After the Conference had been in session a few days, the Know Nothings, having been secretly organized in Dubuque, became very active in obtaining the names of the Methodist ministers, and in initiating them into their order. Among other names presented and favorably acted upon was that of Henry Clay Dean, my former pastor and friend. After he had been elected and the time appointed for his initiation was a few nights hence, one of the over-zealous ministers represented to Brother Dean that as he had now been elected a member of the Know Nothing organization it was not proper for him to continue to be the guest of and accept the hospitality of the wife of George W. Jones, who was a Roman Catholic. Dean was an enormous eater and the suggestion that he should give up his nice boarding place greatly offended him, and he denounced the suggestion as bigotry and presumption inexcusable. He at once went to Senator Jones and told him of the proposition that had been made to him and the

cause of it, and denounced the Know Nothing organization in most uncompromising terms. The Senator was pleased with Brother Dean's zeal in the matter, and induced him on the succeeding Sabbath to preach a sermon on "Know Nothingism" and to denounce it from the pulpit. Dean was a man of more than ordinary ability with a wonderful command of language.

Upon the adjournment of the Conference Senator Jones wrote to Judge Knapp at Keosauqua stating the situation and suggesting that Dean be employed in the political canvass against the Know Nothings that fall, and be encouraged in his opposition to that Order. Dean returned to Keosauqua and I had a long conference with him upon this matter. I knew that he had been engaged several years before in collecting the most learned and effective arguments in favor of protective tariff delivered in Congress from time to time, especially from Whig members from the State of Pennsylvania. I also knew that he had preached some of the bitterest sermons against human slavery that I had ever heard from the pulpit or from any source, and I urged upon him that he could not consistently co-operate with the Democratic party because of his views in regard to the tariff and because of his opposition to slavery. I pointed out to him that the organization of the Republican party was then proceeding in most of the states and that his feelings, sentiments and views would be better expressed by the position of that organization; that the Know Nothing party was a mere temporary passion and would effervesce and disappear in a short time, and that his efforts in opposition to it would be wholly unnecessary and gratuitous. But he was too wroth and anxious for his revenge against those who suggested that he decline the hospitality and good dinners of Senator Jones. He accordingly entered the canvass, and that fall, there being the election in Virginia in which Henry A. Wise was the Democratic candidate for Governor opposed by the Know Nothings, Dean with letters of recommendation from Jones, Senator Dodge and other leading Democrats of Iowa, went to Virginia and entered the political canvass in favor of Wise, who was elected. Dean then

went to Washington City. With the influence of Dodge, Jones and the Virginia delegation he was elected Chaplain of the United States Senate, and thereafter, and especially during the Civil War, he made himself notorious as a Democratic orator.

The General Assembly of 1854-5 elected George G. Wright, then of Van Buren county, Norman W. Isbell and William G. Woodward, Judges of the Supreme Court of the State to fill the vacancy caused by the expirations of the terms of Judges Williams, Kinney and Greene. At this session also occurred the first election of James Harlan, United States Senator. Mr. Harlan was not permitted to take his seat under this election, for the reason that at the adjourned joint session at which he was elected, the Senate as an organized body with their president, Maturin L. Fisher, had not participated in the election, but had previously adjourned the session of the State Senate. Mr. Harlan was again elected in the session of 1856-7 and his right was recognized by the Senate.

In the summer of the year 1856 a Republican Convention was called for the State to be held at Iowa City, for the organization of that party in sympathy with other State organizations of like name and principles. As the sole surviving official of the old Whig party in Van Buren county, I called a County Convention to meet at Keosauqua for the purpose of appointing delegates to the State Convention to be held at Iowa City. I wrote a letter to my friend, H. C. Caldwell, asking him to write a letter to Judge Wright and urge upon him the propriety, as he could not be present at this County Convention, of writing a letter endorsing and encouraging the movement. Judge Wright declined to write any such letter and simply wrote to Mr. Caldwell that he hoped we were doing right in calling the County Convention.

I was present at the County Convention and we started the movement with such enthusiasm as we were able to awaken. Delegates were duly appointed, but the attendance at Iowa City required of them an overland trip of some seventy-five miles. I then owned a small gray mare and a mustang pony

and what was called a Democrat wagon, having two seats. With this team and wagon I furnished the transportation for the delegation, and Van Buren county was represented in the State Convention by Abner H. McCrary, our State Senator from Van Buren county, Dr. William Craig, George C. Duffield and myself; I am the last one living. I had the honor also to be appointed one of the secretaries of this, the first Republican State Convention held in Iowa. It was the beginning of the political organization that has ever since, with the exception of a period of four years, controlled the legislation and policy of the State.

REPORT UPON THE PROPRIETY OF ABANDONING FORTS ARMSTRONG AND DES MOINES.¹

SIR,—Your letter of the 17th inst. reached me at St. Louis, and in due course of mail. The report which you direct me to make upon the propriety of abandoning Forts Armstrong and Des Moines, I will now present in the order pointed out by you.

1st. As to the expediency of breaking up the present establishment at Rock Island. The establishment of the fort in the first instance was with a view to the protection of our frontier citizens, in other words to aid in securing such control over the Indians thereabout as might at all times be exercised in a way to insure the general quiet. Whether the object contemplated has been obtained throughout need not now be enquired into, it is enough to know that the inquietude which dictated the order for the establishment of the fort is now dispelled by the removal of the Indians to a distant point and

¹ The Historical Department recently received this document which, though not signed, has on it a memorandum, recently made, the substance of which is verified in a letter from the Adjutant General of the United States as follows: "From a comparison of the enclosed manuscript with records on file, it is believed the handwriting of the manuscript is that of Colonel George Croghan, formerly Inspector General, United States Army. No report of Colonel Croghan containing information such as that contained in the manuscript has been found on file in this office."

that there no longer exists a necessity for keeping up its garrison. Let the post then be abandoned, but previously thereto, at all events simultaneously therewith, remove the Indian agency to the point which may be fixed upon for the military establishment at the same time withdraw the license granted to the trader at Rock Island that after the withdrawal of the troops the Indians may have neither excuse nor inducement for a continuance of their visits there, which cannot be made without attendant evil consequences, for invariably on his return home through the white settlements he is deprived as he would say unfairly of his purchases or presents. What can follow but a burning desire to revenge himself upon the first white man he may meet, for they are all in his eye equally guilty of the fraud which has been practiced upon him.

2d. The place which should be selected upon the Des Moines. Agreeably to your instructions, I have conversed freely on this subject with both Lt. Cols. Davenport and Kearney. Lt. Col. D. I found well informed upon all matters relating to the Sauk & Fox Indians and though he did not disagree with me as to inutility of continuing a garrison upon Rock Island he seemed rather to question the propriety of breaking it up immediately for the purpose of establishing it upon the Des Moines, which river he thinks possesses not the same military advantages that are held out by the lower Ioway river.

Col. K. is decidedly opposed to the establishment of a garrison upon any part of the Des Moines, or indeed to the erection of any new forts. He would give the garrison at Fort Armstrong either to Prairie du Chien or St. Peters, insisting upon it that with his command of dragoons he can keep the peace of all the country thereabouts. I question his ability to perform the service he will take upon himself. I would not express a doubt about his trying. At all events to insure him success as far as practicable, it would be necessary to arm him with power to punish forthwith such whites as he might find trespassing upon the Indian lands, for to such scoundrels half the Indian outrages may invariably be traced.

Since my note to you of the 25th Dec. I have had frequent conversations with Gen. Clark and other gentlemen, the best informed upon the subject which I have under consideration. All agree with me in the propriety of breaking up Fort Armstrong but they cannot so readily fix upon a point on the Des Moines to which its garrison shall be sent, being unacquainted with the navigable character of the river.

Left then in a great measure to my own judgment in the case, and required by you to designate some place for a military location, I will fix upon the mouth of the Raccoon fork as combining perhaps more advantages than are presented by any other point on the river. It is very nearly, if not equally accessible by water as Cedar Point, and is besides much farther removed from the Missouri state line than that point, a circumstance not to be forgotten when recollecting that the Indians when not upon their hunting grounds will most generally be about the agency and trading horses, be they near or at a distance from the white settlements and it should be a care to keep them as far as possible separated. You will perceive by the accompanying map that Raccoon fork is 50 miles N. of the Missouri line.

The Upper fork of the Des Moines is not without its advantages and could it be provisioned as easily as the Raccoon fork (and it might be for ought I know) it might be esteemed the most eligible situation of the two from its admirable location with respect to Council Bluffs and St. Peters, being directly in a line between the two and not more than 125 miles from either, and more than this it lies within the neutral ground separating the Sauk and Sioux upon which both tribes wish that a garrison should be located. Keokuck has already expressed great unwillingness to the erection of a fort upon the Des Moines unless it be upon the neutral ground as above stated. Did I know more particularly your views with respect to our Indian relations I should perhaps not feel so much at a loss in determining a military position on the Des Moines the best calculated to meet them. If your sole object in erecting a fort upon the Des Moines be the preserva-

tion of the peace between the whites and the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians, I should advise its location lower down so as to interpose between the white settlements and the Indian towns, but believing that peace with the Sioux is also considered by you it is therefore that I have located at the Raccoon fork as a point as more likely to be properly considered by that tribe.

If it be intended in the arrangements of our military forts not only to protect ourselves from Indian outrages but at the same time to keep the peace among the several tribes themselves, the end cannot be secured without the occupancy of some point about the Council Bluffs, at all events above the by [?] river Platte. We are bound in honor to secure the immigrating Indians against danger from the powerful tribes above them on the Missouri and its tributaries and it cannot be done under existing circumstances. I would then recommend that one entire regiment of infantry occupy some point above the Platte and that the Regiment of Dragoons be stationed (when not on distant service) at Fort Leavenworth. But let the decision with respect to the Regiment of Infantry be as it may, I would advise that [?] Leavenworth be given up exclusively to the Dragoons and that Lt. Col. Kearney's command be ordered there, at least as soon as the barracks which he now occupies becomes uninhabitable. Yours 3d January then with respect to the present Dragoons location N. of the Missouri is now answered. Having directed your inquiries with [?] relation to the Des Moines I may be traveling somewhat out of the line pointed out, but it may not be unpleasant to you that I should continue on and state my reasons for the occupancy of some place about the Council Bluffs.

The establishment of such a fort is essential.

1st. In consequence of the approximation of our white settlements to Indians who have claimed and occupied the country adjacent to that point since our earliest intercourse with them.

2nd. The position assigned to the Potowotomics, and which will be assigned to other immigrating Indians, and 3d.

the influence which it exerts over the great nation of Sioux of the Missouri river, who if conjecture be verified, will very soon be joined by all the Sioux of the St. Peters.

The Indians in the immediate vicinity of the fort in question are the Ottos and Missouris 25 miles distant from Council Bluffs on the Platte, the Omahas and Puncas (70 or 80 miles above on the Missouri S. side). Several bands of the Pawnees (a powerful and turbulent nation) to the west about 150 miles in the rear and on the N. side of the Missouri from the boundary of the State to a point 100 miles above the Bluffs having been in part assigned to immigrating Indians and the residue allotted as a common hunting ground to all Indians who were parties to the treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1830. A battle field is thus prepared for every party thus privileged. But in view of the combustible material here already collected and increasing it will be borne in mind that the country of the Missouri Sioux commences only 100 miles above the Council Bluffs and extends up the Missouri river many hundreds of miles, inhabited by the most powerful and warlike tribes of Indians with whom we had intercourse. Conviction must then force itself upon you that sooner or later conflicts must take place. The Indians below will extend their excursions as game becomes scarce, into the country of the Sioux above, and that retaliation which is a consequence of such trespass will be visited surely in some unpleasant shape or another, unless it be prevented by a military force. My reasoning may not convince you but my conviction is that Council Bluffs is the most important military position between the Gulf of Mexico and the Red river of Lake Winnipeg, and further that its importance will continue to increase in proportion to the increase of Indians and whites in its vicinity.

OLD LETTERS.

EDITED BY WILLIAM SALTER.

I.

HENRY DODGE TO HIS DAUGHTERS, SALINA AND CHRISTIANA.

The following letter of Henry Dodge affords a glimpse into his fine domestic character. His daughter, Salina, became the wife of Major F. Truett; Christiana, the wife of James Clarke, third Governor of the Territory of Iowa.

FORT LEAVENWORTH, March 4, 1835.

Misses Salina and Christiana Dodge, Female Academy, Kaskaskia, Illinois.

MY DEAR CHILDREN: I received my youngest daughter's letter, dated on the 19th of January, by the last mail. The mails have been very irregular at this post during the winter. Your Mama, as well as myself, was exceedingly anxious to hear from you. I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from Mr. Morrison by the same mail that brought me Christiana's letter, informing me of the progress my younger daughter was making in her education, which was a source of great gratification to her parents. On consulting with your Mama, as well as the expressed desire of my youngest daughter, I concluded to permit you both to remain at school during the next summer. I have written to Mr. Morrison by this mail to furnish you the necessary clothing that you may want, as well to pay your schooling for the quarter ending on the 11th of June, and that I would remit the amount to Mr. Collier, merchant at St. Louis, subject to his order.

I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you next season, and in the meantime it will be a source of great gratification to your parents to receive letters from you both frequently. I hope, my dear children, you are both deeply impressed with the importance of improving every hour to advantage. Your future prospects, your happiness and usefulness in life will greatly depend upon the use you now make of your time. The minds of the young are susceptible of receiving early impressions that is to have a lasting influence on their actions and respectability through life. And be assured that although I am not with you I think of you daily and hope to see you learned and accomplished young ladies.

Present your Mama's as well as my best respects to the Sisters who have charge of the female academy.

Affectionately your father,

H. DODGE.

II.

HENRY DODGE TO GEORGE W. JONES.

MADISON, Jan. 8, 1848.

Gen'l George W. Jones, Dubuque, Iowa.

DEAR SIR: Mr. George Hyer is anxious to obtain a District of Public Surveying. He is a highly respectable gentleman and is at present the editor of the "Rock River Pilot," a Democratic paper printed at Watertown, in this Territory. He is a man of talent and every way trustworthy and deserves the respect and confidence of the Democratic party in Wisconsin.

Mr. Hyer thinks that a surveying expedition would have a tendency to restore his health, which has been delicate for some time.

Mr. Delaplaine, with whom you are acquainted, informs me that Mr. Hyer is an excellent practical surveyor. I desire always to give my aid to men of worth and integrity, to those whose situation requires help, and if consistent with your official arrangements I would be much gratified if Mr. Hyer could obtain the surveying he desires.

I am, with much esteem,

Your ob't serv't,
HENRY DODGE.

III.

GEORGE LEWIS TO W. S., BURLINGTON.

The writer was pastor of a Welch congregation on Flint creek, Des Moines county. With his family and some of his people he went to Kansas, July, 1855, where they took up claims between Lecompton and Lawrence. He describes what he there witnessed.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, July 12, 1856.

* * * One day I had a conversation with a man from Virginia (who lives about a mile from me) about the Congressional Committee and the bogus laws. I told him frankly my opinion, not mistrusting him to be a traitor, for he had never taken an active part with the pro-slavery party; but he went down to Lecompton that day and charged me of being a spy between Lecompton and Lawrence, and I received word before night that day that it was not safe for me to go either to Lecompton or Lawrence. One night an attempt was made to burn the house of one of my neighbors, but the owner got wind of it the day before. A company of Free-Sollers under arms gathered to protect the house, and when the mob got together they were fired upon—one horse was killed, one

man slightly wounded, two were taken prisoners and released next morning; the son of the governor being one of the gang, and another person ran into the woods close by, and did not leave till evening next day. The next day the governor went out on an exploring expedition for Sharp's rifles. He threatened to tear the heart out of one lady if she would not tell where her husband was. The lady was in a delicate condition. She felt much alarmed at the threat and the consequence was she miscarried and there she remained from 2 o'clock p. m. till 10 that evening all alone. * * * The governor was intoxicated so that he could hardly steer his horse that day. It is reported that when he gets in a state of inebriety he forgets himself; then his pro-slavery friends curse him because he does not do so and so, and then he curses them, and tells them to go and do it; and afterwards, when he is reminded of it, he does not recollect anything about it. With such a man at the head of your affairs, what can we expect but murders, pillages and outrages to take place?

One day lately I had been on an errand to Lecompton and was returning. About a mile from home I met a Southerner, and the following conversation occurred:

Southerner—"Where are you going, my friend?"

Myself—"I am going home, Sir."

Southerner—"What is the news?"

Myself—"Nothing special."

Southerner—"What paper is that?" (I had a newspaper in my hand.)

Myself—"It is the Lecompton Union, Sir."

(Having a pro-slavery paper in my hand, I suppose he thought I was '*right on the goose*,' pro-slavery phrase.)

Southerner—"The Abolitionists have killed four men again."

Myself—"Where at?"

Southerner—"At Hickory Point, where they killed 8 before. They are taking the law in *their own hands*; we will have to do the same. We must scour the Territory. We will soon give them. 'Hark from the tombs.' Where did you come from to this territory, my friend?"

Myself—"From the State of Iowa, Sir."

Southerner—"I suppose you are a *Free Soiler* then."

Myself—"Certainly; but I am willing to abide by the decision of the Ballot box. If it becomes a *free State*, I know I can live in it and if it becomes a *Slave State*, if I could not live in it, I suppose my pro-slavery friends would permit me to leave."

Southerner (smiling)—"You talk like a sensible man."

Myself—"That is the way I always talk. I do not want any more men to carry out republican principles."

My Southern friend left smiling. When the advocates of Slavery are met on that ground, they are compelled to admit that their opponents are right; but the trouble is they will turn round and cut their throats the first time they can have.

During the late disturbances here, it appeared as though the bottomless pit had taken an emetic and vomited all its filth upon this vicinity. You can judge what a miserable condition we have been in when peaceful citizens were arrested, dragged to the camp and kept prisoners for days, unless they could give a satisfactory account of themselves; horses were stolen in broad daylight * * * and threats were made to drive the *Freesoilers* away from their claims, or kill them all to give room to Southern settlers. * * * I was very thankful I had no horse for them to disturb; for it was with great difficulty that I managed to keep a yearling colt from being stolen by them. The sacking of Lawrence is nothing to be compared to the outrages that have been committed since in murdering the citizens, stealing horses, stopping teams on the highway and robbing them of their contents, and the teamsters of their money. They even stopped the stage one day, and robbed the passengers. Brother Hughes has been for 9 months sick a great part of the time of the chills. * * * The mob searched his house lately for *Sharp's Rifles*.

Brother Jones was one of the party who rescued Bronson from Sheriff Jones last fall. The mob have been in search of him lately; but nobody would tell them where he lived, everybody pretended not to know such a man, even those who were intimately acquainted with him, he is now in very low circumstances, he can not get but very little work, for the disturbance has discouraged a great portion of our people so that there is but little enterprise in the Territory at present. * * * I have not received a cent from any source since I came to the Territory. * * * The people have lost so much time so that they were not able to plant the half of what they otherwise would, so I have but little hopes of getting anything from them. I would be very thankful if I could get some clothing, and it would be a great help to me. * * *

LAWRENCE CITY, K. T., Aug. 26, 1856.

* * * I feel under great obligations to your ladies for sympathy to us that are annoyed by the invaders from a neighboring State. Our prospect is gloomy. Violence and outrage reign in the territory and men do not feel safe to go away from home. Occasionally, a man is attacked and butchered by the ruffians.
* * *

LAWRENCE, Oct. 13, 1856.

* * * It gives me great encouragement to find that the friends of freedom sympathize with us in our persecutions.

Things are a good deal quieter now than when I wrote to you before. On Sunday, Sept. 14th, a large army of the enemy made their appearance at Franklin, four miles from this place, and some 400 came up within a mile of this place, and about 15 of our boys went out to meet them. They exchanged several shots; none of our boys were hurt, but several of them were killed. The Missourians expected there were 2,000 men in Lawrence; but Lane and many of his men were gone away, and there were but some 350 men in the place. If the enemy had been aware of this, they could have come in very easy; but there would have been a great slaughter, for the citizens would have fired on them from the houses. The reason why Lane and his men had left was that Geary, the new governor, had stated if there was any fighting to be done, he would do it with the U. S. troops. About 10 o'clock Sunday night the troops came down from Lecompton; about 400 of them, with four pieces of cannon to guard the town. Early Monday morning the governor came down and went down to Franklin, and ordered the Territorial militia to disband. * * * Some of them came up this way and wanted to cross the Kansas river at this place, but our boys would not promise not to fire on them; so the governor concluded they had better not attempt it. They camped on the hill south of town, and next morning went up to Lecompton, and five miles from this place they stole several horses, and shot David Buffum in the bowels so that he died the next morning. They had stolen his horses before they shot him, and some of them had been to his house a couple of weeks before and plundered it of about \$300.00 worth at that time. * * * Because he would not admit that he owned a Sharp's rifle, and because he would not tell where it was, he was shot. * * * The governor has organized several companies of militia throughout the Territory, one at this place. I was present at the organization of that company when in addressing the soldiers he remarked that twelve months would not roll round till Kansas' wrongs would be righted as right as they ever would be. The governor is anxious to keep things still during the Presidential campaign. After the Presidential election I would not be surprised in the least if he should turn out to be pro-slavery. There are over 100 prisoners of our boys at Lecompton who are to be tried they say next week. What appears to me very strange is if the governor is as anxious to do right as he pretends to be what is the reason that there are no prisoners on the pro-slavery side. It looks to me like a one-sided affair. * * *

The election is over; seven votes were polled at Lawrence, and I understood over 400 at Lecompton, and upwards of 2,000 at Leav-

enworth. * * * I know not what will be the result. * * * I have succeeded, after camping about four weeks on the open Prairie, to get into a house, for which I will have to pay \$2.00 per month of rent. There is neither upper nor lower floor in it, and neither a door nor a window in it. Since my house was burnt, all my books and bed and bedding got wet. * * * I have succeeded to get \$10 worth of provisions from the relief fund; when we use that up I do not know whence to obtain any more from. A part of the company conducted by Mr. Eldridge [T. B.] has arrived, but my box has not arrived with them. I hope the other part of the company will bring it. * * *

* * * Excuse my poor writing; you must recollect that I have neither a table nor a desk. * * * Many thanks to you for your sympathies and exertions on our behalf.

IV.

EDWARD JONES TO W. S., BURLINGTON.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS TERRITORY, 2nd August, 1856.

REV. PASTOR: * * * We are greatly encouraged by the tidings of sympathy we receive from the friends of the down trodden Kansas. * * * The border ruffians are still among us committing depredations. Week before last 9 horses were stolen from this immediate vicinity. This week a store situated three miles from here has been robbed of some 500 dollars worth of goods. In fact the southerners organized militia of the Territory are an organized band of robbers guarded by U. S. soldiers from the Free State Settlers. * * * I started for Kansas with my family from Iowa with 3 dollars in my pocket, worked in Lawrence the first winter. In April, '55, moved on this claim where we lived since, have a horse worth 125 dollars, a cow, a yearling and a calf, a wagon worth 75 dollars, and 90 acres of land fenced in, about 12 only under cultivation. * * * This spring * * * I engaged to work in Lawrence through the season at 2½ dollars a day. [He was a carpenter.] Engaged a man and a team to plow my land, put my crops in, &c. Here comes one of my neighbors, tells me the soldiers headed by the sheriff were in pursuit of some twenty whom they wanted to take prisoners, of which I was one. I had to quit work, flee for safety until after court. Court being over, I resumed work; worked about a week, then comes the sack of Lawrence, which finally frustrated all my plans, all business being completely stagnated. Ever since have been called out on military duties, disbanded and re-banded time and again, laid out nights watching property, * * * harrassed by the demons incarnate, shielded by the not less demoniacal U. S. army. * * *

Owing to what I have stated above, I am involved in debt about 100 dollars, which grieves me most as much as the border ruffians; but I have the produce of five acres of wheat to meet it when I am able to get it threshed and cleaned, and have some 7 acres of corn that looks promising. I have not suffered any personal insults or injuries from border ruffians, but I charge to them our bare feet, bare knees, bare elbows and scant table. We have been able to get bread enough. * * * These facts I state at your request and not of complaint. I have enlisted for the war, and am prepared to bear its privations as a good soldier. * * * The sympathy and aid of the friends of freedom is justly merited by the self-sacrificing band of freemen (though downtrodden) in Kansas. There are many that are truly suffering such as would have been on a fair way of acquiring a respectable living, if not fortunes. If our friends wish to help us in our present embarrassing circumstances it would be highly acceptable. We have kept Sabbath School as regular as circumstances would admit, have pretty good attendance, rather destitute of books. We have organized a church some four weeks. Lewis visits us every other Sabbath, preaches in Welsh in the morning, English in the afternoon. Our church is a Union Congregational church composed of members of different denominations and different nations. How far our warlike position and feeling is consistent with the principles of Christianity I do not know, but I am persuaded that such are the only principles destined to carry us safely through every campaign, political and military. * * * to the happy period when the government of this world will be in the hands of the people of the Most High. * * *

V.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON TO W. S., BURLINGTON.

BURLINGTON, Sept. 5, 1856.

Rev. L. H. Parker, of Galesburg, recommended me to you. I am on my way to Nebraska City to raise 50 or 100 emigrants from Iowa to Kansas—good men. I will pay the stage fare across the State of any whom you or Gov. Grimes will recommend, will support them (in camp) till they reach Kansas & after that in case of war. I will provide tents, blankets, camp equipage, rifles (partly Sharp's), side arms & ammunition. They will find me at Nebraska City Hotel.

Please write me as soon as possible, & give the names of good men, ministers & others in western Iowa, who will help me find men.

T. W. HIGGINSON,
Agt. Nat. Kansas Com.

VI.

HORACE WHITE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY NATIONAL KANSAS COMMITTEE, TO W. S.

CHICAGO, Nov. 28, 1856.

Yours 24th received. * * * Please put all your clothing in one box if possible and direct it F. M. Lawrence, K. T. Simmons & Leadbeater, St. Louis, Mo. No. 424. * * * I will record No. 424 in our shipments as used at Burlington, Iowa. * * * Please inform us when your shipment is made and notify Messrs. Simmons & Leadbeater, St. Louis, stating that it is done under our directions. They will pay freight.

VII.

REV. JOHN TODD TO W. S.

TABOR, FREMONT Co., IOWA, Sept. 17, 1856.

Yours of the 9th came by last mail. * * * The Kansas forces had been congregating here for more than three weeks until yesterday. Our little village has been their headquarters on this side the river since the arrival of Lane's company. You are right in saying that men are wanted. Such was the call for men that it was much feared that our friends in the Territory would be reduced to a state of suffering before a sufficient force could be raised to conduct safely to them the provisions which were here waiting to be conveyed. So imperative was the call for help in the shape of men that I myself volunteered, and should have gone yesterday with the last company but for the fact that more cheering intelligence reached us on Monday. The road is said to be now open. Several skirmishes have taken place & Lane is in command of the Territory. * * *

Provisions for Kansas can be obtained here very easily. Messrs. Howe (Samuel S.), Hyatt (Thaddeus), Higginson (T. W.), &c., have been here and anything which can be done here to forward the cause of Freedom will be done most cheerfully. Br. J. N. Parsons, of Barnstable, Mass., a man of excellent spirit and conductor of a Mass. company, has been with us much of the time for more than a fortnight, but left on the 16th inst. It is to be deplored that of the leading men in this matter so few are Christian men. * * * They may be instrumental in securing to Kansas civil liberty, but other men and other influences must be employed before Kansas can be Christianized. They are by no means possessed of the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers. Surely we have fallen on degenerate times, & I fear for our country, lest a just retribution is about to overwhelm us in an awful destruction. * * *

VIII.

JAMES W. GRIMES TO SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD, STATE SENATOR OF
JOHNSON AND IOWA COUNTIES.

BURLINGTON, 9 March, 1857.

* * * In relation to the University you are now one of the Trustees, if I mistake not. What is proposed to be done? Will the board of instruction be filled and the institution placed fairly on its legs? * * * I trust that some place may be found for Professor Hedrick, of North Carolina, who is one of the waifs thrown upon the republican coast by the political storm of 1856. He is said by everybody who knows him to be a scientific man. * * * He was imprudent enough to entertain and express an independent thought, * * * he fearlessly expressed the opinion that this government was not established as a great slavery-propagandizing machine, and that the true interests of the Southern States did not justify the extension of the area of human servitude. * * *

Mr. Lathrop told me that Mr. Dean [Amos] was ready to come to the State this spring and put the University in complete operation, if possession could be obtained of the capitol building. * * * Now as the Capitol and the University are both located by the new Constitution [framed by the Third Constitutional Convention, Jan. 19-March 5, 1857], I do not propose to take any action in the matter until the Constitution is acted upon by the people. * * * The New Constitution will be adopted by 20,000 or 25,000 majority, and thus the whole question will be set at rest without the assumption of any responsibility on my part. But if the Trustees of the University and citizens of the town generally conceive that it is of any importance to inaugurate the University President, Profs., etc., at once, i. e., this spring, and so signify their desire in some tangible shape, by petition, for instance, so as to justify me in acting, I shall have no hesitation in doing so. It is a matter about which I am perfectly indifferent save that I would like to see the University & especially the Normal School under good headway. I am convinced that the new Constitution is destined to be popular, and that it will be adopted by an overwhelming majority. The Democracy as a party were too shrewd to be drawn into opposition to it. * * * I have seen Johnstone [Edward], Gillaspay [George], Harris [Amos] and Palmer [David P.] since their return from the Convention, & they are uniform in the opinion that there will be no organized opposition to its adoption in their counties of Lee, Wapello, Davis & Appanoose—all democratic.

Our main efforts must be directed to carrying the legislature in October. There can be no trouble about the August election [on the Constitution]. As far as it regards any aspirations that I may

have, I wish my friends to entirely disregard them and labor alone for the advancement of our party and its principles. I desire to prevent our party from being dissevered, scattered upon * * * before it is firmly consolidated. Above all I do not want to see this done before I get out of office. I have aided in keeping them together pretty well. We are in a much better condition than I expected we would be in two years ago. It will be very important to us that we secure the right kind of a man for governor in October. If we get a weak man, either intellectually or politically, we shall be swamped. I would suggest your name if I did not think it better for you to be a candidate for Congress next year, with a prospect for a senatorship two years hence. If, however, you prefer to be a candidate for governor in October, or if you prefer to be a candidate for the Senate in place of Jones [G. W.], you may rely upon my co-operation and aid. I am disposed to assist in selecting those men who can do us the most good. I want somebody in Congress from this State who has some common sense. * * * It I should be a candidate, I would meet with a very warm opposition from my townsman, Col. F. H. Warren. He imagines that I ought to have assisted him into the Senate two years ago, when I did not deem it my duty to mingle in the strife going on for that office.¹

IX.

HENRY DODGE, DELEGATE TO CONGRESS FROM WISCONSIN TERRITORY, TO A. C. DODGE, U. S. MINISTER TO SPAIN.

WASHINGTON, Ap. 23, 1857.

* * * R. J. Walker is a strong man with the President, and I have no doubt he is to be a candidate before the next National Convention for the Presidency. His acceptance of the office of Governor of Kansas is one of his preparatory steps, and if he can succeed in settling the existing difficulties in that unfortunate Territory it will be raising him in the estimation of public opinion, and if he succeeds in his Pacific R. R. measure, he will be strong. Jeff. Davis told Col. Bequette and myself that Mr. Buchanan had *vibrated* 8 days (was the term he used) between Walker and Cass which he would appoint Sec. of State. He certainly selected a good man in Cass. Walker I never had much confidence in. He is a man of fine talents, sufficient for any office in the Government, but I have always doubted his integrity, and I think it would have been a great misfortune to the people of the U. S. to have preferred him to Gen'l Cass as Secretary of State.

¹ For full details of the joint efforts and speeches of Grimes and Kirkwood in carrying the October election, and of Kirkwood giving his vote in the legislature for the election of Grimes to the U. S. Senate, see the *Life of Samuel J. Kirkwood* by H. W. Lathrop, 1893, pp. 58-61.

X.

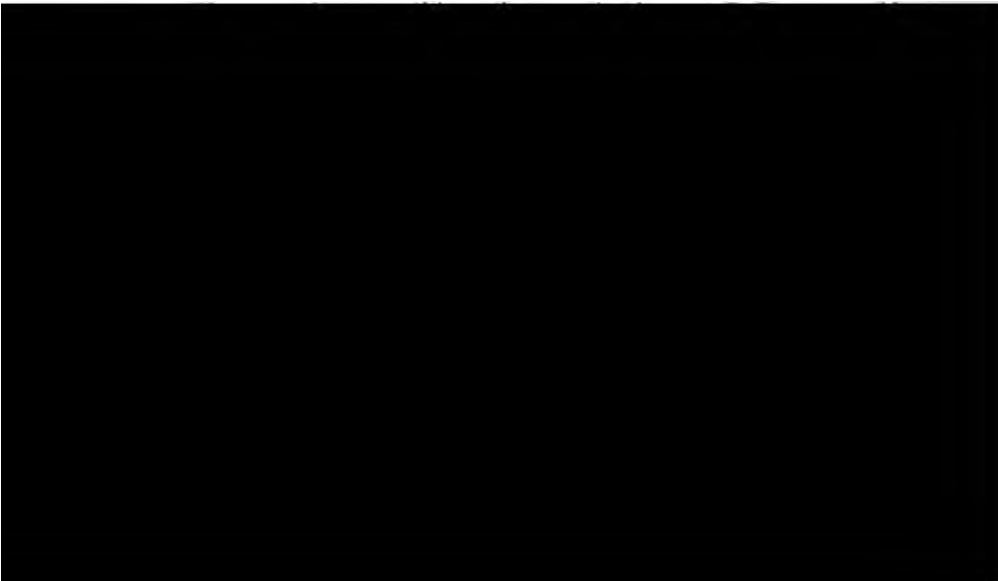
JAMES W. GRIMES TO EDWARD C. DAVID, DUBUQUE.

BURLINGTON, NOV. 11, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 6th inst. is at hand. I know I have to expect the most bitter and unrelenting opposition of the Jones democrats, but as a compensation for that, the anti-Jones men do not regard me in so unfavorable a light. I happen to know that this is the case with some of them.

The editor of the Times knows but little of the condition of politics or of the politicians in this State, or he would not hazard the remarks he made to you. The republicans will be a *unit* when it comes to vote in the Joint Convention, and if they were not, if the democrats were driven to the necessity of voting for republicans, they would not all vote for Bissell [F. E.] The editors of the Times are completely sold in this contest. I know more, living here, about affairs in DuBuque than they seem to know. I hardly think any good would come from any articles being published in the DuBuque papers. The contest is as good as settled.

The story that there was an understanding with Lowe about the Senator I feel authorized from what I know to pronounce false. Lowe came to me and importuned me to enter the canvass actively for him—said he could not be elected unless I would do so. I did so, and he has written to me since the election saying that his success was attributable to my exertions. The God's truth is there would never have been and would therefore be now no republican majority in this State to elect anybody had it not been for my time, money and strength spent in the cause. Every intelligent man in the State who knows anything of our politics knows this. Gen. Jones and his clique know it, and hence their maledictions. I understand the whole influence of the DuBuque and Pacific R. R. Co. is to enter the lists against me and for Bissell.



years we have been a State. A Senator [U. S.] has always resided at DuBuque. Geo. Greene was a resident of DuBuque and was elected as a DuBuque man to the Supreme Court of the State. Lincoln Clark was in Congress from DuBuque. Davis [Timothy] is now in Congress from Clayton, and is about to remove to DuBuque.

Poor DuBuque! To satisfy thy capacious maw, the whole republican party of the State must be put into the keeping of men who have never turned their hands over to sustain it. Well, we shall see about that.

I write you with the utmost *abandon* and confidence. Allow me to say in conclusion, that I have no fear of the result. I believe I am as good as elected. It will take an awful pile of money in these hard times to buy up members enough to defeat me. I do not often go into a contest of this description to be beaten.

XI.

HENRY DODGE TO GEORGE W. JONES.

MIN'L POINT, March 2nd, 1858.

Gen. George W. Jones, U. States Senate, Washington.

MY DEAR JONES: As Augustus corresponds directly with you, please let me know when he may return. I understood that Henry Maddier had written to his brother that Augustus would return in April and that he would go to Rome on his return to the U. States. I presumed that the President had determined on his successor and that he would submit the name of the Minister to Spain for the action of the Senate, that he might be confirmed before he started and that the same vessel that conveyed him to Spain would bring Augustus and his family to the U. States; presuming that you knew the views of the President and Secretary of State on that subject and that you could give me reliable information, we are all anxious to hear from you on a subject of so much interest to us all. In my last letter I enclosed you one from Col. Steever to myself which I asked you to show to the President and to return it to me. Mr. Steever is a *man of talent*. He is in our Legislature and is sustaining the President with a boldness and directness of purpose that is highly creditable to him. I intend to send the President one of his speeches. He will be elected to Congress from Milwaukee. He was in the Mexican War with Gen'l Pierce and as the Gen'l stated to me, acquitted himself with great credit. He should have been appointed Post Master at Milwaukee and would have received the appointment but for the improper interference of *R. J. Walker*. I do hope you will reject Sharpstien in the Senate. I have written to Gen. Davis and Mr. Yulee on that subject. Sharpstien is not reliable in any respect. He was a strong free-soiler in 1848, went strong for Martin Van

Buren and has been changing his politicks to get office and availed himself of the influence of *Walker* with the President. The President stated to me that *Walker* had recommended him. He is a man of no influence and cannot help the Democratic Party. My regard for Gen. Pierce prevented my having him rejected as Dist. Attny. for Wisconsin by the Senate. I hope the Douglas and Walker men will not be reappointed to offices in this state. They will endeavor to deceive the President with *false professions* of supporting *his administration*. What is to be the policy of the President on the subject of the Land and other offices? Do you know? Let me hear from you on that subject. The admission of Kansas, I see, swallows everything up. Douglas & Walker will find it an *uphill concern* to reach the Presidency. If Kansas could be made a Slave state to keep up the Slave states when there are two free states asking for admission in the Union, it would satisfy the Southern people. I *fear the consequences* unless Kansas is made a Slave state. Mrs. Dodge and myself desire to be remembered to Mrs. Jones and your family.

Affectionately & Truly your friend and obt. Serv.,

HENRY DODGE.

XII.

MIN'L POINT, March 15th, 1858.

Hon. George W. Jones, U. S. Senate.

MY DEAR JONES: I fear I am going to be troublesome, as I had promised our mutual friend, Gen'l L—, a letter to the Secretary of the Interior recommending him for the office of Surveyor Gen'l and that I would enclose the letter to you to be used as you might think proper. I now redeem my pledge to him. If you read the letter you will find I have endeavored to do him and the President and Cabinet justice. You know I never deceive friends. Amongst my *many sins* I don't think that one will stare me in the face. Let me know how my friend Davis is. I have missed him from the Senate.

I see my successor in the Senate wants to do something to *distinguish himself*. He is, I think, pretty well named. He *carries more Sale than Ballast*.

The Senate of the U. States is a place that a gentleman should be well prepared to speak unless he wants to become a *Laughing Stock*.

I know you are crowded to death with letters and office business. You know I have often advised you to not make a slave of yourself. You have, I hope, some time to live and I hope you will take better care of yourself.

I shall have to trouble you with letters for some of my friends in the Land Offices. Drop me a few lines when you can find time. Remember us in all kindness to Mrs. Jones and your family.

Truly your old and sincere friend,
HENRY DODGE.

XIII.

MIN'L POINT, May 12th, 1858.

Gen. George W. Jones, U. States Senate, Washington.

MY DEAR JONES: I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your several interesting letters, accompanied by several letters from Augustus to you which *are herewith* returned, for which I return you my thanks. Your letter on the subject of the death of Col. Benton and the visit of the President was of the most feeling and interesting character; it was an act of justice on the part of the President, showing his regard to a great Statesman, and would have a tendency to silence Political slanderers who were disposed to *assert* that Col. Benton had expressed himself strongly against the Lacompton measure. Our Lamented Friend done the Joneses & Dodges justice in saying they were always his true friends. Benton was a great man, by nature, and his untiring industry & perseverance, with his great experience in public life, has placed him in the front rank of American Statesmen. I would have been much gratified could he have lived to have completed his Literary Production, which occupied his *last hours* of life. (*Peace to his Manes.*) * * *

Capt. May's printed paper is herewith returned. The part I acted in the Black Hawk war, I am willing shall be judged by posterity. There has been already several histories of that war. Ex-Govrs. Ford and Reynolds both have written histories of that war. Gen'l Smith has also written the history of Wisconsin, in which he has attempted to give a history on the same subject. Ford wrote from Political considerations and done me great injustice. "The History of Davenport, Past and Present," I know nothing about. Capt. May appears to be governed by good motives. I think, however, the book is intended to make money, and there may be some expected advantage politically. Capt. May wanted the office of *Surveyor Gen'l*. I was pledged to Gen'l ———. From the tone of his letters I was under the impression that if disappointed in that office he would be an applicant for something else. He has been corresponding with the President, to whom he is well known, and as the appointing power belongs to him, I will leave him in the hands of the President.

Your aiding the appointments of Ellis, Rodolph & Plowman was a great triumph of integrity and principle, over the more reckless

and unprincipled *men in the State*. Such men as Ellis, Rodolph & Plowman will do credit and support the administration by an *honest discharge of their duties*. * * * I am going to Texas this summer and will see your Brother. The winters in Wisconsin will, I think, be too severe for Mrs. Dodge. Write me what you think of Texas in a few lines, directed to Dixon. I know you must be pressed to death by letters and personal calls for your aid at the Office.

God grant you good health, long life and prosperity, is the sincere wish of your old and sincere friend,

HENRY DODGE.

XIV.

JAMES W. GRIMES TO SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD, IOWA CITY.

BURLINGTON, Oct. 25, 1859.

DEAR KIRKWOOD: * * * Your majority * * * will probably go to about 3,200. You have got a difficult task before you for two years to navigate the ship of State without a cent of money. There is now due to the State from the several Counties between three and four hundred thousand dollars, and no taxes will be paid this year, for there is no money in the country to pay with. The government has got to be carried on principally upon credit. You must put on your thinking cap and begin to devise the ways and means of doing it. We must abolish our present County system & give the *people* a chance to govern themselves a little more than they do under the county judge system. County officers should be paid by fees as formerly and the amount paid jurymen should be decreased to one half of what it is now. * * * Send the county judges to purgatory * * * the constitution declares that not a dollar shall be paid without this specific appropriation. * * *

Above all things else give us a registry law, and abolish the county organization. I leave for Washington in about three weeks. I hope you will not fail to write to me often & keep me advised of what is going on in Iowa. Our democrats * * * expected to carry the State with money. They have spent their money, they have alienated personal friends, they have belittled themselves in their own estimation, & have accomplished nothing by it. Dodge has not been seen for some days.

XV.

SENATOR GRIMES TO GOVERNOR KIRKWOOD.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 10, 1863.

I received two letters last night, each saying that there was a scheme on foot to run Mason [Charles] against me for the Senate, making a coalition between the democrats and some *retainers*. No

such thing can be carried into execution for very many reasons, and I doubt if any such exists. I know how suspicious men are apt to be about matters of this kind, and particularly in such inflammable times as these. But I would like to know if the project really has an existence. Have you heard anything of it, or seen or heard anything that impressed you with the idea that it might be so?
* * * Let me hear from you. This in confidence.

XVI.

GEN. ROBERT E. LEE TO GEORGE W. JONES, DUBUQUE.

LEXINGTON, VA., 8th Jan'y, 1869.

I have been gratified recently by a visit from an old friend, Capt. James May, now of Rock Island City. Among the many pleasing reminiscences of bygone times & scenes recalled by his visit is the recollection of you, extending back to the time when you were a young delegate to Congress from Wisconsin [Territory]. I have a distinct recollection of your appearance, & a pleasing one of our intercourse & social meetings at General Gratiot's hospitable house.
* * * I know that you have felt keenly the calamities of the country, even amidst your own afflictions, but I did not intend to touch upon that subject; but merely to express to you my pleasure in hearing of you, & conversing of you with one who admires and esteems you, as your friends always do. There is another friend, I hope I may call him so, of former years, of whom I was also delighted to learn & converse—Gen'l Augustus C. Dodge. His manly character and honest frankness impressed me most forcibly, & I was glad to know of his well being. Gen'l Henry Dodge has passed away from us & left us his sterling worth and good deeds to remember. But those who have gone are happier than those who remain. They are spared what we have to see & meet; but my trust in the mercy of God is so great, & my faith in the good sense and probity of the American people is so strong, that I know that all things will in time come right—I hope that you may live to enjoy that good time & that Gen'l Dodge may participate in it. Although he is at some distance from you, I hope that you sometimes enjoy his company, & that you will give him my warm regards. To yourself I wish every happiness, & am with great respect,

Your friend and servant,

R. E. LEE.

XVII.

HANNIBAL HAMLIN TO A. C. DODGE.

LEGATION OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA, MADRID, June 7, 1881.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND: I have your esteemed favor of the 16th ult. * * * How many pleasant memories of the long past it

revives of the times when we occupied the same seat, or rather seats side by side in the House of Rep's, and later on our service in the Senate. Of course we did not think alike and act together upon all questions, but it is surely a pleasure to us both to know that there never was any disagreement to disturb the friendly relations which have always existed.

I thank you for your kind and friendly suggestions, made from your official experience here and your knowledge of the Spanish people. I can understand their force and correctness. Indeed I have marked out for myself as nearly as possible the course you suggest.

I have been aware that there is much of historic interest in Spain to be seen. The localities you name, as well as others, I intend to visit while I remain in this Legation. Indeed that was the great inducement for me to go abroad. * * * The business of this Legation has largely increased since you were at its head; so while I may not have quite as much leisure as you found, yet I will have enough to see *all* that is of decided interest in Spain and I mean to do so.

I will endeavor to find a copy of paper containing what I said to the King and his reply. His reception was very cordial, and I was very favorably impressed with the appearance of both the King and Queen. * * *

Will also from time to time endeavor to send you a paper as you request. In haste but with pleasant memories of "auld lang syne," I am,

Very truly yours,

H. HAMLIN.

DIARY KEPT BY WILLIAM EDMUNDSON, OF OSKALOOSA, WHILE CROSSING THE WESTERN PLAINS IN 1850.

Left Oskaloosa, Iowa, in the Stage on Monday morning, May 20th, 1850, and arrived on the evening of the same day at Fort Des Moines and found my company 9 in number encamped on Raccoon River about a mile from the Town.

May 21st—Traveled about 22 miles and camped on the North River.

May 22nd—Traveled 23 miles and encamped on the Middle River North Side. This day it commenced raining Slowly about 12 O'clock and continued till near Sundown.

May 23rd—This morning it commenced raining before day and continued till about 10 O'clock when we Started and Traveled 15



William Edmondson



miles where we crossed Middle River and went 5 miles further and camped in the prairie hauling wood from the last Timber. This day was cloudy with occasional Showers.

May 24th—Traveled 12 miles and crossed The East branch of the Nodaway about noon went 12 miles further and camped on the West branch of the Nodaway. Saw but little Timber to day and that at a great distance except where we camped at night There being a Small grove on the Creek.

May 25th—Traveled 15 miles and came to the East branch of the Nishnabotany crossed Over and went down the creek about a mile to Indian Town a Mormon Settlement of 7 families being on the Site of an Old Potawatamie village We then went 7 miles further and camped in the Prairie hauling wood from Indian Town.

May 26th—Went 8 miles and came to a beautiful grove where there is a Mormon Settlement. Then 5 miles to The west fork of the Nishnabotany. Then 10 miles to Silver Creek where There is a Mormon village or Settlement.

May 27th—This morning it commenced raining before day and rained very hard accompanied by Thunder and Lightning but cleared off about 6 Oclock. We Started about 9 Oclock and Traveled 8 miles to Keg Creek. Then 10 miles to Kanesville. The head quarters of the Mormians in Iowa and Situated about 4 miles from the Missouri River near the lower end of the Council Bluffs at a place formerly Called Indian Hollow. A. W. Hildreth from Highland County, Ohio, Settled here in 1839 and built a Saw mill within the present limits of the Town. The Potawatomie mills on Musketoe Creek are in 2 miles of this place. They were built for The Indians Some years ago by the U. S. Government. Kanesville contains 5 or 6 hundred inhabitants. They do a flourishing business in The mercantile line Owing Chiefly to the California emigration. The Frontier Guardian a weekly Newspaper is published here Elder Orson Hyde Editor. (We camped 2 miles below the Town.)

May 28th—This day we went to Kanesville and Bought provisions and Some other articles for our journey and in the afternoon moved about 6 miles down the river and camped on Musketoe (Creek back of St. Francis (Trader's point) about one mile from the Town. (The 6 miles to day *not included in an estimate of distances.*)

May 29th—Remained at our encampment. Some of the company went To Kanesville.

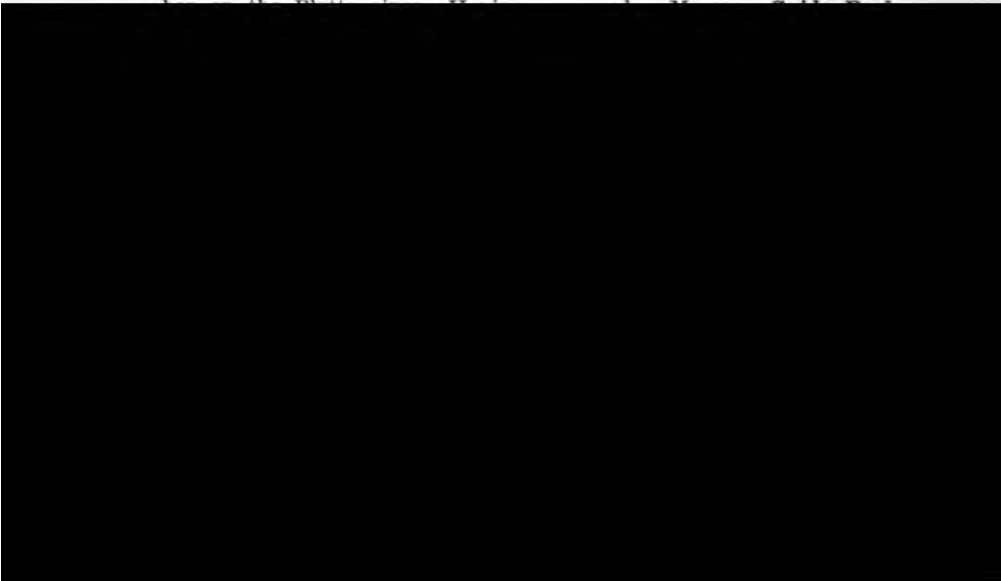
May 30th—A sufficient number of Teams having arrived during the day we joined them and organized into a company amounting in all to 50 men and 2 women.

May 31st—Crossed the river at St. Francis, or Traders Point, landing at Bellvue where The Agency for the Pawnees, Ottoes & Omahas is located; An Indian School under the direction of the Presbyterian church is established about a mile from the agency under the Superintendence of the Rev. Wm. McKinney; here the traveler may be said to commence his journey across the Plains; The School or Mission being the last Settlement till we reach Fort Laramie a distance of 522 miles.

June 1st—Some of the wagons being out of order, it became necessary to stay till the afternoon in order to have them repaired upon which 26 of our company left us and went ahead. After getting the wagons ready we Started about one O'clock P. M. and went 5 miles and Camped on Spring Creek.

June 2nd—Started early, went 4 miles and crossed a Creek called the Pipeo. Then 8 miles to the little Pipeo where there is a small Grove and a good Spring. Then 8 miles to the Ferry on the Elkhorn which is here about 150 yards wide one and a half miles from its mouth here there is some Timber and the Country at this point seems susceptible of Settlement. After crossing we camped about 200 yards from the Elkhorn. Soon after stoping 300 Pawnees came up going toward the Missouri river, and camped between us and the Ferry.

June 3rd—Soon after Starting we got stalled in a marsh which detained us for some time, after going 9 miles we came to Platte river which is here about one-third of mile wide, in appearance it resembles the Missouri, being muddy and rapid with a continued succession of Boils and Eddies, though the water is said to be very shallow. After stoping a short time to Graze and Water the Horses we went about 9 miles further, 2 miles beyond the confluence of Winter quarters and Agency Roads, and camped at a grove of Tim-



day. Soon after stoping we were visited by 12 Pawnee warriors; they said they were a part of a company of 60 who were encamped a short distance from us across the creek. We gave them some Small presents in the way of Provisions, upon which they left us. They were probably a war party out against the Sioux.

June 5th—Early this morning we ran our wagons across Shell Creek by hand on a Temporary Bridge made of Brush the waters being high on account of the late rains; Started about 9 O'clock; This day it commenced raining soon after we started and continued till about 2 O'clock P. M. Soon after which we came to the river again and camped. The river here is near a mile wide. This day we Traveled only 12 miles. The roads being very bad in consequence of the rains.

June 6th—Started at 8 O'clock and went 11 miles to the Ferry on the Loup Fork. The Ferrymen were gone and the Boat sunk. we attempted to raise it but found it so much damaged as to be unfit for use. we then took the road up the Loup Fork to the Ford which is 48 miles from the Ferry, went 9 miles and camped at Looking glass creek near a small Lake; Traveled 20 miles to day.

June 7th—Started late this morning having to repair a bridge before crossing the creek. Traveled 9 miles to Beaver River a stream about 10 yards wide and very deep. We had to unload our wagons and carry the contents across on a Temporary Bridge formed of a log and some Brush we then drew the empty wagons across by Ropes and swam the Horses and Oxen we finished crossing about 3 O'clock went $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles further and camped on Plumb creek near the site of Old Pawnee Missionary Station and 2 miles from the ruins of the Grand Pawnee village. The Mission was removed I believe in consequence of the Pawnees being driven from that part of the Country and the village above mentioned being burned by the Sioux in 1846. Traveled $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles to day.

June 8th—Started early and after Traveling 2 miles came to the ruins of the principal vilage of the Grand Pawnees and Tappas (the one refered to in the notes of yesterday) it is enclosed by a wall built of Sod in the manner of an ordinary Sod fence the wall is about 6 feet high and is still entire. It contains an Area of about 30 or 40 acres; from appearances the village Seems to have had a large Population; after leaving the old vilage we Traveled 4 miles to Cedar Creek a stream 8 rods wide the water being deep we propped our wagon beds up on Block so as to raise them a foot higher and then forded the stream without damage, in the afternoon a storm coming on we stoped early and camped at the foot of a Bluff, here there is the remains of Some Old embankments

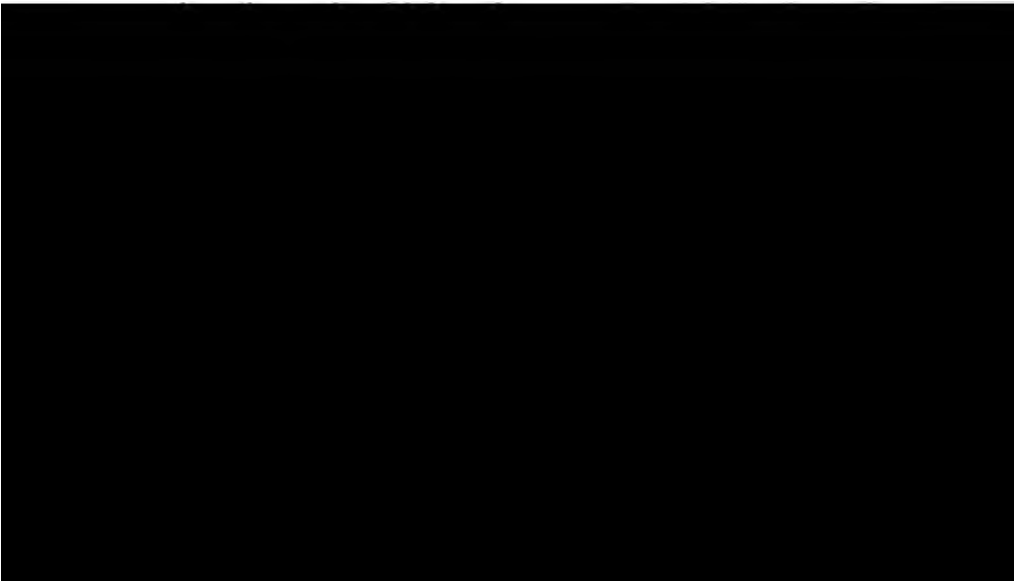
but for what purpose they were thrown up is uncertain; Some of our men having been out hunting during the day saw several Buffalo but could not get near them, Traveled 17 miles to day.

June 9th—Went 6 miles to the Loup Fork which we forded by laying poles across the tops of our wagon Beds and piling the loads on the top then taking the wagons across by hand the river is here about 300 yards wide about three feet deep very rapid and full of quick sand. We commenced at 11 Oclock A. M. and finished crossing about sundown camping on the western bank of the river, here we overtook the company who had left us on the Missouri river, they had crossed the day before and had stoped to rest, Traveled 6 miles to day.

June 10th—Started rather late the road for the first 7 miles being over a high ridge very sandy and broken with numerous ponds and Basins, the next 18 miles the country is flat and rather marshy, we camped on Prairie Creek having again overtaken the company who left us at the Missouri river, they had started before us in the morning; We Traveled 25 miles to day.

June 11th—Started early the Country very level and tolerably dry. Traveled 11 miles and come to Wood river, unloaded the wagons and carried the loads over on the horses then brought the wagons over empty. Went 7 Miles further and camped in the Prairie about one mile from the Platte river. 18 miles to day.

June 12th—Cool and cloudy this morning. The country level and dry. Traveled 7 miles and came to Platte River. This day we passed through several Towns of Prairie-Dogs. They bear some resemblance to the Gopher are of a yellowish grey color and are about the size of a small Rabbit. They live on the Prairie grass, The soda or alkali so much dreaded on the plains begins to make its appearance to day lying in a thin crust in the Buffalo beats



June 15th—Saw some Buffalo to day but at a considerable distance, at noon we came to Ptah Lake or Bayou where we saw Edward Haggard's grave who died on his way to California, he is buried on the Bank of the Ptah Lake about half way from the Council Bluffs to Fort Laramie. According to the inscription on the head-board he died on the 7th of June 1849. we Traveled 24 miles to day and camped near the River. (Brady Island)

June 16th—This morning one of our Horses died leaving us only 3 to our wagon. The road to day is sandy. The ground in places incrustated with salaratus or soda; in the afternoon some of our company thought they Saw Buffalo ahead of us and left the wagons to get a shot at them, when they came near they found the supposed Buffalo to be the Horses belonging to the company who had gone ahead of us at the crossing of Wood river the same that had first organized with us and left us at Council Bluffs, we came up and camped near them by a small Lake. Traveled 22 miles to day.

June 17th—This morning after going a mile and a half we came to a very large spring of cold water at the head of Pawnee Swamp 293 miles from the Council Bluffs, went on to the last Timber on the north side of the river and camped about 3 O'clock 12 miles below the junction of the North and South Platte. Traveled 15 miles to day.

June 18th—we remained at our encampment to Cook for our journey there being no more Timber except a lone tree on the north side of the river for a distance of 200 miles.

June 19th—This morning soon after starting we saw several large droves of Buffalo. Two companies went in persuit of them; The foremost company soon killed a large Bull, about the time we finished dressing it the other company came up having killed a Bull, a Cow and a young Helfer but we had so much meat already that we did not go back for them; While stoping to dress our Buffalo a man on foot came up with us (Isaac Shuck from Louisa County Iowa) he had Traveled the whole distance about 600 miles alone and on foot till he overtook us. We Traveled 15 Miles to day and camped on North Bluff creek.

June 20th—We passed over Sand Hills and camped on Petite creek.

June 21st—We camped about sundown in the Prairie, a Tremendous storm coming on just as we stoped for the night.

June 22d—We camped late in the evening 2 miles above the lone tree and opposite Ash Hollow another storm coming on about sundown. Having been sick for the last 3 days I have no further recollection of events during that time.

ANNALS OF IOWA

June 23d—Traveled 19 miles to day keeping close to the river, the road good considering the late rains. We are now 400 miles from the Council Bluffs not a stick of Timber in sight.

June 24th—To day at noon we passed some Bluffs on the right of the road, Some of the company ascended them and saw the Chimney Rock a distance of 45 miles. in the afternoon we passed the ancient Bluff ruins. They are high Bluffs composed of very soft stone and which from the washing of the rains or other causes have assumed the appearance of Ancient Castles or fortifications. We have Traveled 25 miles to day and camped in the Prairie.

June 25th—Started before sunrise and went 5 miles to where the road comes to the river, and stoped there for Breakfast. we saw the Chimney Rock this Morning distance about 40 miles it looks like a pole set in the Prairie, after Breakfast we went 21 miles and camped a little below the Chimney rock which is situated on the opposite side of the River apparently about 3 miles from our encampment but from information upon which we can rely the distance is at least 10 miles this difference between actual and apparent distance is common in this part of the country and often brings disappointment to the emigrant, before he becomes accustomed to the delusion. The chimney Rock commences in the shape of a Cone then running up to a great height something in the form of a chimney from which circumstance it takes its name; Originally it was doubtless one of the largest isolated Rocks or Bluffs so common in the vicinity of the Platte river and being very soft the action of the frost and rain has reduced it to its present shape. We Traveled 24 miles to day.

June 26th—This day we Traveled 23 miles over a gravelly road and camped opposite Scotts Bluffs.

June 27th—To day in the forenoon we saw Laramie Peake being Then 45 miles from Fort Laramie. We Traveled 21 miles to day and camped on a creek 200 yds south of the road. There has been much rain lately.

June 28th—Went 12 miles and stoped at noon at the first Timber on the north side of the river, for the last 200 miles further and camped near the River, Grass scarce for the first time since leaving the Council Bluffs, Wood plenty. Traveled 22 miles to day.

June 29th—Went 7 miles and arrived opposite Fort Laramie about 10 O'clock A. M. camped and remained till next morning, Grass very scarce; during the day Some Emigrants crossed from the Fort who had come up on the South Side of Platte River who informed us that the Cholera had been very fatal among the emigrants on that rout.

June 30th—Crossed the river and camped about 2 miles from Fort Laramie which is situated on the Laramie river, one and a half miles from its junction with North Platte. It was built by the American Fur Company and is surrounded by a wall eleven (11) feet high. The wall is made of Adobes which are bricks dried in the sun and put up without being burned. Being well situated for a Military Post, the Fort was purchased by the United States in 1848 it is now occupied by 2 companies of Infantry and one company of Mounted Riflemen under the command of Major Sanderson. An office is kept here in which is registered the name and former residence of each emigrant traveling this rout. Laramie Peak (A Spur of the Rocky Mountains) is 55 miles from this place and may be seen at a distance of 100 miles. The Black hills commence here.

July 1st—This day we spent in making arrangements to continue our journey, the next Settlement except Fort Bridger being at the Salt-Lake which is distant 509 miles. This place (Fort Laramie) is 522 miles from the Council Bluffs.

July 2d—This morning we bought a Horse for \$100 to replace the one that died on Platte river and started on our journey about noon and went 12 Miles through the Black hills when we came to a large spring but were disappointed to find it so warm as to be unfit for use but on going about a mile and a half down the creek we found good water and tolerable grass, where we camped.

July 3d—This day we reached Dead-Timber creek having Traveled 15 miles. wood & water plenty, but grass Scarce. Still among the Black-hills.

July 4th—Traveled 18 miles to day and camped on a small creek with very little grass.

July 5th—Traveled only 13 miles to day and camped on La Bonte river a stream about 10 yards wide. 400 Crow Indians said to be camped a short distance up the river. Though we saw none of them. Peppermint grows wild here.

July 6th—Traveled 19 miles to day and crossed La Prele river where we saw some men digging a grave for a woman who had died leaving two small Infants (Twins) we went 4 miles further and camped on a small Creek at a cold spring, grass very scarce.

July 7th—To day we remained at our encampment. Some of the company went out hunting and killed 3 Buffalo.

July 8th—Traveled 8 miles and came to Platte river which we had not seen for the last 80 miles (here we leave the Black hills) went 5 miles further and camped on Deer Creek at a celebrated


camping place, grass and water scarce but from appearances it has once been abundant in this vicinity.

July 9th—Went down Deer-Creek to its mouth and crossed the Platte river in a boat that had been found and repaired by the emigrants and camped on the North Side opposite the crossing 28 miles below the upper or Mormon Ferry. The water of Platte river much clearer and the Current more gentle than it is lower down.

July 10th—Traveled 18 miles up the river and camped rather early having found some excellent grass, rather unusual for the last 12 days.

July 11th—Continued our journey up the river and arrived opposite the upper Ferry about noon, went 15 miles further and stoped near sundown at some springs, but the water being represented as poisonous we did not use any of it and concluded to go on to the next water (13 miles) where we arrived about Midnight and camped on a small creek 3 miles below the Willow-Springs having traveled 38 miles to day.

July 12th—Started very early and went on to the Willow-Springs where we stoped for breakfast, on reaching the Top of the hill after leaving the Willow-Springs we came in sight of the Sweet-Water Mountains. To day our road lay mostly through a level plain covered with loose sand, about sundown we came to the alkali ponds. Salaratus is found here in large quantities being produced by evaporation. We reached Sweet-Water river a little after dark. having traveled 21 miles to day over the worst road we have had since leaving home. This night we camped close to Independence Rock. The Sweet-Water river is about 20 yards wide at this place the water is very clear and entirely free from Alkali from which circumstance it probably takes its name, the Independence-Rock is



2 miles in length. (Traveled 18 miles and camped on Sweet-Water.)

July 15th—Traveled 19 miles to day and again camped on the Sweet-Water.

July 16th—Traveled 24 miles to day and camped on the Sweet-Water 42 miles from the South-Pass.

July 17th—To day at noon we left the Sweet-Water and traveled over a Mountain and camped on Strawberry-Creek. Came 20 miles to day.

July 18th—Traveled 10 miles and came to the river again 12 miles from the South-Pass, and camped; here we saw a large Bank of snow on the road-side near the river.

July 19th—Crossed the Sweet-Water for the last time, Traveled 12 miles and crossed the dividing ridge between the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific about 1 O'clock P. M. The South-Pass is an elevated Plain about 7000 feet above the level of the Sea. The road passes about 20 miles South of the Wind-River Mountains which rise to the height of 13000 feet and are always covered with Snow. The Colorado the Yellow-Stone and Lewis's river head in these Mountains. After crossing the ridge we went 3 miles and Camped at the Pacific Springs. Traveled 15 miles to day.

July 20th—To day we crossed Dry-Sandy, Little-Sandy and camped after dark on Big-Sandy. They are all Tributaries of Green-River. We Traveled 30 miles to day.

July 21st—This morning we crossed the Big-Sandy Traveled 17 miles and camped at night on the same stream but did not cross it.

July 22d—Traveled 10 miles and came to Green River. Crossed over and camped 2 miles below the Ferry. Green-River is about 100 yards wide with a deep and rapid current. Traveled 12 miles to day.

July 23d—After travelling 5 miles down the river we found some good grass where we stoped till the morning of the 25th during our stay here we caught some Fish and killed some Sage-Hens.

July 25th—Left Green-River Traveled 16 miles and camped on Blacks-Fork another branch of Green-River.

July 26th—This morning we left the Old Mormon Road and took one bearing more to the north and camped at night on a small creek the water of which was very Muddy an unusual thing in this region. here we found plenty of grass We traveled about 20 miles to day.

July 27th—This morning soon after starting some of the company killed an Antelope. we traveled 15 miles and came to the old road at Fort-Bridger about 2 O'clock P. M. where we encamped.

Fort-Bridger consists of a few Cabins surrounded by a Stockade of Pine logs. It was built in 1842 by Mr. Bridger who still occupies it as an Indian Trading-Post. The soil appears to be rich in the immediate vicinity of the fort, but the climate is too cold to admit of farming or gardening. This place is on the head waters of Blacks-Fork in the immediate vicinity of the Utah Mountains which are covered with snow. We are now 114 miles from the Salt-Lake City.

July 28th—Left Fort-Bridger about noon Traveled 10 miles & camped on a small creek.

July 29th—We started early and Traveled 4 miles to the Muddy-fork where we saw the Grave of George Tallman a man with whom we were acquainted and who had passed us on the Sweet-Water, he died July 28th. This day about noon we crossed the ridge dividing the waters of the Pacific from the Great-Basin. We camped at night on Sulphur Creek a branch of the Bear River, having Traveled 21 miles to day.

July 30th—After traveling 2 miles we crossed Bear-River the largest stream that empties into the Salt-Lake. Went 15 miles further and camped on a small creek near Cache Cave.

July 31st—Traveled 16 miles to day and camped on Echo-creek. A berry resembling the Black-Currant grows here in great quantities.

Aug. 1st—Traveled down Echo-Creek 5 miles when we came [to] the Red-fork of Weber River. here the road forked and a large Guide-Board is placed advising Travelers to take the new or left hand rout but we kept the Old Mormon road which we afterwards understood was much the best. The Red-Fork is about 20 yards wide and has some timber growing on its Margin. we traveled down the river 4 miles where we crossed over went 4 miles further and camped on a small creek. Traveled 13 miles to day.

Aug. 2d—Traveled 17 miles and camped on Canyon Creek. This evening we met the Mail going from Salt-Lake to independence Missouri.

Aug. 3d—Left Canyon Creek and commenced ascending a high Mountain (covered with Timber mostly of the Balsam Fir) on reaching the Summit we came in sight of a portion of the Salt-Lake valey being then 17 miles from the City. in the afternoon we crossed another Mountain and at night camped on a small stream called the Last-Creek 9 miles from the City.

Aug. 4th—Proceeding down the creek about 5 miles we came to the Salt-Lake valey and reached the City about 11 Oclock A. M. We passed through without stoping crossed the Jordan or Utah out-

let on a Toll-Bridge and camped about 3 miles from the Town where we remained till the Morning of the 10th.

On the 24th of July 1847 a company of Mormons consisting of 120 men entered the valey of the Salt-Lake (Previously called Bear Valey) and took up Their residence on the site of the present City, In August and September about 600 wagons with families arrived. This was the first Settlement at Salt-Lake.

The City is 22 miles South-East of Salt-Lake on the Eastern side of the Valey, on a slightly inclined Plain. It is laid out into 19 Wards (the 20th Ward runing into a Spur of the Mountains is not included in the Corporation) each Ward is divided into Blocks of 10 Acres each and each Block in 8 Lots of an Acre and a quarter. The Blocks are divided by streets 8 rods wide and a stream of Spring-water from the mountain is conducted through each street throughout its entire length. The dwelling-houses are built of Adobes or unburned Brick. They are generally plain but neat and comfortable. They have a State-House built of Red Sand-Stone which they procure in the neighboring Mountains. They have also a Tithing-House in progress of building of the same material. Lime is found in this neighborhood in a natural state of decomposition and Plaster of Paris is found in the same vicinity. The outlet from the Utah Lake to the Salt-Lake runs a short distance west of the City, This stream which was formerly called the Utah Outlet, the Mormons have appropriately enough named the Jordan and by this name it is now generally known. The Salt-Lake Valey is 60 or 70 miles in length and on an average about 20 miles wide a part of it is very fertile and produces enormous crops of Wheat, Barley, Oats and Garden vegetables. A considerable portion however of the Valey is entirely barren and unfit for cultivation. The whole Valey is said to contain a Population of about 20 thousand; five or six thousand of whom are in the city. The Mormons have Settlements in several other Valeys within the Great-Basin.

The distances heretofore have been given as laid down in the Mormon Guide-Book which Terminates at this place. Hereafter they will be given according to the best information we can procure which may in some instances be slightly incorrect.

Aug. 10th—This morning about 10 Oclock we resumed our journey taking the Rout South of the Salt-Lake commonly called Hastings' Cut off. Traveled 15 miles and camped at the foot of a Mountain on the West side of the Valey.

Aug. 11th—This day in the forenoon we came to the Salt-Lake and went in bathing, the water is so heavy that a man will float upon it without making any exertions and so strongly impregnated with salt that no living animal is found to exist in it. When we came out we found ourselves covered with an incrustation of salt

which proved annoying as we could procure no fresh water to wash it off. The Lake is said to be from 80 to 100 miles long North and South and 60 or 70 miles wide. There are several Islands in it upon some of which are high Mountains. We Traveled 25 miles to day and Camped at the Willow-Springs, where we remained during the 12th to recruit our Horses and Procure a supply of Hay for the Desert being the last opportunity we shall have.

Aug. 13th—Traveled 25 miles over a very dusty road and camped at a spring of Brackish water with very little grass or wood. here two men who were Traveling ahead of us passed us in the night returning towards Salt-Lake City with a Woman and little Girl whom they had found in the road having been abandoned and left by their Company. (They belonged to a company of Cherokees)

Aug. 14th—We traveled 10 miles to day over a dusty road and about noon came to some springs of good water with plenty of grass but no fuel except wild sage. here we stoped for the remainder of the day.

Aug. 15th—This morning we took in a supply of water for the Desert and after Traveling 15 miles over a plain covered in places with salt we came to the foot of a Mountain where we found a spring of Brackish water plenty of fire-wood and some grass; here the Desert commences.

Aug. 16th—To day about 3 Oclock P. M. we commenced our journey across the Desert and at 7 Oclock on the Morning of the 18th we arrived at the first springs where we found plenty of water and grass where we remained till the Morning of the 21st. during the Trip we stoped in all about 8 hours. The distance across the Desert according to the best accounts is 91 miles. The first 8 miles is over a Mountain. The next twenty miles is a sandy plain, when we come to a ridge or low Mountain runing East and West, after crossing the ridge the road lies over a level plain cov-

Aug. 22d—After Traveling 18 miles we came to a place called Slough-Springs at about 2 O'clock P. M. here finding good grass and water we encamped.

Aug. 23d—This day we did not start till Sundown and arrived about midnight at some warm Sulphur Springs having Traveled 18 miles here we found some grass, and stoped till next Morning. Some emigrants who are encamped here say it is only 6 miles to the Humboldt river, we think it is very doubtful.

Aug. 24th—Started at 8 O'clock and crossed over a Mountain But instead of finding the Humboldt we came upon a dry sandy plain, during the day we could see what appeared to be groves of Timber and Lakes of water in different directions but they proved to be Optical delusions. The groves of Timber turned out to be sage brush and the Lakes to be plains of white sand. These deceptive appearances are not uncommon on these Deserts. in the Afternoon we came to the some Sulphur Springs similar to those we left in the Morning. Here we found a paper informing Emigrants that there was good grass and water about 2 Miles to the North of the road we accordingly went and found it as they had described and a large number of emigrants encamped. We have remained here till the morning of the 26th, 20 Miles to day.

Aug. 26th—This Morning we started early and crossed over a Mountain into a valey and about noon came to grass and water where we stoped about 2 hours; alter dinner we started again and crossed another Mountain about dark, seeing some fires ahead we kept on through the valey for about 5 miles where we found a company of emigrants here we encamped having Traveled about 30 miles to day. No word of the Humboldt yet.

Aug. 27th—This morning we found ourselves in a large valey extending appearantly about 20 miles to the North. On the South we could not see its terminations it is about 15 or 20 miles in width with a high Mountain runing along the west side. Grass and water in great abundance. This day our Horses having taken a stampede we only Traveled 14 miles our road was on the West side of the valey bearing nearly due South.

Aug. 28th—This Morning we started early and in the course of the day crossed a great many creeks formed by springs from the Mountains; grass still plenty and soil rich Our road to day lay in the same direction as yesterday. We traveled 25 miles and Camped at one of the numerous springs.

Aug. 29th—Continued our journey in the same direction as yesterday and the day before, the country presenting the same appearance, having Traveled about 18 miles we encamped in a few miles

of the lower end of the valey where it appears to be shut in by the Mountains. We found a large number of emigrants encamped and waiting for company. They had a map of the Country and had come to the conclusion that we had lost our road and had taken the rout taken by Fremont in 1845, which goes by Walkers Lake. It is tolerably certain we are not on Hastings-Cutoff as the road does not appear to have been Traveled by Emigrants till the present season. The valey through which we have just passed is probably as large as the valey of the Salt-Lake. The soil seems to be equally as good and capable of supporting as large a Population. This valey is situated about 300 miles South West of Salt-Lake City, by the road.

Aug. 30th—This morning our road bore westward across the Mountain we started in company with the other emigrants and after crossing the Mountain the road turned to the north precisely in an opposite direction from the course Traveled for the last three days. We Traveled 20 miles and camped on a small creek; not yet certain whether we are on the Fremonts rout or not.

Aug. 31st—This morning our Road continued north down the valey. The creek sometimes disappearing under ground then rising again, we Traveled about 18 miles to day and Camped at some wells of Brackish water which had been dug by former Emigrants.

Sept. 1st—This morning after Traveling about 7 miles down the valey we again come to water, the same creek reappearing. We Traveled down the valey till near sundown and camped on the creek having come 25 miles to day, during the forenoon Some emigrants found the bodies of two men supposed to have been killed by the Indians, who are said to be very troublesome in this region though we have seen but one Since crossing the Desert. We have been Traveling for the last 50 miles in an opposite direction from our rout down the Big Valey on the other side of the Mountain. We supposed this place to be not more than 20 miles from where we left on the Morning of the 27th Ultimo. We have come to the conclusion that we are not on Freemonts rout, but don't know where we are. Think we are not far from the Sink of the Humboldt.

Sept. 2d—After Traveling down the valey about 5 or 6 miles we came to a large creek coming in on our right hand from the South East; we kept down this creek in a North-west direction till noon where it enters a canyon and runs nearly due west. We started through the Kanyon at one Oclock P. M. and about sundown emerged into a valey of considerable size with a rich soil producing an abundance of Grass, Mustard and Flax. here we encamped having traveled 22 miles. The Kanyon through which we passed this evening is so narrow that in many places we had to Travel along the bed of the creek for a considerable distance there being no room

on either side for a road. It is hemmed in by precipitous mountains and overhanging Rocks. Across the valey 4 or 5 miles North of our encampment is the appearance of a larger stream coming in from the East, which we suppose to be the Humboldt though Some of the company think Otherwise; We Shall probably see in the morning.

Sept. 3d—This morning after going about 4 miles we found a paper Posted up on the road-side dated a few days back and apparently directed to some of the writers Friends informing them that they were then in a few miles of Walkers-River and about 200 miles from Sacramento City. After going about 2 miles further we came to a river of considerable size which we all supposed to be the Humboldt, notwithstanding the notice we had just seen on the road. Soon afterwards we were overtaken by some Emigrants who had come by the Northern Rout from the Salt-Lake. They informed us that the river down which we were now Traveling was *Really* the Humboldt and that we were now about 220 miles above the Sink. Though somewhat disappointed to find ourselves so far from the end of our journey we were glad at being now upon a road of which we had some knowledge. We had all been mistaken in regard to the Rout, the Road bearing much farther North than we had supposed for several days past. We Traveled 18 Miles to day and camped on a small creek near the River on the North side. Here upon comparing our notes of distances with those of a man who had Traveled the same Rout we found a variation of 12 miles in our calculations since leaving Salt-Lake a distance of about 450 miles. From the best accounts given by other Emigrants the Road Traveled by us is about 120 miles further than the Northern rout from the Salt-Lake which comes in by the head of the Humboldt. We now think it probable that we left Hastings'-Cutoff at the Slough-Springs on the 23d of August.

Sept. 4th—This morning we left the valey of the Humboldt and Traveled over a range of Mountains 17 miles when we again came to the river. After going 3 miles further we camped having Traveled 20 miles.

Sept. 5th—To day in the forenoon we came to where the road forks one runing on each side of the river. We took the one on the North side, in the afternoon we came to the Grave of Ephraim Bowles of Keokuk County Iowa; from the inscription on the Head-Board he was killed on the 19th of August in a Skirmish with the Indians about 10 miles North of the Road. We went 6 miles where we camped and killed a Beef which we had bought being nearly out of Provisions. Traveled 22 miles to day.

Sept. 6th—Remained at our encampment for the purpose of drying our Beef.

Sept. 7th—Soon after starting we saw a number of Indians they showed Some hostile intentions but finally went off without molesting us We Traveled 25 miles to day and Camped near the River. Here we overtook a man and his wife Traveling with no other company except one man who was sick They camped with us.

Sept. 8th—This day we Traveled 22 miles besides losing about 12 miles by taking the wrong road (Probably Lawsons Cutoff) upon which we went about 6 miles and then came back to the road which we had left a short distance ahead of where we turned off. We camped near the river with about 25 men belonging to Woodward's Train from Cincinnati. One of their men very sick.

Sept. 9th—Woodward's Company started ahead of us. About 10 O'clock we passed them. The sick man having died they were digging his Grave. They overtook us in the afternoon. We Traveled till after dark and Camped together. We Traveled about 30 miles to day.

Sept. 10th—We traveled 20 miles to day and camped at a small Grove of Thorn-Bushes. The only Timber except small Willows that we had seen since reaching the Humboldt.

Sept. 11th—Traveled 20 miles and camped in a head of the river among the Willows with but little grass.

Sept. 12th—This day Traveled till after dark before we camped making only 20 miles, We took our Horses across the river into a little bend but found very little grass.

Sept. 13th—This morning 2 Indian men and a Boy came to our camp with 2 Horses and 2 Mules, we talked of claiming them as stolen property but finally let them pass concluding that they were the rightful owners. We started and about 10 O'clock met the Owner inquiring for them. They had been stolen the night before. We reached the Big-Meadow after dark where we camped having Traveled 30 miles to day.

Sept. 14th—This morning my Brother David and Myself left the company with whom we had Traveled from home. Went on 5 miles and joined Dr. Bell's Train Our company being nearly out of Provisions we thought it best to separate.

Sept. 15th—To day we remained at our encampment and cut Hay preparatory to crossing the Desert between the Humboldt and Carson Rivers.

Sept. 16th—Resumed our journey Traveled 16 miles and camped close to Humboldt-Lake.

Sept. 17th—After Traveling 9 miles we crossed the Outlet from the Lake being merely a continuation of the river which finally

sinks among the Sand-Hills a few miles below. About 1 O'clock P. M. started on the Desert which commences at the crossing of the Outlet and continues to the Carson River, the distance is said to be 40 miles. We Traveled all night and in the Morning at sunrise found ourselves about 6 miles from Carson River. Our Teams very tired and the worst part of the Desert before us. We held a consultation and concluded to take the Cattle from the Wagons and send them forward with a part of the company to the river while some of us should remain with the Wagons. This was accordingly done. Four of us remained in the Desert till about sundown when those who had gone ahead in the Morning returned with the Teams and we all went on to the River. Here we found quite a village of Tents a number of Traders having established themselves here temporarily for the purpose of trading with the Emigrants. They were selling Flour at 20 cents per pound which we considered cheap having paid one Dollar a pound at the Big-Meadows. The Destruction of property on the Desert during the present season has been immense. At the time we crossed it was estimated that 5 thousand head of Horses, Mules and Oxen were lying dead in a distance of 40 miles; incredible as this statement may seem it perhaps falls short of the actual number. The destruction of Wagons and other property was in proportion. Our company lost 2 Horses and an other company who Traveled with us lost 32 head of Oxen. It is supposed that the Cattle generally died from the effects of the Alkali water at the crossing of the outlet. The Carson river is about 30 yards wide much the same size as the Humboldt, it runs into a Lake and sinks, the water is clear and apparently free from Alkali.

Sept. 19th—This Morning we started again Traveling up the Carson river about 5 miles where we encamped and remained till next morning.

Sept. 20th—Started early but only went 3 miles till we stopped having a desert of 12 miles before us which we concluded not to cross till evening. Started again at 1 O'clock and Traveled 18 miles further stopping about 9 O'clock at night having Traveled 21 miles to day. We remained here till the afternoon of the 22d to recruit our Teams. having found good grass, the first we have had since crossing the Desert.

Sept. 22d—Started at 1 O'clock P. M. Traveled 10 miles and camped. Turning our cattle onto an Island in the river we found good grass.

Sept. 23d—Started early, but Traveled only 10 miles to a Trading Post where we camped being told there was no more grass for the distance of 35 miles.

Sept. 24th—This Morning we started expecting a Desert of 35 miles but after Traveling 16 miles were agreeably disappointed at finding good grass where we camped rather early in the afternoon.

Sept. 25th—After Traveling 4 miles we left the river and Traveled 12 miles over a Mountain coming to the river again at the lower end of a small valey. Traveled up the valey 3 miles and camped, having good grass and water. Same warm springs in this Valey. Traveled 19 miles to day.

Sept. 26th—Traveled 5 miles over a low ridge into what is called Carson Valey. Then 12 miles up the Valey and camped near the Mormon Station, having Traveled 17 miles to day. At this place there is a Log Cabin occupied by some Traders. A high Mountain is on our right covered with large Pine Timber. Some Gold-Diggers are said to be at work on the other side of the river.

Sept. 27th—Traveled 10 miles and camped near the head of Carson Valey where we remained till the afternoon of the 29th for the purpose of cutting hay for the Teams in crossing the Mountains. The best Springs I have ever seen are on Carson Valey.

Sept. 29th—Started in the afternoon. Traveled 4 miles and camped at the head of the Valey.

Sept. 30th—After Traveling 5 miles we came to where the road turns to the right into a large Kanyon through which it passes for 7 miles. This part of the road is much the worst we have Traveled over since leaving home, we reached the head of the Kanyon a little before sundown and after going about a mile further camped in a small Valey having Traveled 13 Miles to day.

October 1st—Traveled 7 miles up the same creek which runs through the Kanyon and camped a short distance to the right of the road.

October 2d—After Traveling 8 miles we came to a small Lake



Valey. This creek we supposed to be one of the head branches of the Cosumnes or Macosma. We Traveled about 11 miles to day.

October 4th—After Traveling 6 miles we came to a place called Tragedy-Springs from three men having been killed there by the Indians; from an inscription on a tree close by they were killed on the night of the 27th of June 1848. Their names were Daniel Browett, Ezra H. Allen and Henderson Cox. They are all buried in one Grave under a pile of Stones. After Traveling 2 miles further we came to a Trading Post about noon where we camped having come 8 miles to day. A young man from Henry County, named Allen Melton died at this place during the night.

October 5th—After Traveling 7 miles we came to the Leek-Springs about noon. Then 11 miles further to Camp-Creek a branch of the Macosma. We Traveled 18 miles to day.

October 6th—This morning after Traveling 6 miles we came to a Trading-Post where Dr. Bell Sold his Wagon and Team reserving the use of them to Weaver-Town. We Traveled 9 miles further and Camped at another Trading-Post having come 15 miles to day.

October 7th—This morning we started early and about noon came to Some Trading-Posts at Pleasant Valey (12 miles) in the afternoon we traveled 10 miles further arrived at Weavertown about dark. Having come 22 miles to day. Here our journey ends for the present after having Traveled according to our calculations 2200 miles since leaving home the greater part of the way through an uninhabited Country. After having been on the road 141 days. Weavertown which is some times called Weberville is situated on Weaver or Weber Creek a branch of the American river 8 miles west of Placerville (Commonly called Hangtown) and 50 miles East of Sacramento City.

Weavertown and Ringold may properly be called the same village. Though the eastern part which is first entered on the emigrant road is called Ringold and the lower part Weavertown.

COLONIZATION MEETING. A meeting of the State Colonization Society will be held this (Friday) evening, at the Supreme Court Room, in the Capitol, at 7 o'clock. Judge Hall, of Burlington, Governor Lowe, and others are expected to address the meeting. By order of the executive committee. Samuel Storrs Howe, Cor. Sec'y. *Tri-Weekly State Journal* (Des Moines), Feb. 26, 1858.

HANDLING THE PANIC OF 1907.

BY A. C. MILLER.

Late Saturday evening, October 26, 1907, word reached **two or** three of the bankers of Des Moines through a private **source** in Chicago, that the banks of that city on the following Monday morning, would suspend currency payments and for a time, at least, would only honor drafts drawn on them for balances on deposit with them, through the Clearing House Association of Chicago. New York, at this time, was practically on a Clearing House basis, so it therefore became necessary for the banks of Des Moines to protect their currency reserve by a similar action.

The officers and directors of the various banks were notified Sunday morning, October 27, 1907, to attend a meeting called for 10:00 o'clock at the Des Moines Savings Bank rooms. This meeting was attended by practically all of the officers of every bank in the city and was in session for several hours. At this meeting, the attorneys who were present to advise us, were instructed to prepare Articles of Agreement and have them ready Monday morning to be signed by the officers of the various banks, members of the Clearing House Association. A copy of this agreement together with the officers who executed the same is as follows:

We, the undersigned Banks of the City of Des Moines, Iowa, members of the Des Moines Clearing House Association, do hereby agree each with the other and with the said Des Moines Clearing House Association and the Clearing House Committee of said Association, to abide by and conform to all the rules of said Association, including the following rules:

1. That a resolution of the form heretofore adopted by this Association, relating to the manner of issuing Clearing House certificates, and securing the same and pledging the credit of all of the banks, members of this Association, and for the security of all Clearing House certificates issued by the Association, be passed by the Board of Directors of each of the said members of this Association, and a certified copy thereof be sent to the Secretary of this Association.

The Des Moines Clearing House Association

PROMISE TO PAY TO THE BEARER ON OR BEFORE THREE MONTHS FROM THE DATE THE SUM OF

12500 A ONE DOLLAR \$1.00

This certificate is secured by the deposit of approved securities with the clearing house committee of the Des Moines Clearing House Association, and it is also secured against the credit of the banks of the City of Des Moines, Iowa, members of said Association, and will be received by any national bank or depositary in payment of any obligations due them. Dated at Des Moines, Iowa, this 10th day of October, A.D. 1917.

NOT VALID UNTIL ENDORSED BY THE PRESIDENT OR CASHIER OF THE DES MOINES CLEARING HOUSE BANK

DES MOINES CLEARING HOUSE ASSOCIATION

[Signature]

[Signature]

[Signature]

\$1.00

No. 574

The Des Moines Clearing House Association promises to pay the bearer on or before three months from this date the sum of ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS, without interest.

This certificate is secured by the deposit of approved securities with the clearing house committee of the Des Moines Clearing House Association, and it is also secured against the credit of the banks of the City of Des Moines, Iowa, members of said Association, and will be received by any national bank or depositary in payment of any obligations due them. Dated at Des Moines, Iowa, this 10th day of October, A.D. 1917.

DES MOINES CLEARING HOUSE ASSOCIATION

[Signature]

[Signature]

[Signature]

\$1,000.00

Facsimile of the original of this certificate is attached to the original of one, two, three, four, five, ten, and twenty dollars of the other

2. That no currency or legal tender be forwarded or paid by any bank, member of this Association, to any of its correspondents or non-resident depositors.

3. That no currency or legal tender be paid to any customer of any bank, member of this Association, in excess of Twenty-five Dollars (\$25.00) at any one time, or aggregating more than that sum in any one day, but that such depositors be paid in cashier's checks, certificates of deposit, drafts, or Clearing House certificates.

4. That all of the banks, members of this Association, issue, in so far as they are able, in lieu of currency or legal tender, checks, certificates of deposits, drafts or Clearing House certificates.

5. That each of the Savings Banks, members of this Association, immediately issue, post and require of its depositors, the sixty days' notice provided by law for the withdrawal of savings deposits; provided, however, that any bank may pay within said sixty days upon any savings deposit, a sum or sums not exceeding in the aggregate Twenty-five Dollars (\$25.00).

6. All Clearing House certificates shall be of the form heretofore adopted by this Association; they shall be serially numbered, shall be signed by each of the members of the Clearing House committee and said Committee shall keep a complete record of all of said certificates by their numbers and amounts, the date of issuance and the name of the member to whom issued; provided, however, that the form of certificate and manner of signing the same may be changed from time to time by the vote of a majority of the banks, members of this Association.

7. Clearing House certificates shall be issued by the Association and collateral security therefor shall be deposited with and received by the Clearing House Committee of this Association, upon the express condition that neither the Clearing House Association, the Clearing House Committee, nor any member thereof, shall be responsible for any loss on any of such collaterals arising from failure to make demand and protest or from any other neglect or omission other than

the refusal to take some reasonable step which the said depositing bank may have previously required in writing.

8. In the settlement of Clearing House balances, between the members of this Association, cash or exchange shall not be demanded but all such settlements shall be made in Clearing House certificates.

9. On the surrender of Clearing House certificates, or any of them, by a depositing bank, the Clearing House Committee will credit the amount as a payment on the obligation of said bank, held by them, and will surrender a proportionate amount of securities, except that in case of default of the depositing bank in any of its transactions through or with the Clearing House or said Committee the securities will be applied by the Committee, first to the discharge of obligations of said bank to said Committee or the Association, with interest; next, to the payment of any indebtedness of such bank to the other banks, members of this Association.

10. The Clearing House Committee is authorized to exchange any portion of said securities for others, to be approved by them, and shall have power to demand additional security, at their own discretion.

11. All interest collected by the Clearing House Committee on the obligations of the members of this Association in connection with the issuance of Clearing House certificates shall constitute a special fund for use by said Association for the following purposes:

First: To pay to the banks, members of this Association, carrying Clearing House certificates of the denomination of Five Hundred Dollars or more, interest at the rate of seven per cent. per annum during the time such banks hold the same, and no Clearing House certificates of the denomination of Five Hundred Dollars or more shall be issued or used for any purpose other than the settlement of Clearing House balances.

Second: The remainder of said fund shall remain with this Association, subject to its further orders.

12. Any bank, member of this Association, may at any time exchange Clearing House certificates of one or more denomi-

nations for certificates of equal amount of any other denomination.

13. That these rules, together with any other rules of the Association existing or hereafter adopted, shall be enforced and observed by each of the banks, members of this Association, until further ordered by the vote of a majority of the members of the Des Moines Clearing House Association.

14. This contract shall be deposited with the President of the Des Moines Clearing House Association, as custodian, and the President shall furnish each member of the Association with a certified copy.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said banks and each of them, members of the Des Moines Clearing House Association, have executed this contract by authority of their respective Boards of Directors, this 30th day of October, A. D. 1907.

CITIZENS NATIONAL BANK.

By J. G. Rounds, Pres.
Attest. Geo. E. Pearsall, Cashier.

DES MOINES NATIONAL BANK.

By J. H. Blair, V. Pres.
Attest. A. J. Zwart, Cashier.

IOWA NATIONAL BANK.

By H. S. Butler, Pres.
Attest. H. T. Blackburn, Cashier.

VALLEY NATIONAL BANK.

By R. O. Crawford, Pres.
Attest. W. E. Barrett, Cashier.

CAPITAL CITY STATE BANK.

By Henry Wagner, Pres.
Attest. J. A. McKinney, Cashier.

DES MOINES SAVINGS BANK.

By Simon Casady, Pres.
Attest. Homer A. Miller, Cashier.

HOME SAVINGS BANK.

By H. C. Hansen, Pres.
Attest. A. C. Miller, Cashier.

MARQUARDT SAVINGS BANK

By G. D. Ellyson, Pres.
J. H. Hogan, Asst. Cashier.

GERMAN SAVINGS BANK.

By Jas. Watt, Pres.
Attest. J. C. O'Donnell, Cashier.

CENTRAL STATE BANK.

By J. D. Whisenand, Pres.
Attest. F. L. Walker, Cashier.

IOWA STATE BANK.

By E. H. Hunter, Pres.
Attest. G. A. Dissmore, Cashier.

CENTURY SAVINGS BANK.

By W. G. Harvison, Pres.
Attest. D. A. Byers, Cashier.

IOWA TRUST AND SAVINGS BANK.

By G. S. Gilbertson, V. Pres.
Attest. A. O. Hauge, Cashier.

PEOPLES SAVINGS BANK.

By C. H. Martin, Pres.
Attest. F. P. Flynn, Cashier.

MECHANICS SAVINGS BANK.

By G. E. Mackinnon, V. Pres.
Attest. Jno. A. Elliott, Asst. Cashier.

ANNALS OF IOWA

The resolutions provided for in the foregoing agreement are as follows:

Resolved, That until further directed by the vote of the majority of the members of this Association, that in the further conduct of its business, each of the banks, members of this Association, strictly conform to the following rules, viz.:

1. That a resolution of the form, heretofore adopted by this Association at this meeting relating to the manner of issuing Clearing House Certificates and securing the same and pledging the same and pledging the credit of all of the banks, members of this Association, for the security of all Clearing House certificates, issued by the Association, be passed by the board of directors of each of said members of this Association, and a certified copy, thereof, be sent to the Secretary or Clearing House committee.

2. That no currency or legal tender be forwarded or paid by any bank, member of this Association, to any of its correspondents or non-resident depositors.

3. That no currency or legal tender be paid to any customer of any bank, member of this Association, in excess of Twenty-five Dollars (\$25.00), at any one time, or aggregating more than that sum in any one day, but that such depositors be paid in cashier's checks, certificates of deposit, drafts, or Clearing House certificates.

4. That all of the banks, members of this Association, issue in so far as they are able, in lieu of currency or legal tender checks, certificates of deposit, drafts or Clearing House certificates.

5. That each of the Savings Banks, members of this Association, immediately issue, post and require of its depositors the sixty days' notice provided by law for the withdrawal of savings deposits.

6. That these rules be enforced and be observed by each of the banks, members of this Association, until further ordered by the vote of a majority of the members of the Des Moines Clearing House Association.

Monday morning, October 28, 1907, the officers of the various banks held directors' meetings, most of them called for

7:00 o'clock, and passed the resolutions provided for in the Article of Agreement.

The Clearing House Association supplied printed cards to the Savings Banks, to be posted, notifying their depositors that a sixty-day written notice would be required for withdrawals of deposits, as provided by Law and before the bank doors were opened, these were placed in conspicuous places.

There was also another notice supplied to the various banks, which stated, that on account of the suspension of currency payments, by the Banks in the money centers of the United States and the inability to reimburse ourselves, that the Associated Banks of the City of Des Moines were compelled to do likewise and for a time, suspend currency payments. This notice was signed by the officers of each bank doing business in the city of Des Moines.

The banks opened at the usual hour for business, Monday morning, October 28, 1907, and very little uneasiness was manifested by the depositors during the day. The Clearing House Association appointed a publicity committee, who kept the papers posted as to the situation and advised with them as to what was advisable to be given to the public.

For the first few days, the banks were permitted to pay only Twenty-five Dollars (\$25.00) in cash to each depositor in the Commercial Department, in any one day. After a few days, when it was found that the people of this community had full confidence in the banking institutions and that it was not necessary to limit the payments to so small an amount, greater leeway was given to the managers of banks.

First, by increasing the amount to be paid in any one day, gradually increasing it from time to time. Again, by permitting the banks to cash drafts for traveling men. Again by permitting us to pay half in cash on the pay roll accounts and later the full amount in cash, if the bank having the account so desired, until finally long before the expiration of the Clearing House Agreement, the banks were practically running under normal conditions.

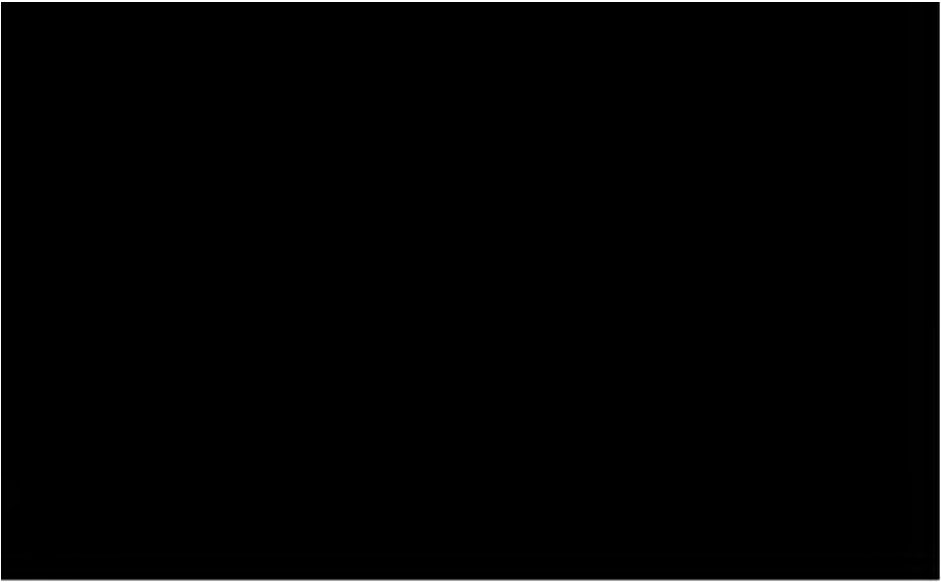
At the expiration of the ninety days, January 28, 1908, at which time, the notes given for Clearing House Certificates by

the various banks matured, they had all been paid, the certificates returned and the day was celebrated with a bonfire, using the Clearing House Certificates which had been in circulation for fuel.

Eight hundred eighty thousand dollars (\$880,000.00) worth of certificates in denominations of \$500.00 and \$1,000.00 were taken out by the banks and used to settle Clearing House balances between themselves. One hundred and seventy thousand dollars (\$170,000.00) worth were taken out by the banks, members of the Clearing House Association, to be used as circulating medium.

The Clearing House Committee, which had in charge the carrying out and enforcing of the Clearing House agreement was composed of J. D. Whisenand, Chairman, John H. Blair, James Watt, J. G. Rounds, Homer A. Miller, H. T. Blackburn, and G. E. Mackinnon. This committee held daily sessions and no currency was shipped out of the city by any bank during this time, without first having obtained the permission of this Committee.

Great credit is due the people of this community for the good judgment which they exercised and their splendid treatment of the banks during the time when it seemed necessary to operate under this Clearing House Agreement. The people seemed united in their desire to back up and help the banks in their effort to protect their patrons and the various interests which they represented.



CLIMATIC CHANGES.

BY CHARLES ALDRICH.


One who has lived his three score years and ten has seen more changes than had previously transpired in centuries. These changes are so numerous that it would be quite overwhelming to attempt their enumeration. They confront the observer who stops to think, on every hand, as in travel and transportation, the transmission of intelligence, lighting and heating, improved homes, business methods, in arts and manufactures, the diffusion of knowledge—and in fact, in everything which affects our surroundings or ministers to our comfort and enjoyment. But changes quite as marked, though not so directly palpable, have taken place in the climate and meteorological conditions of the United States, whatever may be true of other regions.

One who climbed the forested hills of Western New York in the forties and fifties found them deeply carpeted with leaves, the shade overhead so dense as often to shut out the sunlight, while brooks and creeks alive with speckled trout went singing through the ravines and valleys. The forests were musical with the songs of birds, and the passenger pigeons bred and migrated in uncounted millions. Deep snow in winter and heavy rains in the spring, summer and autumn, kept the streams alive and the earth filled with moisture. There were "January thaws" and "June floods," almost as regular in their recurrence as the seasons of the years. Whittier sang of "the long October rains" in a way to indicate that they were always to be anticipated.

Much the same state of things existed here in the Middle West thirty to forty years ago. When the snows melted in the spring the rivers were almost invariably filled with thick ice, which, in breaking up accumulated often in great gorges, causing the water to overflow the low lands along the valleys. In hundreds of instances immense cakes of ice were carried beyond the banks, where they wore or bruised patches of bark from the trees, leaving great scars, many of which partially overgrown may still be seen. Scores of the prairie

creeks flowed perennially, and were the resorts of pickerel and other fishes. The large streams were well supplied with fish and were the homes of innumerable otters and beavers, while the groves and sloughs were alive with the feathered creation. Prairie chickens, wild turkeys and the migratory aquatic birds, furnished the sportsmen with a succession of game nine months in the year. The soil was always moist from the grass roots down. The Iowa rivers were majestic streams when not encased in ice. But how all this has been changed! The rivers have shrunk to less than a twentieth of their old-time dimensions. The brooks and creeks and in many cases the ponds and lakes, have utterly disappeared, leaving peat or dry sand and gravel in their beds. The game birds are exterminated or have flown to other regions. Prairie grasses and hay are rapidly becoming things of the past. The very ground has but a thin layer of a few inches of moist earth at the surface, below which there is complete desiccation to the depth often of one to two hundred feet. Thousands of forest trees have died during the last ten years from this disappearance of water.

Let us briefly enumerate some of the phenomena the writer has observed in confirmation of the foregoing remarks, the most obvious of which is the shrinkage of lakes, ponds, springs and streams. While we have noticed these occurrences for a much longer period, they have been more marked during the last twenty years. Innumerable instances might be specified. They doubtless occur in every part of the United

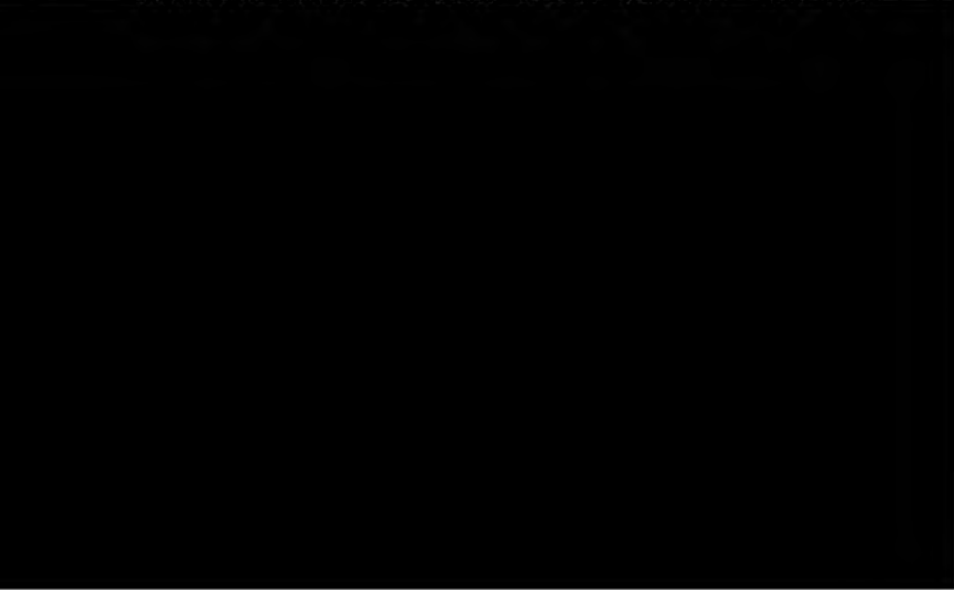


marked in the eighties. In 1896 its bed became completely dry. In 1897 and 1898 the increased rainfall gave its bed a small supply of running water, but scarcely a twenty-fifth of that of 1870. The beds of many of the streams along the line of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad east of Pittsburg which were wild and tumultuous torrents many years later than 1860 are now dry and dusty in summer, or only threaded by little runnels of dirty water. One can easily cross the most of them by stepping from stone to stone. In the early days of the railroads these streams were noted for containing vast quantities of fish, but that fame has passed them by for all time—apparently. The wild and beautiful mountain streams have ceased to exist. The Des Moines was a majestic stream down into the seventies, the region through which it ran almost a fairy land to the artist and sportsman. Mississippi steamboats frequently ran up to the State Capital, and on one or two occasions smaller craft ascended much higher. It was long in contemplation to render it navigable during those portions of the year it was free from ice, and a great grant of land was made by Congress to secure this end. To-day so great has been its shrinkage that a Mississippi catfish of the largest size would have a hard job before him in attempting its ascent, to say nothing of steamboats. In many places its bed is being gullied into small islands crowned with such vegetation as sand and water can support.

Throughout Iowa excellent wells could be made by digging from ten to thirty feet, and they seemed to promise permanence. But water has mostly disappeared above the bed-rock—save where it exists in “pockets” of but limited extent, which in a few years are pumped dry. Thousands of farms are now only supplied with water by boring into the solid rocks, often to the depth of 200 to 500 feet. These facts tell their own story of desiccation. And here is another, in the writer’s judgment the most startling of all; our agriculture has been carried on for several years with only a few inches of moist earth at the surface, possibly not less than five or six, nor more than twenty or thirty inches. In the old days moisture was abundant from the surface down to where it was

in sufficient supply for wells. At this time there are tens of thousands of acres in which not a drop can be found in the drift and only by boring deep into the rock below. Thirty years ago, on the Plains and in the Rocky Mountains, the Indians and other travelers could depend upon finding plenty of water every ten to fifteen miles. But these springs have disappeared and at this time, such travelers are often compelled to carry a supply of water with them, or make "dry camps." We state this fact on the authority of Dr. Elliot Coues, the distinguished explorer and author.

Quite as marked atmospheric changes have also taken place. A blizzard forty years ago meant fierce and steady blowing from the northwest, with a heavy fall of snow. The blizzard storm generally lasted about three days. Perhaps three feet of snow fell in the forests where the air was still, while it would be piled in immense drifts out on the prairies. In these days, if a blizzard happens along the wind may blow furiously for some hours, leaving less than an inch of snow. Rains fell plentifully throughout many months of the year. For the most part we see few of the dense nimbus clouds which used to extend from one horizon to the other heavily charged with rain or snow. During these later years the clouds are thin and scattered, seldom ever obscuring the light of the stars. There is very little moisture in green firewood, which burns almost as freely as timber cut a year before. In one of the seasons a few years ago, our forest trees barely leaved out making no woody growth whatever. The past



ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

"* * * When he [Mr. Aldrich] closed his desk, for the last time, there were within it manuscripts * * * some editorials and much material undeveloped or in outline. * * * It will be the purpose of the writer, who has been appointed Acting Curator * * * to continue the form of the journal identical with that preceding the death of Mr. Aldrich, and make use of such material * * *. If any deviation shall be made it will be in the number closing the volume [which may] include all * * * communications * * * incident to Mr. Aldrich's death.

EDGAR R. HARLAN."

(*Annals of Iowa, Third Series, Vol. 8, P. 385.*)

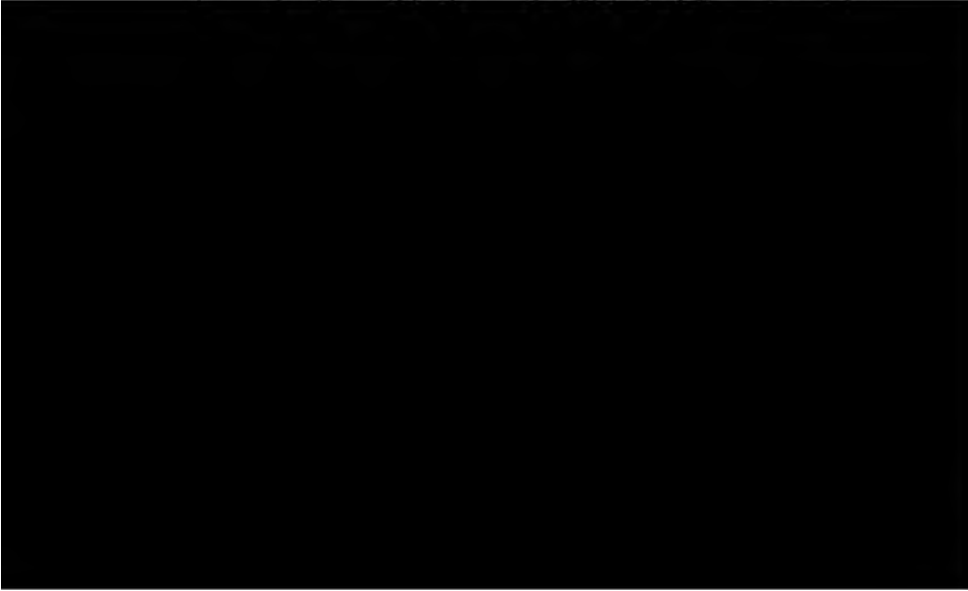
CLEARING OFF THEIR DESKS.

Nothing in the lives of prudent, methodical men is more admirable than their custom of clearing their desks of each day's accumulated work. Fully as grand is that act of busy, strong and useful men, their effort at finishing work laid out in early life. No one but the designer of a life's work can so perfectly complete it. The Historical Department is indebted for its existence largely to strong and great men of this character. Two who never ceased their labors have recently sent to the Department what they protest shall be their last active efforts—they maintain they have cleared their desks. These are William Salter, D. D., of Burlington, and J. M. Shaffer, M. D., of Keokuk. These names appear in the early correspondence of the Department, and from that time to the present they occur with frequency not exceeded by any others, and ever with wisdom where wise counsels were needed, and with material assistance where that might be provided. Both these grand men remain in the active and accurate use of their faculties and both to-day conduct their correspondence in their own fine, legible hands. Both are over eighty years of age, and both have lately prepared and forwarded items considerably augmenting the collections of the Department, and as usual without cost or expense to the State.

Doctor Salter has lately sent the final portions of the personal archives of eminent Iowa men, his former friends and associates, editing a number of the letters for use in the present *Annals*. Doctor Shaffer lately forwarded a mass of documents, and the last of what he considers appropriate of his natural history collection. These two grand men have been exercising fine discrimination for nearly three-quarters of a century in the selection of the good from the bad, the useful from the trash in book, manuscript and specimen. They have hoarded these for the good of their fellow men in the future. They have tendered their assistance, which has been eagerly accepted, toward increasing the resources of many an Iowa institution for the advancement of learning. Their benefactions have been practically numberless and may be inestimable.

RICH MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS OF GENERAL GRENVILLE M. DODGE.

For aids to the study of inceptive periods of movements among a people, it is to be doubted whether there is a source so valuable as the documentary materials with which active men surround themselves. Current documents and writings furnish testimony on the operation of the popular mind that, in minute historical investigation, can neither be discarded

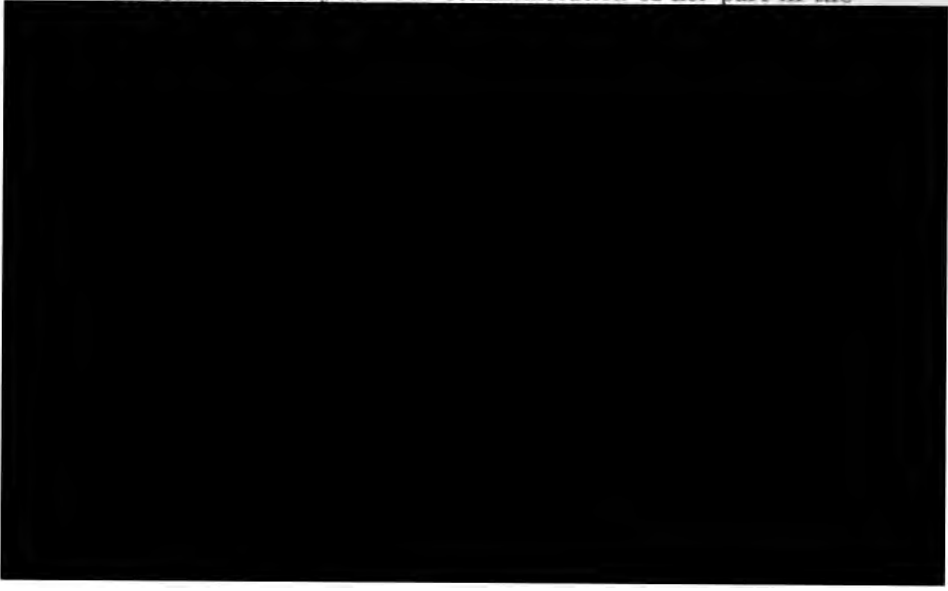


cared nothing for our private lives we might not shudder with the knowledge that the only record we can make that stands a chance to endure is such as may be made in the capacity of an official. Few public or private institutions design to preserve more than the skeleton of their history, and although from their nature these institutions are perpetual, the changing incumbencies of office often result in prompt destruction of the signs of life and individuality. But since service in office usually follows and is followed by a uniform character of wisdom, integrity and endeavor, there is probably no sufficient reason for committing all materials of a man's private life to the flames. And if there is reason to preserve that which bears on official life, and if that reason is for the benefit of official successors, the same reason must apply against loss to successors of good men in private life. It is therefore with especial gratification that the Historical Department lately has been made the custodian of the personal papers of one of Iowa's good men and great soldiers, General Grenville M. Dodge. The collection will pass into the future as testimony to the donor's faith in the righteous purpose of the institution, and in its administration. It becomes more than a memorial to a man. It is a memorial of a mind whose operations need never be guessed at, surmised, nor considered from secondary evidence. It must ever be a factor in the attention of those who have written or who may in future write on Iowa or American historical themes dealing with the last half century, for it is the record of the forward movement of a master spirit. This collection presents the first thought on engineering a railroad across the State, and spanning its then formidable border streams. It is original record in right of way and townsite matters, of large financiering before and since the Civil War; of loyal labors in raising, drilling and leading troops; in planning battles and feats of engineering that counted as battles sometimes failed to do; of strategems, of secret service, of punishments devised in instants of desperation not experienced by our country before or after that hour. There are indexes—many times full texts—on the construction of railways over the western plains and through hostile Indian

countries, and sometimes troublous financial times; of organization, promotion, construction and operation of railroad enterprises, made possible and made perfect only perhaps through applications of the methods and employment of the men, produced through the discipline of military life. There are the intimate thoughts of men who fought the civic battles of our state and country, and after all perhaps more precious than the rest the records of one private citizen of America. Except for two years in Congress and five in the Army, all the General's life has been that of a private citizen. Of great distinction in this respect, has been that part in which he figured, as disclosed by materials of which the Historical Department is the custodian, as commissioner or other factor in the erection of many statues and monuments to his great military associates.

IOWA MEMORIAL SCULPTURE.

One recalls a number of public memorial sculptures in Iowa, though it is yet a young State. In Crapo Park, Burlington, is an equestrian statue in bronze of Gen. John M. Corse; in Keokuk one of Gen. Samuel R. Curtis. These are replicas of two of the four by Carl Rohlf-Smith, modeled as details for the Soldiers and Sailors Monument at Des Moines. This monument is the most ambitious work of its character the State has essayed. The commemoration of her part in the



by his widow was presented to this collection. There are busts in marble of the founder and curator, Charles Aldrich, Governor and Mrs. Larrabee, and of Senator C. J. A. Ericson, by Pugi Brothers; a plaster replica of the Rhind Henderson; a bust of the late D. N. Richardson of Davenport by Rohl-Smith; one of the late Lieutenant Governor Matt Parrott and one of the Indian Chief Keokuk. In the Adjutant General's Office is a bronze bust of Grenville M. Dodge, by Rohl-Smith. There are medallions and relief work in portraiture and allegory from the studios of recognized and leading sculptors in and about the capitol building and on the Soldiers and Sailors Monument. The whole collection composes an expression of the Iowa public in memorial sculpture not lacking in value or merit and giving promise of a future in this field.

Significant additions are soon to be made to the list of Iowa sculpture. One is the placing of a statue of James Harlan in Statuary Hall, Washington. The commission is in the hands of Miss Nellie V. Walker, an Iowa born sculptor of Chicago, whose "Stratton" at Colorado Springs and whose "Her Son," an ideal group, have lately added to her reputation. The Harlan model in clay is almost ready for submission to the Executive Council, on whose approval the statue is to be cast and installed at Washington.

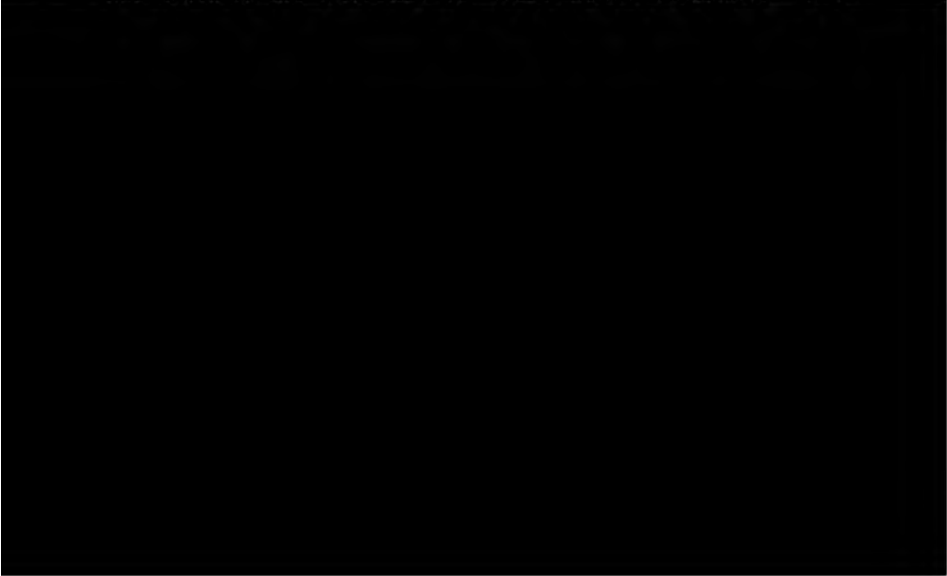
Another is an ideal figure in bronze of Mahaska, the Iowa Indian Chief, to be erected in the city of Oskaloosa. This was modeled in Paris by an Iowa born sculptor, Mr. Sherry E. Fry. It was among his earliest efforts in independent interpretation of ideal thought and its execution gained for him recognition in the front rank of artists. This figure is of heroic proportions. It is to stand on a pedestal some eight feet in height and is to be placed, with appropriate ceremony, in the public square at Oskaloosa. It is presented to the City of Oskaloosa by Mr. James Depew Edmundson, of Des Moines, in memory of his father, the late William Edmundson. The donor was born in Des Moines county, Iowa, in Territorial days. He was a messenger in the Iowa legislature of 1860. He was for most of his life a resident of Council Bluffs, in

which city stands as his tribute to the memory of the wife of his youth who lies buried there, the Jennie Edmundson Hospital. For some six years Mr. Edmundson has resided in Des Moines. In the annals of the State nothing has been done from private initiative more fittingly to characterize legend and history than will this Mahaska. Tablets on the pedestal, besides bearing the title of Mr. Fry's work MAHASKA, will state that William Edmundson was the sheriff appointed by the legislature for organizing Mahaska county, and the first elected by the public after the county was organized; that the Indian whose name the county bears was a chief of the Iowa tribe of Indians, was ever the friend of the white man, and was a victim of Indian treachery, dying at the hand of an assassin on soil now embraced in Cass county, Iowa.

All the public statuary within the State and all that the State has provided anywhere should be assembled in replica in the Historical Department. It may be done with but trivial expense, no doubt, while the present benefits would be multiplied.

AN IOWA CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY.

Fort Madison recently celebrated the centennial of the establishment of the first fort in what is now the State of Iowa. The event was predicated on a report of Lieut. Alpha Kingsley (*Annals of Iowa*, 3d Series, Vol. III, p. 100) made November 22, 1808, to the Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn. The



The establishment of the fort was celebrated by a series of programmes embracing notable addresses by Dr. B. F. Shambaugh and Prof. W. C. Wilcox of the Iowa State University, Governors Cummins of Iowa and Van Sant of Minnesota, Dr. William Salter of Burlington, and Hon. J. D. M. Hamilton of Topeka, Kansas. Citizens of Fort Madison and Lee county have done many things toward fixing and perpetuating facts concerning historical persons and events, but in nothing have they accomplished more than in this celebration. The various pageants, exercises and addresses, splendidly handled by the newspapers, made the people acquainted with the earliest of civilized activities in that part of the State. A stimulation of patriotism and local pride and a dissemination of historical learning, especially to the younger generations has resulted. A purpose to rebuild the "lone chimney" or otherwise visibly mark the spot of the building of the fort was fixed in the public mind, and a fund almost sufficient to carry it out was left in hand.


OUR COUNTY ARCHIVES.

Iowa has become conscious of the value of her State archives, and has done much toward expressing appreciation of these. She is pursuing a plan not only to preserve those of the past and present, but to make them and those of the future available to the public. An appropriation of six thousand dollars a year for two years to be expended for this purpose under the direction of the executive council was made by the last General Assembly. But of county statistical and genealogical matter not in current use less care has been taken. It may be shown in our recent experience.

The Historical Department discovered and secured "the old papers" of a modest Iowa citizen whose death occurred about 1880. He had resided in the State from its admission to the Union. He had held no public office and was unknown beyond his town. He had witnessed the removal of his county's offices from room to room and from building to

building. He had shared anxiety with other substantial tax payers over vital municipal, county, state and national issues, and had gathered and preserved the written and printed matter assailing as well as supporting his views. These have a value of their own. So far the collection which remained undisturbed for nearly thirty years can not be said to be unusual. But in the same receptacle were found original documentary records of his county as follows: Bonds of county recorders, school fund commissioners, assessors and their deputies for 1846 and 1847; duplicates of all grocery permits issued in 1840; judge's bar docket 1849; five hundred certificates of labor performed on highways, being from each township in the county, for 1880; annual reports of school district secretaries in each district, showing names of officials and teachers, compensation, courses of study, &c., 1857; tax-lists of two townships, 1856; poll-books of all voting precincts of 1841 to 1845 inclusive; estray records of county commissioners' offices, 1840 to 1855; census rolls of four townships, 1851; county warrant stub books bearing autographs of payees, 1841 to 1849 inclusive.

Aside from the legal obligation on incumbents of office, the moral obligation to sacredly preserve the records of their office is equal to that of accuracy in making current entries. There is no authority anywhere for the abandonment or destruction of documents bearing official character. They are presumptively in existence ever after their creation, and their safe custody is as much a part of the duty of the official as is any



NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion. Together With Historical Sketches of Volunteer Organizations, 1861-1896. Volume I. First-Eighth Regiments Infantry. Published by Authority of the General Assembly, Under Direction of Brigadier General William H. Thrift, Adjutant-General, Des Moines. Emory H. English, State Printer; E. D. Chassell, State Binder. 1908.

This is the beginning of a long-desired work. It was authorized by the Act of April 10, 1907, of the Thirty-second General Assembly, entitled "An act providing for the compilation of a roster of Iowa soldiers, sailors and marines in the war with Mexico and the War of the Rebellion, the Spanish-American and the Philippine wars, including military service in the Spirit Lake expedition, and other services against the Indians; providing the manner of its publication, distribution and sale and making an appropriation therefor."

It is a volume of 1,245 pages, compiled under the direction of the Adjutant-General and the general supervision of the Board, consisting of the Governor, Albert B. Cummins; the Attorney-General, H. W. Byers; the Adjutant-General, W. H. Thrift; the Curator of the Historical Department, Charles Aldrich, and the member selected under authority of the Act, by the Department Commander of the Iowa Department, G. A. R., George W. Crosley. Acknowledgment by the Board is made of " * * * the careful and efficient labors of its Secretary, Col. George W. Crosley, who, on account of his long and honorable service as an Iowa soldier, was selected to prepare the Historical Sketches and to assist the Adjutant-General in carrying on the work of compiling and revising the rosters."

In the beginning of the volume is a clear and comprehensive introduction, setting out the plan, scope and magnitude of the work and suggesting the difficulties encountered. The volume fitly discloses the gratifying extent to which these have been overcome. The plan originated by Colonel Crosley is to present each regiment in order of its number; each list of officers in order of their rank, and all enlisted men in each regiment whose names begin with the same letter, in one list, which is subdivided by company arrangement. Thus general indexing is dispensed with. Introducing each regimental group is a succinct history of the organization, a skillful abbreviation of the wealth of authority in existence in each case. The complete military record of each officer and man as paraphrased under his name is a most important feature of the work, as it preserves for posterity the personal record of these brave men, that of the private soldier having received the same care and attention as that of the commissioned officer. The whole combined makes what is comprehended in the Act "a complete military history of the State." Such a publication has been in contemplation by Iowa for a great many years and has been issued by a number of other states, whose work, on careful consideration, has been followed in some essentials, but in many it is believed improvement has been made. In point of economy of time and money the present volume has not been equalled by the corresponding work of any other State. Every citizen who is, or may become, interested in the record of any Iowa soldier, or in Iowa military history, will be pleased with the work of the Board, and will anxiously await or gladly welcome the completion of the work.

ANNALS OF IOWA
NOTABLE DEATHS.

WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON was born in Wayne county, Ohio, March 2, 1829; he died at his home in Dubuque August 4, 1908. He was educated at Wooster academy and Allegheny college, Meadville, Pa., and at Western Reserve college, Hudson, Ohio. He was a law student in the office of Hemphill & Turner, Wooster, Ohio, and began the practice at Ashland in 1850. He was a delegate to the Ohio Whig convention of 1855 and a secretary of that body. He removed to Dubuque, Iowa, in 1857. Senator Allison became an active and influential factor in Iowa politics almost at once on his arrival. He was a delegate to the republican State convention in 1859 and to the national convention that nominated Lincoln at Chicago in 1860. He was a member of the staff of Governor Kirkwood and an efficient aid in the raising of troops under the various calls of President Lincoln. He was urged for the nomination of Supreme Judge of Iowa about this time, but modestly put aside the opportunity with the explanation that there was a question whether he was as yet fully qualified. He was nominated for Congress in 1862, elected and re-elected, serving until 1871 with distinction on the floor and in the committee on ways and means. In 1873 he was elected over James Harlan to the United States Senate. Besides the distinction of serving longer continuously than any other member of that body since the organization of the government, he took front rank as an effective legislator. He was a member of the appropriations committee throughout his service. He was made its chairman in 1881, serving as such for eight years, then again became chairman in 1895, remaining such until his death. He also served continuously on the committee on finance after 1877. He was chairman of the international monetary conference at Brussels in 1892. He was favorably considered by Presidents Garfield and Harrison as Secretary of the Treasury and by McKinley for Secretary of State. He was a prominent candidate for President and once almost settled upon in a conference whose choice became the nominee. He was first married to Miss Anna Carter in 1854, who died in 1860. In 1873 he was married to Miss Mary Neally, an adopted daughter of James W. Grimes, Governor and United States Senator of Iowa. She died in 1883. Senator Allison left no direct descendants.

attention to business and in 1875 became a controlling factor in the organization of the Des Moines Savings Bank, whose interests absorbed practically the whole of his active energies the remainder of his life. He was a patriotic member of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association and of many other social organizations.

GEORGE CRAWFORD DUFFIELD was born in Steubenville, Ohio, May 13, 1824; he died near Keosauqua, Iowa, September 4, 1908. He emigrated with his father's family in April, 1837, to their claim on Chequest Creek, it being the farthest west of any then within the present limits of the State of Iowa. He purchased land near by in 1852 and erected the house which was his home from that time until his death. He was a delegate to the first and more than thirty republican State conventions, attending many others to which he was not a delegate. He attended the first and more than fifty other fairs held by the Iowa State Agricultural Society, serving twelve years as a director. He served nine months with company G, Third Iowa cavalry, without enlistment and without pay. As obituarian of the Van Buren County Pioneer Association he compiled nearly a thousand sketches of the lives of men and women who lived in Van Buren county during or before 1846. He kept a very complete diary after 1860, and from it drew much of the material presented in public papers. A series of reminiscient articles published in *The Annals* was reprinted under the title, "Memories of Frontier Iowa."

JOSIAH FORREST KENNEDY was born January 31, 1834, at Landisburg, Penn.; he died in Los Angeles, Cal., September 26, 1908. He was educated in Williamsburg academy and Dickinson college, in Pennsylvania. He studied medicine in Jefferson Medical college, but graduated from the medical department of the University of the City of New York. Upon his graduation in 1858 he removed to Tipton, Iowa, and soon thereafter to Mechanicsville, Iowa, where he practiced for three years. He served as assistant surgeon in the regular army for about a year during the Civil War; returning to Tipton he remained there in the practice of his profession until his election as professor of obstetrics in the medical department of the Iowa State University. He removed to Des Moines in 1870 and in 1884 was elected secretary of the State Board of Health, in which capacity he served with very great distinction for nearly twenty-two years. He held honorable positions in many national movements in his profession, was an active member of many fraternal societies, and of the Methodist church. He removed to Los Angeles, Cal., on account of failing health in 1906.

WILLIAM SAVAGE was born in England, September 2, 1833; he died in Van Buren county, Iowa, July 8, 1908. He was apprenticed to the tailor's trade; came to New York with an uncle in 1847, and being of Quaker connection, to Salem, Henry county, Iowa, in 1853. He acquired eighty acres of land near Sigler's Mill, on Big Cedar creek, in Van Buren county, in 1854, which place remained his home. He followed his trade until that vanished as a country custom. He farmed and painted houses and trapped for furs. He kept a diary of domestic and neighborhood affairs and especially of natural history phenomena. His passion for recording his observations was

most peculiarly evidenced in the record he made in water-color of every bird, save two, he observed in Iowa, and many he received from elsewhere. These he painted from freshly killed specimens taken by himself. He did his work without desire for and he never received the attention of scientists. He was modest, honest, sober and always lived close to nature. His records may or may not be of service to the world.

E. R. H.

STEPHEN L. DOWS was born October 9, 1832, in New York City; he died March 8, 1908, at his cottage at Daytona, Florida. In 1855 Mr. Dows removed to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and located in business. He remained an important factor in the financial and moral well-being of his adopted city. He first engaged in the sawmill and lumber business. He enlisted in Company I, Twentieth Regiment Iowa Infantry, going out as first lieutenant and being promoted to Quartermaster, First Brigade, Second Division, Army of the Frontier, resigning from ill health January 15, 1863. He served in the Iowa Senate through the Sixteenth and Seventeenth General Assemblies. He joined most of the Cedar Rapids railroad and manufacturing ventures whose success made success for the men who promoted them and for their city. He gave of his time, wisdom and wealth to advance the interests and benefits of the churches and hospital of Cedar Rapids, as well as those of her business institutions.

WILLIAM ANDERSON MCINTIRE was born in Wapello county, Iowa, April 11, 1849; he died at his home in Ottumwa June 13, 1908. He was educated in the Ottumwa schools and at the State College at Ames. He organized the hardware business of W. A. McIntire & Co. in 1888 and retained his interests therein until his death. He organized the South Ottumwa bank in 1903, of which he was made president, continuing in that capacity while he lived. He was a director of the Ottumwa Savings Bank and of the Ottumwa Gas Light, Heat & Power Co. He served as trustee of the State Normal School, and was a member of the Public School Board of the city of Ottumwa and of the Ottumwa Commercial club. For more than ten years he held the office of County Superintendent of Schools. He was elected to the Iowa Senate in 1897 and served one term.

RACINE D. KILLEGG was born in Onandago county, New York, March 9, 1828; he died at his home in Des Moines August 2, 1908. He was educated at an academy at Fayetteville, N. Y., taught school in New York and Ohio until his removal to Garden Grove, Iowa, in 1854. He was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives in the regular session of 1861, offering the resolution which pledged the faith and credit of the State of Iowa to the suppression of the war and the support of the Union. He was re-elected to the next session, serving as speaker pro tem. He was elected, and until his retirement from ill health, served as Major of the Thirty-fourth Iowa infantry. He had large land interests near Springfield, Mo. He resided at Garden Grove, however, until he removed to Des Moines in 1891, where he resided continuously until his death.

AMBROSE A. CALL was born in Huron county, Ohio, June 9, 1833; he died at Algona, Iowa, October 23, 1908. He removed to Iowa in 1854, and with his brother Asa A. Call, established the first home north of Fort Dodge, a cabin in what is now Kossuth county, Iowa. They established the town of Algona, which ever afterward remained the residence of Mr. Call. He was the founder of the *Algona Pioneer Press*, which was the first newspaper in that region. He was a believer in the certainty of the future of his state and county, and early invested his means while he applied his energies in that faith. He was authority on early and subsequent questions relating to the political and business development of Iowa and wrote much on these questions. He was of especial assistance in the formative movements of the Historical Department, being an intimate friend and zealous adviser of the founder.

EDWIN FRANKLIN BROCKWAY was born in Brockwayville, Jefferson county, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1834; he died near Letts, Louisa county, Iowa, April 20, 1908. He removed with his parents from his birthplace to Muscatine county, Iowa, in 1842, where he acquired and opened a farm and instituted a nursery. He removed to Washington county, Iowa, in 1866, to a farm which remained his home, except for a four years' residence at Iowa City while his children were being educated, until 1902, when he removed to Louisa county. He served in the Fifteenth General Assembly of Iowa as a representative of Washington county. He was for several terms a director of the State Agricultural Society and once its president. He was an early and life-long champion of temperance and a member of the Methodist church.

JOHN NEHEMIAH BALDWIN was born in Council Bluffs, Iowa, July 9, 1857; he died in Omaha, April 19, 1908. He was a son of Caleb Baldwin, an eminent lawyer and once chief justice of Iowa. Mr. Baldwin inherited the strong intellect and character of his father, and to these added a liberal education. He graduated from the law department of the State University of Iowa in 1877. He early developed power in public speaking and immediately upon his admission to the bar took front rank as an advocate. He was an ardent and active republican; an elector at large from Iowa in 1890; was chairman of the republican State convention of 1894, delivering an address that stands as a model of its kind. He nominated Hon. William B. Allison for president at the St. Louis convention in 1896. He was made general solicitor of the Union Pacific Railway company in 1901 and the same year removed to Omaha.

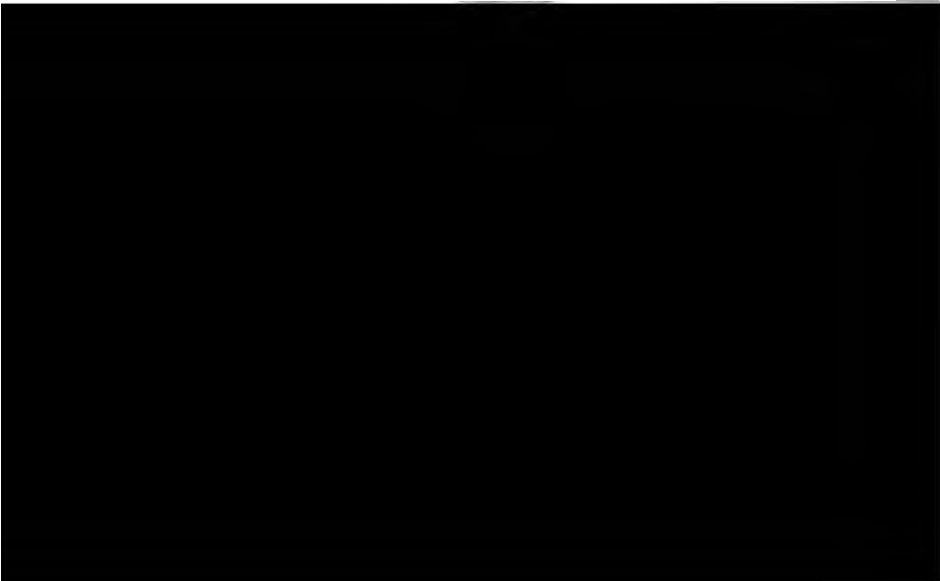
JOHN ADAM WIRT was born in Millersburg, Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, May 21, 1846; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, May 9, 1908. After attending the public schools of Millersburg he completed the collegiate course at Gettysburg and received his theological education and a degree from the Susquehanna University at Selin's Grove, Pennsylvania. He served as a missionary preacher of the English Lutheran church in Pennsylvania until he was called to the pastorate of St. John's church, at Des Moines, in June, 1895. Here he worked with distinguished success until suddenly called to his reward. He was a scholarly, sincere, eloquent preacher.

B. F. WRIGHT was born in Vernon, Trumbull county, Ohio, August 20, 1837; he died at Charles City, Iowa, September 14, 1908. He removed to Charles City in 1857 and engaged in mercantile life until 1872, when he established the *Floyd County Advocate*, of which he was editor for 25 years. He later edited the *Charles City Daily Press* for 11 years. He was a desperate fighter for the principles in which he believed; allied with the republicans until the organization of the third party prohibition movement and thereafter with the prohibitionists.

WILLIAM LINN CULBERTSON was born in Perry county, Pennsylvania, in 1844; he died at Carroll, Iowa, October 19, 1908. He enlisted in the 20th Iowa Infantry in the Civil War. In his early life he became a resident of Carroll county, and the owner of land there where he was during his entire subsequent life an important business factor. He served his county as supervisor, treasurer and auditor. He was elected to the 22d General Assembly as a representative, serving with great credit. He was once prominently mentioned as a candidate for Governor.

JOHN W. JAYNE was born in Wayne county, Pennsylvania, June 29, 1820; he died July 29, 1908, at his home at Lone Tree, Iowa. He removed to Scott county, Iowa, in 1854, residing later in Muscatine and Johnson counties. He improved several thousand acres of land in the earlier days, but retired from agricultural activities in 1877. He enlisted in the Eighth Iowa Infantry in 1861, making an honorable record on the field and undergoing the torture of a southern prison.

WILLIAM O. SCHMIDT was born in Davenport, Iowa, June 9, 1856; he died in that place August 8, 1908. He was educated in the Davenport schools and in the law department of the State University, where he was graduated with the class of 1877. He distinguished himself at the bar. He was elected to the Iowa Senate in 1884 and re-elected in 1888. He was a financier of marked success, a promoter of fraternal interests and a citizen of the finest public spirit.







MEMORIAL NUMBER.

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. VIII. NO. 8.

JANUARY, 1909.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE
HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

CHARLES ALDRICH, Curator.

PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR. SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS.

DES MOINES, IOWA.

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at Des Moines, Iowa.



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A vertical sequence of 12 images showing the progression of a handwritten digit '4' from a sparse dot pattern to a fully formed shape.

ANNALS OF IOWA
NOTABLE DEATHS.

WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON was born in Wayne county, Ohio, March 2, 1829; he died at his home in Dubuque August 4, 1908. He was educated at Wooster academy and Allegheny college, Meadville, Pa., and at Western Reserve college, Hudson, Ohio. He was a law student in the office of Hemphill & Turner, Wooster, Ohio, and began the practice at Ashland in 1850. He was a delegate to the Ohio Whig convention of 1855 and a secretary of that body. He removed to Dubuque, Iowa, in 1857. Senator Allison became an active and influential factor in Iowa politics almost at once on his arrival. He was a delegate to the republican State convention in 1859 and to the national convention that nominated Lincoln at Chicago in 1860. He was a member of the staff of Governor Kirkwood and an efficient aid in the raising of troops under the various calls of President Lincoln. He was urged for the nomination of Supreme Judge of Iowa about this time, but modestly put aside the opportunity with the explanation that there was a question whether he was as yet fully qualified. He was nominated for Congress in 1862, elected and re-elected, serving until 1871 with distinction on the floor and in the committee on ways and means. In 1873 he was elected over James Harlan to the United States Senate. Besides the distinction of serving longer continuously than any other member of that body since the organization of the government, he took front rank as an effective legislator. He was a member of the appropriations committee throughout his service. He was made its chairman in 1881, serving as such for eight years, then again became chairman in 1895, remaining such until his death. He also served continuously on the committee on finance after 1877. He was chairman of the international monetary conference at Brussels in 1892. He was favorably considered by Presidents Garfield and Harrison as Secretary of the Treasury and by McKinley for Secretary of State. He was a prominent candidate for President and once almost settled upon in a conference whose choice became the nominee. He was first married to Miss Anna Carter in 1854, who died in 1860. In 1873 he was married to Miss Mary Neally, an adopted daughter of James W. Grimes, Governor and United States Senator of Iowa. She died in 1883. Senator Allison left no direct descendants.

PHINEAS M. CASADY was born near Connorsville, Indiana, December 3, 1818; he died at his home in Des Moines, Iowa, August 31, 1908. His was a life of extraordinary length, strength and activity. He was admitted to the Indiana bar in 1841; was deputy clerk of the Rush county court until his removal to and permanent settlement in Des Moines in 1846. He was postmaster of Fort Des Moines two years, and became the law partner of Robert L. Tidrick in 1848, which partnership continued until 1853. He was State senator from a district formed of Polk, Dallas, Marion and Jasper counties, then embracing the whole of the territory west and north of these counties and within the present limits of the State. He was elected judge of the fifth judicial district in 1854 and soon after received an appointment as United States receiver of public monies. In 1857 he formed a law partnership with M. M. Crocker, which was entered into by Jefferson S. Polk in 1859, and which General Crocker left to enter the army in 1861, and from which Judge Casady retired in 1864. He gradually restricted his



WRA 1111

very faithfully yours,
Laurent Holm

Charles Aldrich

In Memoriam



ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. VIII, No. 8. DES MOINES, IOWA, JANUARY, 1909. 3D SERIES.

CHARLES ALDRICH.

BY JOHN M. BRAINARD.

The founder and curator of the Iowa State Historical Department was born October 2, 1828, in the town of Ellington, Chautauqua County, N. Y., son of Stephen and Eliza (Nichols) Aldrich. He was of the ninth generation from the immigrant ancestor, George Aldrich, of Derbyshire, England, who arrived in Boston, Mass., November 6, 1631, the genealogical line since being: (2) Joseph, (3) Samuel, (4) Peter, (5) Sylvanus, (6) Stephen, (7) Stephen, and (8) Stephen, the last named being the father of our subject. The father was a blacksmith in early life, afterwards a merchant, lumberman and farmer. He was a kindly, impulsive, energetic and well-informed man. He had been honored as county supervisor and justice of the peace upon the organization of the town of Cold Spring, Cattaraugus County, N. Y., in 1838. The mother died in 1880 at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. Jane Aldrich Lee, at Olean, N. Y., whither Charles in 1882 sent the remains of his father, who died in Iowa, and the parents sleep side by side, in the shade of towering pines, in the beautiful cemetery by the Allegany river. Stephen Nichols, his grandfather on his mother's side, had been a sailor, visiting many portions of the globe, and ended his days as a farmer, at Broadalbin, N. Y. The maternal grandmother was Lucy (Kennicott) Nichols, of whom we have no particulars save that she was a Kennicott, an aunt of Robert Kennicott, the distinguished western naturalist.

His elementary education was such as the common schools afforded, and at sixteen he attended Jamestown academy for a year, but his real education began in June, 1846, when he entered the printing office of the *Western Literary Messenger*, published by Clement & Faxon, in Buffalo, N. Y. In this office he served an apprenticeship to the printers' art, and after working in the villages of Attica and Warsaw, N. Y., and Warren, Pa., in June, 1850, he established the *Cattar-*

augus Sachem, a weekly newspaper, at Randolph, N. Y., which he conducted one year. A file of the *Sachem* is in the Iowa Historical Department. Removing to Olean, in the same county, he established the *Olean Journal*, which he conducted five years, and then returned to the home farm in Little Valley, where he remained until he removed west in 1857.

It was in June of this latter year that he set up in modest office the *Hamilton Freeman* at Webster City, Iowa. The press, type and office fixtures had been hauled across the country from Dubuque, over the prairie roads and through sloughs "without bottom." The prospect—a republican paper in a village of 200 inhabitants, the county all told having but 1,500, and the official patronage in the hands of the democrats—was not the most encouraging to one with less vigor and confident hopefulness. He came quite naturally to be a republican for he was a freesoiler long before his majority.

At the age of nineteen he was chosen secretary of the first freesoil—anti-slavery—convention held in Cattaraugus County, New York. It was in the midst of the discussion of the slavery question, and words were not minced on the frontier in political contests. This result, to the *Freeman* and its patrons, justified the venture, and party lines were soon readjusted on a more satisfactory basis. Subsequently Mr. Aldrich was connected with the publication and editing of the *Dubuque Times*, *Marshall County Times*, and as a writer for the *Chicago Inter Ocean*, and many other papers.

He has served the state in five of its legislatures. He was chosen chief clerk of the House of Representatives in 1860, 1862, 1866 and 1870, and was elected a member of that body by Hamilton County in 1881, serving in the session which began in the following January. It was during this session that he introduced a bill to prohibit the issuing by the railroads of free passes to public officers. This bill was favored by two or three of the leading companies and opposed by others. It became the exciting topic of the session and was hotly debated on the floor of the House and in the newspapers. Mr. Aldrich's remarks in its defense were copied by the leading journals throughout the country, from New York to

San Francisco. No speech of any Iowa man has ever had so wide a circulation. But the bill failed to become a law. This topic was discussed by Mr. Aldrich and the late Judge N. M. Hubbard, of Cedar Rapids, in the *North American Review* for January, 1884.

In 1869, doubtless through the good offices of his abiding friend, the late Hon. J. B. Grinnell, Iowa college conferred upon him the degree of A. M. In 1883 he was one of the founders and is still a member of the American Ornithologists' Union. He is also a member of several state historical societies.

In 1883 Mr. Aldrich started for the Holy Land with his friend, Jacob M. Funk, of Webster City. They traveled in England, Ireland, Belgium, Germany, Italy and France, but went no further east than the city of Naples on account of the cholera, which had begun its march across Europe. Mr. Funk came home two weeks in advance of Mr. Aldrich, who then visited the Channel Islands, Winchester, Selbourne, Canterbury, Stratford-on-Avon, Oxford, Cambridge and Birmingham. He had the good fortune to hear sermons on Martin Luther by Spurgeon, Canon Farrar and the then Archbishop of York. He also heard an eloquent sermon by Cardinal Manning and was kindly received by Cardinal Newman. He crossed the Atlantic twice later on but did not go beyond England.

Mr. Aldrich has devoted much time to the work of securing just and necessary legislation for his state. We will enumerate briefly a few of these measures: In 1858 he secured the passage of a law for the publication of the session laws in two newspapers in each county. In this work he had the hearty support of Cyrus C. Carpenter, afterwards governor; of James F. Wilson, who became one of our United States senators, and of Captain Thomas Drummond, the brilliant Iowa journalist, who was killed at the battle of Five Forks, Va. This law was repealed some time in the seventies, but it had served a good purpose while it was on the statute book. The change in county government (1860) from the old county judge—autocratic, and often corrupt or inefficient—system,

to boards of supervisors, was due to the advocacy started and continued by him. The publication of the proceedings of the boards of supervisors, the lists of county expenditures and the sheriff's sales of real property were secured by laws drafted by Mr. Aldrich. He drafted and secured the passage of the Iowa law of 1870, which protects from wanton destruction the harmless and useful birds. Of this pioneer measure he has always been very proud. It still remains in the code of Iowa, though slightly amended. In the session of 1882 he introduced and secured the passage of the bill which gave to Judge James W. McKenzie's widow a continuance of his salary for some months. McKenzie was a soldier who "waved the answer back to Sherman" from Allatoona to Kenesaw. He had died while in office from the effect of his army service. He also introduced a bill providing for a state board of pardons, which passed the House but was not reached in the Senate. Up to this session neither House had ever had a legislative calendar. Mr. Aldrich introduced a resolution directing the adoption of this sensible and altogether indispensable custom, but it was pounced upon and fought by sundry economists with more than ordinary bitterness. He secured its reference to the committee on rules, and taking a roll call explained the measure to members individually, promising to pay the expense of printing if, after a week's trial, the House should discontinue the morning calendar. As members promised to stand by this experiment he checked their names. When a majority was secured he got the resolution reported back, but "without recommendation," so cautious and "conservative" was the committee. When it came up it was passed and the appearance of the first morning calendar made the custom a permanent one in Iowa legislatures. The Senate provided for a morning calendar two or three days later, and that excellent measure of true economy continues as a fixed custom to-day. In old times Iowa official publications were only bound in sleazy paper covers. In 1862 Mr. Aldrich secured the adoption of a measure which, after some experiments, resulted in the permanent binding of our public documents. He drew up the program for securing the repeal of


the old "Granger law" of 1874, and the substitution of the commissioner or Massachusetts system. This law passed in 1878 and is yet on the statute book. Upon the publication of *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature* he urged upon the board of State Library Trustees, and advocated the idea through the press, of beginning at once a collection of the magazines of this country and England. This work proceeded slowly at first, but he persisted in his efforts until it became the settled policy of the State Library, and the collection is now one of the largest in the United States. It is one of those acquisitions of which every Iowan may justly feel proud.

In 1862 Mr. Aldrich locked up his newspaper office and entered the Union army. He was made adjutant of the Thirty-second Iowa Infantry and served as such for eighteen months, when he resigned and returned to Iowa. Soon afterwards he was preparing to re-enter the service as major of the Tenth Iowa Cavalry when orders came discontinuing the organization of that regiment. Subsequently Gen. M. M. Crocker tendered him a position on his staff, as he was about to proceed to his command in the department of Arizona, but he was obliged to decline because of private business.

As indicating his natural bent in the direction of historical affairs, it may be recalled that while a resident of Webster City he aroused public interest and secured the placing of a beautiful brass tablet in the new court house, commemorating the names and deeds of the Company (C) contributed by Hamilton County to the Spirit Lake expedition of 1857. In 1894 the legislature appropriated the funds to erect a monument to mark the spot where the massacre began, and Governor Jackson appointed Mr. Aldrich a member of the commission which had charge of the work. Another legislature provided for the erection of a monument near Sioux City to mark the grave of Sergeant Floyd, a member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, who died there in 1804, and was the first American soldier buried in Iowa soil. Mr. Aldrich was a member of the Floyd Memorial Association, which brought the subject to public attention. In 1872 he was appointed by Gov. Cyrus C. Carpenter a member of the commission to investi-

gate and report upon the titles of settlers in the Des Moines valley who had lost their homes by adverse decisions of the United States supreme court. They continued in office until the early part of 1875, their labors resulting in the passage of an act by Congress for a new commission and a report to the general government. Mr. Aldrich was appointed by President Grant as the Iowa member of this commission, whose recommendation for relief passed the House, but failed in the Senate. In the year 1875 he was a member of the United States Geological Survey under Dr. F. V. Hayden, which was engaged that year in Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico. His letters to the *Chicago Inter Ocean* were widely read, often copied and very interesting. Father Boren, the pioneer miner in the La Plata Valley, Colorado, and the discoverer of Boren's Gulch, named a mountain for Mr. Aldrich. The name "Mount Aldrich" is recognized in the United States geological reports.

For the past eighteen years the Historical Department of Iowa has engaged the chief attention of Mr. Aldrich. It is his development and will remain his most enduring monument. It had its origin in a taste acquired in early youth for the collection of autograph letters, portraits and other personal mementos of distinguished persons, living and dead. In 1884, when this had grown to considerable magnitude, he tendered it to the State. It was accepted by the trustees of the State Library, with the condition that it should have suitable cases, to be kept separate from other collections and




promoters; but in 1897 the legislature made an appropriation of \$25,000 with which to erect a building and purchase the grounds therefor. After a site was bought the executive council deemed the amount too small to erect a suitable building and decided to await the action of the next legislature. During this period the campaign of popular education went on and the legislature of 1898 appropriated \$30,000 more for this purpose. New and much larger grounds were secured and one wing of the building, which when completed will cost \$300,000, was commenced in 1898 and is now occupied by the Historical Department. The educational value of this great work is fully recognized. It is collecting and saving from destruction the material from which the history of the State will be written sooner or later, its walls are adorned with portraits and marble busts of many of its distinguished citizens are to be placed in the art room. A museum of articles mainly illustrating the pioneer conditions of the State is a very interesting feature and is viewed by thousands of people every year. The department is collecting and preserving early and current files of State newspapers and periodicals, so useful for purposes of reference. In connection with the department there is published a quarterly, the *Annals of Iowa*, through which the public is brought in touch with the work of the institution.

Mr. Aldrich has labored to develop a sentiment in favor of republishing such of the early laws of the territory and State as have been long out of print. The first volume (1838-1839) has been issued, and at this writing (July, 1902) the second is in press. The department has also issued the following historical works: Census of 1836, two handsome pamphlets; Hon. Irving B. Richman's *John Brown Among the Quakers and Other Sketches*; the hitherto unpublished journal of the special session of the territorial legislature of 1840; and Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*. He has also published five Biennial Reports of the Historical Department. It has been found necessary to reprint a few numbers of the *Annals*, the editions having been exhausted. Mr. Aldrich hopes to publish Capt. F. E. Landers' *Historical and Geo-*

graphical Atlas of the United States, and a second and revised edition of Judge Fulton's *Red Men of Iowa*.

On July 29, 1851, Mr. Aldrich was married at Knowlesville, N. Y., to Miss Matilda Olivia Williams, who was born August 8, 1836, in Dansville, N. Y., and died in Boone, Iowa, September 18, 1892, the family having removed there in 1891. Her parents were Aaron and Olivia (Nichols) Williams. Her grandfather, Stephen Williams, had been a soldier in the revolutionary war and was seriously wounded in the battle of Trenton, December 26, 1777, losing an eye and afterwards the other through sympathetic affection. He was blind fully half his life time. She was in full sympathy with all her husband's ambitions, was well and widely known throughout the State, and sincerely mourned at her death. She was a member of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and a lover of the birds. Mr. Aldrich was married a second time November 12, 1898, to Miss Thirza Louisa Briggs, of Webster City, a lifelong friend of his first wife. Their home in Boone is an ideal one, a center of rest and pleasure to their old friends.

Mr. Aldrich's mental equipment is most versatile, with the faculty of immediate concentration upon the subject in hand, and untiringly persistent to its end. His style of writing is concise, lucid, with a dash of quaint, applicable humor and excellent powers of description. There is no straining for high-flown expressions. He has always too much to say thus to waste space. In disposition he is a maker of friends and



At the request of my friend, Hon. Charles Aldrich, I prepared the foregoing sketch for publication in a *Biographical Record of Boone County, Iowa*, published by the S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, Chicago, 1902. There are seven more years of accomplishment whose facts are detailed in the main in the publications of the Historical Department of Iowa, but it seems appropriate to add another personal characteristic, now that the subject of the article is numbered with "the lost but not forgotten," one which might not be in good taste while he was with us. This endowment will be readily recognized by his intimate friends, but we do not recall having heard it pronounced by any speaker or that it has appeared in published obituaries. It was "his unvarying tenderness to all animate beings!" Those who knew him only in editorial contests, as an army officer, in the administration of duties for the public, etc., would not suspect its existence. But at home, at leisure in the forest or on the prairies, in walks and drives, no one of the Creator's children looked into his face for sympathy and turned away disappointed. The dog and the cat, the horse and chickens, the four-footed denizens of the forest and field—we can almost aver the "birds of the air"—knew him by the name of "Friend!" School children, those unerring judges of our inner life, wrinkled their faces in smiles when this, their friend, passed them upon the highway. So it was that the trees, the barn, and like places within his grounds, carried small boxes for the birds, an opening for the cats, and a shelter for "Towser," which were unclosed summer and winter. To him who understands no further note is needed.


J. M. B.

MR. ALDRICH'S LAST DAYS.

The *Boone News-Republican* of March 12, 1908, contained the following:

"Boone to-day is in mourning for its most distinguished citizen. Sunday morning, March 8, at 8:15 o'clock, following an illness of seven weeks' duration, the Hon. Charles Aldrich, founder and up to the time of death, curator of the State Historical Department, and noted legislator, lawmaker and pioneer editor, passed peacefully away. Seven weeks ago Mr. Aldrich was compelled to give up his duties in Des Moines temporarily on account of sickness. He came to Boone, suffering at first from an attack of the grip. For some time his friends here were greatly worried over his condition but he seemed to rally and apparently was recovering and had hopes of soon returning to his work in the Historical Department. But a complication of kidney and heart trouble set in and he began to decline. Friends who called at the pleasant little home, No. 304 South Marshall street, saw the change and many feared that he would not survive. In delicate health for many years, Mr. Aldrich's sickness seemed to undermine the foundations of life and on Saturday night, with his faithful wife at the bedside, and attended by a competent nurse he sank into unconsciousness. He remained in this condition for several hours, lingering until Sunday morning, when at the hour mentioned above his soul took its flight.

The message of death soon spread over the city and caused



Private services were held at the home in Boone, where he had resided for the last seventeen years, at 2:30 Tuesday afternoon, conducted by the Rev. S. M. Wilcox. The remains were then taken to Des Moines, where they lay in state in the rotunda of the Historical Building and where public services were held Wednesday afternoon. Thursday, under charge of Col. G. W. Crosley, a full military funeral was held at Webster City, his old home. The Grand Army Post, of which he had been a member since its organization and the local company of the National Guard were in charge. The funeral exercises were held in the beautiful Kendall Young Library and interment took place by the side of his first wife.

MEMORIAL SERVICE IN HISTORICAL BUILDING.

At the request of Governor Cummins, Mr. E. R. Harlan, Acting Curator, took charge of the arrangements at Des Moines. The public services in the Historical Building, commemorative of Mr. Aldrich's character and career consisted of a program of prayer, poem and addresses of which a verbatim report follows. Chief Justice Scott M. Ladd, of the Supreme Court of Iowa, presided:

Judge Ladd: The service this afternoon will open with prayer by the Rev. A. L. Frisbie, during which the audience will please rise.

Dr. Frisbie: Almighty God, our days are but as an ended breath but thy years have no end. Thou art the everlasting father as well as the almighty ruler. We bow reverently before thee. Our lives are in thine hand and thou art over the destinies of all men. We give thee thanks for thy great goodness, and that thou hast given to our state so many good men, men who could be enamored of high ideals, men who cared for the things they thought right and just, men that have given themselves with their best thought and their extreme consecration that they might bring about the things that ought to be. And now to-day, while we remember so many men who have been largely useful to our commonwealth in its earlier days as well as to-day, we especially remember him that this building commemorates. He passed his life in this our com-

monwealth. He has become so large a part of its history that is to remain. For all that was in him brilliant and conspicuous, for his devoted patriotism, for his intelligent plans and wise endeavor to bring about worthy things, for his faithful consideration of the needs of our people in the days that are to come in providing for them that careful repository of the histories that have been made—the individual and the community and the state histories that have been making in Iowa, for all that he has been as a patriot and a teacher and a wise leader in so many ways, we give thee thanks, acknowledging that the gift of a good man is one of thy great gifts. And now, our father, we pray that thou wilt grant blessings upon those who were dear to him, who were nearest to him, blessings upon those who have been associated with him during these many years prosecuting plans that were for the welfare of our state. Give us all, we beseech thee, such understanding as we need for our lives as they finish. We pray for thy blessing upon those who were with him in early days of peril and strife when he with others went forth to do what might be done to save our Union. We give thee thanks for these men. We pray thee that thy blessing may be also upon our state and upon those called to high places and responsibilities, that they may have wisdom, and courage and strength for all duties that come to them so that all that pertains to our public life may be clean, inspiring and helpful for the days to come. Accept our thanks we beseech thee, grant the wisdom and health and safekeeping to fit us for the hard work to come, and teach us all, we beseech thee, and our children, patriotism and pure-mindedness and high exaltation of character. Help us to teach these things that there may come after our generation passes, a generation brave and strong and courageous and pure, equal to the best things; equal to the bearing of high responsibilities. So, oh Lord, save the commonwealth of Iowa. Amen.

Judge Ladd: We have come together this afternoon to show our respect and pay our tribute to the memory of Mr. Aldrich, and to commemorate in a brief way his services rendered to society and the State. He was born in 1828 in

the state of New York, so that if he had lived until October next he would have attained the age of eighty years. He began life as a journalist in New York and later in 1857, founded the Webster City *Hamilton Freeman*, of which paper he continued the editor for many years. Later he engaged in farming. He was for four sessions of the legislature chief clerk of the House of Representatives. In 1882 he was a member of the lower house of the General Assembly from Hamilton County. Later he became a member of important commissions, and in 1892 was appointed curator of the Historical Department. But while it may be said with truth that he performed his duties and rendered excellent service in all the various occupations and vocations in which he engaged, I believe it will be conceded by those who knew him best, and knew the most of his career, that his great work in life was in creating and establishing the Historical Department of Iowa, and it may be said that this department and this building in which we are now assembled are monuments to his memory which will continue long in the future. He was an example of what a man of high ideals and persistent industry may accomplish in the world. It has been thought well this afternoon to separate somewhat in the addresses to be made his various occupations, and we will first listen to that concerning the occupation in which he first began life, that of a journalist, by Mr. Lafayette Young, editor of the *Des Moines Capital*.

MR. ALDRICH AS A JOURNALIST.

Mr. Young: Mr. Aldrich delighted in newspaper work. The atmosphere of a newspaper office was enjoyable to him. He never lost interest in journalism. Up to the last year of his life he was a frequent contributor to the newspapers whose editors he knew intimately. Like all writers who have advanced to the editorial work from the printer's case, he was a man of few words. He disliked surplusage. He had no patience with long drawn out statements. He wanted it boiled down. He had contempt for shams and no mercy upon hypocrisy. He wanted a man to say what he meant and mean what he said. During his active career as a journalist he

carried on numerous wordy controversies, but never struck below the belt. He was a fair fighter. His opponents often times said he was unfair, but it was because they were getting the worst of the argument. His desire to reach the ultimate facts as quickly as possible gave him an air of impatience. And as years passed his manner became that of a critic, in some measure. Yet he had seasons of the most enjoyable serenity. He never lost his love for nature. In the early spring he felt the old mood coming over him and at such times he would write editorials on the oncoming grass, the budding trees and the birds. He never forgot the birds. He felt that he was a committee of one every spring to give them a written welcome.

When I came to Des Moines eighteen years ago to publish a newspaper, Mr. Aldrich used to give me editorials on his favorite topics, pertaining to nature, the seasons and the state of nature that comes with the seasons. In giving me one of his productions he would invariably say, "Here is something I have written; if it is not good enough to appear as an editorial, do not use it at all; I do not want it to appear as a communication." During a period of ten years he was thus a frequent contributor to the editorial columns of the *Capital*. Some of his writings were widely copied and credited to the newspaper in which they appeared. I called his attention to that and told him that the people were giving me credit for writing the good things produced by his pen. He said he did not object to that. "Some time," said he, "you may do the same thing for somebody else, and thus the situation will be evened up."

I remember once he wrote a long account of a contest or pitched battle between rival tribes or families of ants in some part of a public street or alley. He described the sanguinary contest as only he could. His descriptions were unique and easily comprehended. His report of the battle of ants was reprinted in many eastern journals, much to his delight. His descriptive powers were excellent. His manner intense. By the use of words he could place a landscape right in your view. He could describe the fields of growing corn in a way that would cause the reader in his

imagination to see the rich, green spectacle. He was as careful with every inconsequential paragraph as with a larger production. He was critical. His ear was trained. He could detect an improper use of words readily and could suggest a better one; one to bring out the meaning more emphatically. He grew away from the drudgery and routine of journalism into the work of the pamphleteer and historian. He felt that every good Iowa man at his death ought to have something good said about him, and he appeared oblivious to criticism that might be offered relative to the life of a man who had done many good things and a few wrong ones.

I had known Mr. Aldrich thirty years. During twenty years past I had known him intimately. Our relations were confidential and trustful. He was provoked that I did not see him oftener. He charged that I had lost interest in his work. He had a lingering fear during his later years that something would happen in a political way to put him out of the cherished work of his life. I told him such a thing could not be possible. I told him the State would do him honor at his death and that I believed he would be permitted to remain in charge of his work until his end should come. He used to grow impatient because appropriations did not come fast enough. But his later years must have been gratifying. He did his best work during the past ten years—even his best literary work. When he felt too old to write he formed the habit of dictating and thus kept his literary labors up. He enjoyed his work until the last.

I remember when he was editor of the *Marshalltown Times*. I remember distinctly his special work on the *Chicago Inter Ocean*. It was on the *Inter Ocean* he began to demonstrate his miscellaneous talent, his writing on subjects outside of politics. From that period on he began to think along the lines of advancing the material interests of the State as relates to agriculture, and the moral and intellectual interests as furthered by education. Through long years of intense study and investigation he became a learned man, fit to associate with scientists and those informed on technical lines.

He met the best informed men of colleges and universities, even scientific men, on their own level and could add something to the discussion. His mental growth was constant. His fund of knowledge widespread, covering every field. While interested in facts, he was not unmindful of the delights of imagination and fancy. He loved good poetry and had no patience with any other kind. He loved good books, but had more patience with poor books than with poor poetry. Every event, every happening, every discovery, every song, every story, every human being, interested him. He took the world for his field. Wide travel and discourses with the leaders of thought had made him a cosmopolitan. He had the indefinable quality which we call comradeship. With his kindred spirits, he was a delight. He had hatred for every wrong—love for every good. His sympathies for the distressed were sincere and led him to do many noble deeds of which there is no record.

In his death journalism has lost a distinguished co-worker. In life the world and its history were an open book in which he could daily read. In death, we believe, he has simply gone to the higher life for which his good life here was a preparation. The State rightly honors such a man. Future generations will enjoy the results of his labors. He had a thought, an aspiration, and through painstaking years he carried them forward to their culmination. He established something for the benefit of his fellow-men. He created a place, a quiet corner where the Iowa citizen of the future may resort to inform himself relative to the labors and trials which resulted in creating a great State.

MR. ALDRICH AS A LEGISLATOR.

Judge Ladd: Mr. Aldrich was a member of the Nineteenth General Assembly but I take it that as a friend and counselor of legislators he accomplished more in the interest of legislation after he was curator of this department than ever before. Upon Mr. Aldrich's services as legislator we will now hear from Col. Warren S. Dungan, ex-lieutenant governor of the State.

Colonel Dungan: At times like this the lips may open, but

words cannot express in full measure the emotions of the heart.

In the presence of death the billows of passion are lulled to repose. We know that a great change has taken place, but we cannot realize that a beloved face and form has vanished from our sight to be seen no more on earth.

These feelings and emotions are as varied as the characters and lives of the persons themselves. When a good man dies; when a beloved friend and noble character departs, the dark clouds of sorrow which nature spreads over us, are illumined by a silver lining which, in part at least, dispels those clouds, and the benediction of their lives comes to us to alleviate the poignancy of our sorrows and compensate our griefs.

Such was the character of our beloved Charles Aldrich. To-day the State of Iowa is in mourning at the loss of so eminent, so highly valued, and so public spirited a citizen.

You, my fellow-citizens, are present at these obsequies to honor the memory of one so near and dear to our hearts, "Our hearts are in the coffin there." We call it death. "He is not dead, but sleepeth." He has rent the veil which separates Time and Eternity, and has entered upon the new birth of immortality.

I come to speak to you to-day of one of the nearest and dearest friends of my life. I first became acquainted with Charles Aldrich in the year 1862, forty-six years ago. He was then chief clerk of the House of Representatives of the Ninth General Assembly of Iowa, while I was a member of the Senate of the same session. He had held the same position in the Eighth General Assembly in 1860. So efficient was he that he was chosen to serve in the same capacity in the years 1866 and 1870. The friendship then formed has been strengthened in all the intervening years.

Our next official association was in the year 1882, as members of the Nineteenth General Assembly, he representing Hamilton County and I Lucas. As a legislator he made the welfare of the people his constant guide. He was a hard worker, as well in committee as in the House. He mastered

the details of legislation, and thus became a very efficient member.

In that session he introduced and had adopted the preparation by the chief clerk of a daily calendar of bills and resolutions, to be placed on the desks of members each morning, and such calendar has been in use by every subsequent legislature, and it has been a very efficient means of facilitating legislative business.

Early in that session, on the 19th day of January, he introduced a resolution asking the legislature to inquire into the question of free passes on railroads to public officials, and to abolish the same. This was the first proposition on that subject ever presented to our legislature. Afterwards, in the same session, he introduced a bill to abolish free passes, and in the same bill he proposed the reduction of passenger fares on the railroads in Iowa. The bill on final vote was defeated, the vote standing thirty-five to sixty-one.

He was the first to propose to abolish free passes and for the reduction of passenger fares. His wisdom and foresight are seen in both measures.

Twenty-four years thereafter, the Thirty-second General Assembly adopted both measures, and Mr. Aldrich lived to see the adoption of measures he had so long before initiated.

He also took an active part in introducing and advocating many other measures of importance, some of which were at the time enacted into the statutes of the State and all of which have since been adopted by subsequent legislatures. Among these were bills to prevent the sale of adulterated food; for relief of the Des Moines River land settlers; for the publication of the Acts of the Legislature in the newspapers of the State, for the information of the people, all of which point to him as a wise, prudent and sagacious legislator, one of that splendid class of legislators who have, by their wisdom, contributed so much to make Iowa one of the grandest in the galaxy of States of which the Union is composed.

He has erected his own monument, more enduring than granite or marble shaft. We shall miss his smiling face and

the generous welcome, "Glad to see you," when we enter this Hall of History. We shall all miss him! sadly miss him! Let him ever live in our hearts and memories.

There is no death! the stars go down
To rise upon some other shore;
And bright in Heaven's jeweled crown
They shine forevermore.

There is no death! the choicest gifts
That Heaven hath kindly lent to earth
Are ever first to seek again
The country of their birth.

They are not dead! they have but passed
Beyond the mists that blind us here
Into the new and larger life
Of that serener sphere.

And ever near us, though unseen,
The dear immortal spirits tread;
For all the boundless universe
Is life—there are no dead.

MR. ALDRICH AS A SOLDIER.

Judge Ladd: Mr. Aldrich was a veteran of the civil war and never lost interest in that conflict or in its survivors, or in the historical accuracy of the conflict. His closest and most intimate friend for many years is here to-day to speak of him as a soldier and patriot. Colonel George W. Crosley of Webster City.

Colonel Crosley: From the commencement of the war of the rebellion, to the date of the organization of the 32d regiment of Iowa Infantry Volunteers, in September 1862, Charles Aldrich, the founder of the *Hamilton Freeman* at Webster City, Iowa, had, through the columns of his paper, earnestly advocated the cause of the Union. Actuated by an earnest and sincere feeling of patriotism, and gifted with great ability as a writer, his articles denouncing treason and rebellion, and appealing to his countrymen to go forth in defense of the government, had been widely quoted. He was thus doing yeomen service as one of the leading journalists of his adopted State, in arousing public sentiment to the necessity of re-

ANNALS OF IOWA

sponding to the calls of President Lincoln for more troops.

The loyal sons of Iowa had continued to fill up the ranks, as regiment after regiment was organized, and yet, as the magnitude of the great rebellion came to be more fully understood, it became evident that the number of soldiers in the Union army was inadequate to successfully combat with the tremendous forces arrayed against them.

At this, and later stages of the gigantic struggle, there were many notable instances of men, whose patriotism and love of country, exceeded their physical capacity to go forth to battle in person. Charles Aldrich was one of these notable men. He remained at home, and continued to uphold the cause of the Union, as he had so nobly done from the time the war began, no loyal man or woman, would have felt that he was not rendering as faithful service to his country, as were the men endowed with the necessary physical strength to supplement their patriotic ardor, and enable them to endure the hardships of a soldier's life, in camp, upon the march, and in battle.

The time had now come, however, when this man of slender physique, but lofty courage, was unable to longer control his ardent desire to actively engage in the defense of his country as a soldier. He proffered his services to Governor Kirkwood, who promptly gave him a commission as First Lieutenant and Adjutant of the 32d Iowa Infantry. He at once closed his printing office, suspended the publication of his paper, bade adieu to his wife, and entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office, with great zeal and energy. His superior intelligence, and intense application to the study of military tactics, soon enabled him to become proficient, and his regiment owed much of its rapid progress in drill and discipline, to its capable and energetic Adjutant.

The earlier records of his regiment show the minute and careful manner in which the important duties of its Adjutant were performed. He was possessed in a marked degree with the true military spirit, and had he been permitted to serve to the end of the war, would no doubt have won the distinction as a soldier which he subsequently achieved as a citizen. The archives of the office of the Adjutant General

of the State of Iowa, contain his brief record of honorable military service. On the 3d day of July 1863, he was promoted to the rank of Captain, but he declined to accept the commission, for the reason that the duties of a line officer involved greater physical exertion and hardship than he was capable of enduring. He continued to serve as Adjutant until the following winter, when, admonished by failing health, he reluctantly resigned. His order of discharge reads as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, Jan. 28, 1864.

Special Orders, No. 39.

First Lieutenant and Adjutant Charles Aldrich, 32d Iowa Volunteers, having tendered his resignation, is hereby honorably discharged from the service of the United States.

By order of the Secretary of War,

E. D. TOWNSEND, *Ass't. Adj't. Gen.*

He has often said to me, that it was one of the greatest trials of his life, to be compelled to sever his relations with his comrades in arms. It had been his earnest desire and ambition to be able to serve his country to the end of the war, and if need be, to demonstrate his devotion by the sacrifice of his life. But, there was yet patriotic and noble work for him to do, and from the time he left the army, his ability as a writer, was employed in behalf of the men who interposed a wall of fire between his country and her enemies, and when at last, the white winged dove of peace hovered over our beloved land, he was among the first to exert all his power and influence in behalf of the soldiers who survived, and of the widows and orphans of those who had died, that their country might live. He had worked for long years to secure the enactment of a law that would insure the preservation, for all time, of the record made by Iowa soldiers and was identified with the compilation of the military history of the State at the time of his death. The people of Iowa fully recognize the great service he has rendered them, in preserving the historical treasures of the commonwealth, and to provide a fitting place for the safe-keeping of these priceless treasures they have erected this splendid building, which stands in its dignity and beauty as an enduring monument to his mem-

ory. He was an honored member of the patriotic societies of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

It was my good fortune to have been long and intimately associated with him, and as his friend and comrade I offer this simple tribute to his memory as a soldier. Brave, gifted, and noble Soul, hail, and farewell.

MR. ALDRICH AS A MAN OF CULTURE.

Judge Ladd: Mr. Aldrich did not enjoy the advantages or the possible disadvantages of a college education, but, nevertheless, because of his great learning Iowa College conferred upon him the Master's degree. One of those who first became interested in his work in preserving the memorials and data for history was the Hon. J. A. McCall, who will now address you on Mr. Aldrich as a man of culture.

Mr. McCall: Keenly conscious of my own limitations it is with no small degree of embarrassment that I arise in this presence to address you on the subject which the honorable gentleman presiding has announced. But I have known from my boyhood the man whose silent, pulseless form lies before us under the beautiful dome of this great historical building with which his name will ever be associated.

He was the lifelong friend of my father and in later years as my own acquaintance with him extended. I learned to hold him in affectionate regard and veneration and on this solemn occasion I could not remain silent when called upon to speak however inadequate and unworthy may be my treatment of the theme assigned me.

Mr. Aldrich's early educational opportunities were limited to a course of study in an academy in his native State. He was never graduated from a college, but after he had attained middle age a noble educational institution of our own State did honor to its name as it honored him by conferring upon him the Master's degree in recognition of his learning and labors in intellectual fields.

The lack of educational advantages in youth constituted no discouragement to Mr. Aldrich. Endowed with a vigorous mind of keen perception, quick grasp and unusual retentive-

ness, he was by nature a student possessed of an avidity for knowledge that knew no satiety and in this devotion to learning he continued to the close of his life—"hiving wisdom with each studious year." But he was not a mere theorist and student of books. He was a close and intelligent observer of men and things and in a long and interesting career engaged in different spheres of activity he became rich in the practical wisdom of experience. He came to this State when it was a new land and the vast expanse of its sparsely settled and untilled prairies seemed to the human vision as wide and wild as the sea and in actual contact with its hardships and vicissitudes he acquired an intimate knowledge of pioneer life. In the great heroic contest for the preservation of the Union he rendered the patriotic services as a soldier, so eloquently related by Colonel Crosley, and as a participant in that tremendous conflict, saw and faced the terrible and tragic realities of war.

Of the career of Mr. Aldrich in the field of journalism and of his distinguished services to the State in its legislative halls, and on important expeditions and commissions, and of his great work culminating here in this magnificent edifice with its contents of immeasurable value to this and future generations, others far abler than I have spoken or will speak to you to-day. Let it suffice for me to say that from these labors of surpassing value to the public the pecuniary reward to Mr. Aldrich was small—only a very modest living. But of this he did not complain. He was content with the reward that came to him in ripened experience, enlarged knowledge of men and affairs, and, far greater than all else to his altruistic nature, in the privilege conferred upon him of rendering a service of enduring importance to the State and its people.

In Mr. Aldrich's nature there was an innate refinement, a rare susceptibility to the beauties of nature and of art and a discerning taste that enabled him to discriminate in the estimation of historic, literary and artistic values and it was because of these qualities that the work of his later years possessed for him so great a fascination. He sought that enlargement of the intellectual horizon afforded by travel. Our own

country with its scenery of varied and entrancing beauty he knew well; he visited our great west and traversed its vast mountainous regions amid scenes of rugged grandeur and wild and savage sublimity. He crossed the sea and traveled through old historic lands whose stately monuments and imposing ruins impress and stimulate the mind till the imagination reaching back across the centuries resurrects and re-peoples the mighty past and revives the glories of ancient days. He visited the great museums filled with the relics and treasures garnered from all lands and times. He wandered through splendid galleries and saw the masterpieces of art collected and preserved through centuries. He lingered in libraries old and vast in which are stored the accumulated wisdom of the ages.

In the course of his public services and in his travels he became personally acquainted with many illustrious men both in the old world and the new—prelates and dignitaries of the church, politicians and statesmen of renown, men eminent in the domain of science, and the most famous contributors to the literature of the last half of the 19th century. If the possession of a mind enriched by long years of persistent study and patient research—broadened and cultivated by public service, travel and intimate association with distinguished men and leaders of thought—a mind animated by splendid purposes and cherishing lofty ideals—devoted to the beautiful in nature and art and ennobled by the serene consciousness of high duties well performed—constitutes culture, then indeed was Mr. Aldrich a man of rare culture.

His physique was never robust and in recent years seemed very feeble, but in that frail tenement there dwelt an indomitable spirit and an unconquerable persistency in the accomplishment of the mandates of his will. He was unostentatious, unassuming, gentle and suave in manner, but underneath the mild exterior there was that "triumphant adamant of soul" * * the fixed persuasion of success" and his finished life is crowned with the glory of his achievements.

MR. ALDRICH AS A CONSERVATOR OF HISTORY.

Judge Ladd: As is true of every new enterprise, Mr. Aldrich met with considerable impatience on the part of the leg-

islators and people when he first established the Historical Department, and this was somewhat true of some of the trustees who had been appointed on the board, although later the trustees became profoundly interested in his work.

One trustee who has served longer than any other member of the board, became profoundly interested in what Mr. Aldrich was doing, and I think Mr. Aldrich had great confidence in his counsels, and I know that his counsels were of great assistance to Mr. Aldrich. Judge H. E. Deemer will speak of Mr. Aldrich's work as a conservator of history.

Judge Deemer: With a journalist's quick intuition for the pictorial and suggestive qualities in the conditions and events of the day; a keen apprehension of the economic and sociological problems of his time, which made him a progressive and efficient legislator; an ardent lover of State and of Country, which prompted him to courageous and patriotic sacrifice and service; a natural refinement and a ripe culture, which were sources of strength and of solace in his declining years, and the highest ideals of duty and of virtue in private life, Charles Aldrich, the founder and curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, will nevertheless be remembered chiefly because of his work in collecting, collating and preserving Iowa historical data, material and incidents.

For more than twenty years he devoted his time, his thought and his energies to this work; and beginning with a single case filled largely with an autographic collection, occupying but a few square feet in the Library proper, he lived to see the practical completion of this magnificent building with its priceless wealth of material—a most fitting and lasting monument to his memory.


This institution is his creature; his child, and being childless he cherished it with something akin to parental affection. And like the child of the body this building sustained and supported him during the latter years of his life. With mingled feelings of apprehension and of pride, he watched the builders as they progressed, seemingly unwilling to trust his offspring until secure from storm and strife; but with the building practically completed and his desk removed to its

permanent office, feeling that his plans were secure, his policies approved, and his labors appreciated, he for the first time in a long, eventful and useful life seemed ready to answer the summons which had been so long deferred.

It has been said that Iowa has no past, and consequently no history. Measured in years it is indeed young. Two generations have here builded an incomparable empire; a commonwealth unexcelled in all that counts for greatness and for strength; and the richest heritage, that we of the second generation have received is the example, the record, and the history of the one gone before. As States and Nations count time, it may be that we have no past; but we do have a history. Some one has said that "every home has a history—even a peasant's hut." And so it is that Iowa although but an infant in the family of States and of Nations, has a most eventful, a most fascinating, a most pregnant, and going back to the aborigines, a most romantic history.

What memory is to the individual, history is to the human race; and without these there can be no progress either in the one or the other. It was Carlyle, I think, who said, "my father's life is the sunken pillar on which my life rests." It is this memory, this history if you please which distinguishes mankind from all brute creation.

Iowa like every other community has its legendary; its traditional history; and if one be seeking for the fabulous or the miraculous, he may find it in the chronicles of the Red Men, here so carefully gathered and preserved. From these annals



sion such an America as Scott gave to his native country.

And then the early settlers, the men who came to find fortune, to establish homes, and to found a State. The men and women of the first generation so rapidly disappearing, who formulated our great institutions, and launched the Ship of State. Our historical collection gathered by Mr. Aldrich is rich in the details of their migration, and in the record of their hardships, their privations, and their toil, awaiting some Homer to put in words a splendid and stately epic recounting the heroic achievements of these sturdy pioneers.

Mr. Aldrich was by nature and by training pre-eminently fitted for gathering these legends, traditions, fragmentary histories and biographies, and for collating, arranging and fitting them for future use. He had the true historical instinct, and a correct knowledge of historical values. He thoroughly appreciated the importance and significance of his work, was entirely impartial, cherished no partisan or political bias, always recognized ability wherever found, was fair to his opponents, charitable in his estimate of men and of measures, and consistently and persistently accurate in all his statements. And as a result every man or woman who has had anything more than the ordinary to do with the building of our State, or its institutions, has received just recognition at the hands of this department, and in most instances their biographies may be found among the archives here preserved for future times and generations.

Time will not permit a recount of Mr. Aldrich's labors as a collector and conservator of Iowa history, from its legendary and traditional stages to the present; or of the many branches of his work, and surrounded as we are by the external evidences thereof it is unnecessary to do so.

His labors while already appreciated, will constantly grow in value and the magnitude thereof increase with the coming years. Deep and strong were the foundations laid and upon us rests the duty of completing the superstructure.

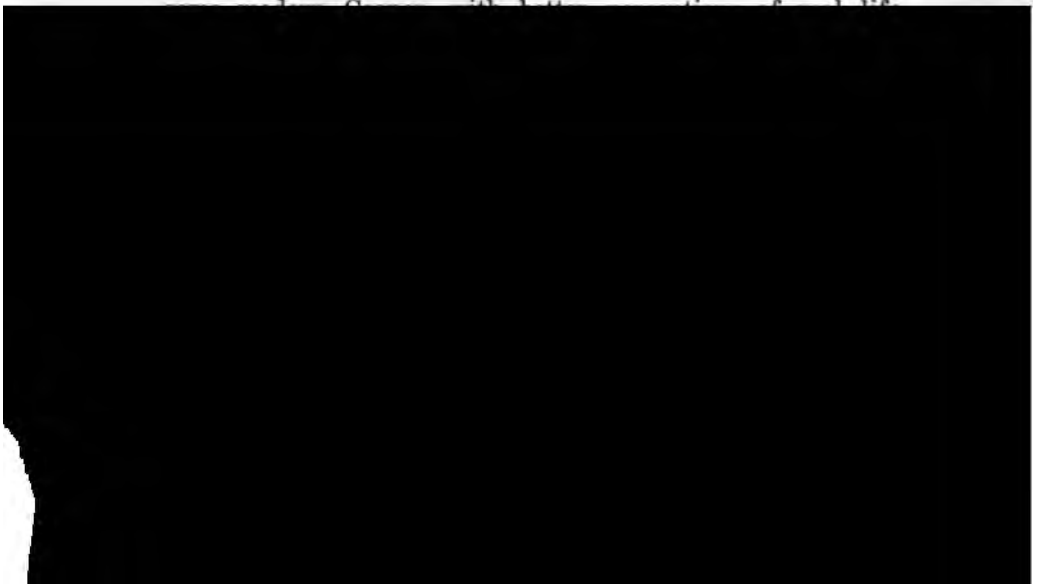
Charles Aldrich was indeed the Conservator of Iowa History.

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MR. ALDRICH AS A CITIZEN.

Judge Ladd: But after all the greatest encomium that can be pronounced on this man is that he was a model citizen of the state and of the republic and exemplifies the highest type of citizenship. Governor Cummins will speak on Mr. Aldrich as a citizen of Iowa.

Governor Cummins:

It only remains for me to take these beautiful, impressive and pathetic tributes and bind them into one offering. For a man who has been faithful as a journalist, patriotic and courageous as a soldier, learned, cultivated and refined as a man, one who has perpetuated the history of his commonwealth, one who has discharged with a high fidelity his duties as a legislator, must be a good citizen. I never stand by the dead body of a great man or of a friend but that there comes sweeping into my mind that verse so loved of Lincoln:

Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud?

Like a swift-fleeting meteor, a fast-flying cloud,

A flash of the lightning, a break of the wave;

Man passes from life to his rest in the grave.

I quote these verses in order that I may venture to dissent from this sentiment. As I think upon the life of this man, who lies so silently before us, with his work all done, with a life so loyal, and so full of accomplishment behind him, it seems to me that there is every reason why the spirit of mortal should be proud. Who is there here who has known Charles Aldrich, but who is proud of his place in the world, proud of an acquaintance with his kindly nature, proud of an association with his richly furnished mind. Every man ought to be proud who has fulfilled the destiny, or mission, or duties of life as this man fulfilled them. It is only the laggard, only the coward, only the shirker, only he who refuses to accept the responsibilities of life, who ought not to be proud of mortal man.

I don't know about the future. I care not whether we be orthodox or whether we be sceptics, or whether we be agnostics. I cannot part the veil that divides time from eternity. I don't know into what joys this man has entered, but I know, and you know, that whatever there is in the future preserved

for righteousness, for goodness, for virtue, for loyalty, for courage, for patriotism, this man is now enjoying, and therefore it seems to me, that this hour ought not to be a sad one. I know how the heart is torn and charged with grief because we never again will take his hand or look into his eyes, but after all he has simply ushered himself into another life, and he will live that as splendidly as he has lived the one that he has left behind.

I have known this man for thirty years. I cannot speak of his work as a journalist; I cannot speak of his accomplishments as a soldier; but I do know the real passion of his life, and although it may not be pertinent wholly to the subject which has been assigned to me, I can not refrain from referring again to the real victory of his long and sometimes bitter contest. I know he was a great writer; I know he was a faithful soldier; I know he was a learned man; but it is not for these things that the people of Iowa will longest remember him. There have been other great journalists, there have been other faithful soldiers; there have been other learned men—but he has done something for the people of Iowa single-handed and alone, greater in its conception, vaster in its performance, than has often come to a citizen to perform. My friend Judge Deemer has suggested that possibly Iowa has no history, no past. She has both a past and a history. The pioneer days of Iowa are the most wonderful days Iowa will ever see. They were crowded with deeds as patriotic and as brave and as self-sacrificing as ever will be recorded upon the pages of the history of mankind. The first generation was passing away, and the recollections of men were becoming dim, and those who carried these materials in their minds were fast passing to the other shore, and there seemed to be no man in our whole commonwealth who was willing to recover and to preserve for future generations the history of the early days of our commonwealth. But this man gave his life to that work, gave it during many years without any compensation whatsoever, and during the latter years for so inadequate a compensation that every citizen of the State ought to blush when he remembers it. There are a great many men who could collect the history of Iowa, a great many men

who could gather together the materials with which the State was rich and overflowing, but our people were indifferent, our legislators turned deaf ears to his importunities. This man had not only to gather the historical material of our commonwealth, and of its early days together, but he had to awaken a public sentiment that would require our General Assembly to authorize him to devote his life to that work.

There is no other tribute, as it seems to me, so resplendent as the one which is laid here when you see that he undertook the task of lighting the fires in your minds, a man that disclosed the value of the work that he asked to do. I remember him well as year after year he pressed his attention upon the General Assembly, I remember how coldly and how indifferently they received his original representations; I know, and you do, how many pretty good people called him a crank, called him a fanatic with respect to the work the evidence of which you now see all about you. He was a crank, but he turned the State until it thrilled with interest in the labor of his life, and without regard to the magnificence of this monument which is his work, without regard to the splendor of the material which he has collected, the credit of all of which is due to him, the vastest thing that he did for us was to make us willing—make us willing—that he should erect this monument and collect and preserve these materials for a future age. That marked him as one of the great men of the time. There are only a few men who can become absorbed in a passion of that kind. There are a great many good men who devote their years to the welfare of their fellow-men, but there are only a very few men who are willing to take up some such work as this, and let it absorb all their thought, all their knowledge, all their strength, without knowing the end, whether there will be victory or defeat.

And so in the six years that I have been in constant and intimate association with this dear dead friend, I have learned not only to respect him, not only to value and appreciate his great mental and moral equipment, but I have come to know that he is one of the great souls of the earth, who has been willing to devote his time not in the leadership in a cause in

which the people was already aroused and interested, but in the leadership of a cause that he himself was compelled to create, and as the chief executive of the State, I pause at this moment to lay upon this casket a tribute of the deepest love and affection and appreciation for his life and for his labor. In every relation to his fellow-men he was true, in every work to which he committed himself he was faithful, and I believe with those who have gone before me that he held his spirit amongst us against the assaults of disease and the attacks of weakness, I believe he held himself here just so that his eyes might rest upon the building and its rich and splendid collection, which had been the object of all his mature years.

Judge Ladd: I take it that most of you read in the morning paper the beautiful and appreciative poetic tribute to Mr. Aldrich, and I know of no better or more appropriate way of bringing this program to a close than by listening to Major S. H. M. Byers read this poem in the presence of the dead.

CHARLES ALDRICH.

Major Byers:

'Tis finished now—the hall, the dome;
But listen there, a sudden knell,
A voice that calls the builder home,
He too has finished—all is well.

Fate willed that he should live to see
A crown on yonder work he led—
Yet dying, dream not there would be
A greater still upon his head.

No evanescent glory his,
Time will increase the fame it lent,
And Truth, that never walked amiss,
Will make these stones his monument.

Here is the Past—he gathered far
What patient genius only can,
The storied tale of peace or war—
The story of the life of man.

Look round you well ; a hundred years
Are gathered in these walls of state,
The record of the pioneers
Whose toils, whose genius, made you great.

Here long he labored, toiled and thought
Where Past and Present sadly meet
'Till, one bright morning there was brought
The message—"Come, it is complete."

Sing on sweet birds, he was your friend,
Of all sweet things of earth or air,—
The sylvan woods, the river's bend,—
Where beauty was, his heart was there.

Gone is the soul that longed to know
The future, strange, and vaguely dim—
The darkness of an hour ago
Is as daylight now to him.

Who now would call him back again,
The faithful one forever kind?
He lived, he loved, he died, and then,
Left only love and good behind.

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Charles Aldrich and Wife (Matilda Olivia Williams Aldrich)
From a Daguerreotype 1851

TRIBUTE TO CHARLES ALDRICH.

BY REV. L. N. CALL.

At the funeral exercises held in Webster City, Iowa, the following address was made by Mr. Aldrich's old friend, Rev. L. N. Call:

It was eminently appropriate that the more elaborate and imposing services of yesterday should have been held in the city where are the greater and more enduring monuments of the labors of Charles Aldrich. But it is profoundly fitting that here, where the foundations of his work were laid, his old friends and neighbors should gather to pay the tribute of respect and honor to one of Webster City's most distinguished sons. Few men were more closely identified with the development of this place in its early days, and none can tell how much he did to mould public sentiment in this new country and to promote whatever would make for the best interests and truest prosperity of the community. So it is that to-day, while we remember the splendid achievements which make his name honored throughout our commonwealth, here in his old home we also remember what he was to our town.

The founding of our first newspaper by Mr. Aldrich may have seemed at the time a very small and unimportant thing, yet who can tell what was the influence of that little sheet in promoting intelligence, encouraging enterprise and inspiring education and morality, the bulwarks of a community, a state or a nation. In every way he showed that he was a man capable of forming high ideals and then working toward their attainment. Then, as now, Mr. Aldrich stood for what was best in local and national thought.

When the signs of approaching war began to threaten, his ably written editorials were strongly on the side of the Union, and after the first year of the war he closed his newspaper office and enlisted, going as adjutant with the Thirty-second Infantry of Iowa. Though his slight strength did not permit him to serve until the end of the war, his work as a journalist was steadily and earnestly on the side of freedom and right.

His education was largely self-acquired, but he was a

man of culture and fine literary taste. His library was large for a private collection and was always freely at the service of those who would use it. No one will ever know how many lives were influenced by the loan of his books, scarcer in early days than now in this western land.

He had an instinctive reverence for greatness, and early realized, as did few of his fellows, the historical importance of the memorials of great men. It was while he was still a resident of this place that he began collecting the documents and autographs which became the nucleus of the magnificent collection now in our capital. His rare conversational gifts, his power of gaining the confidence of those he met, together with his enthusiasm, gave him access in an unusual way to the autographic and historical treasures of this and other countries. In 1884 when he and his devoted wife gave their collection to the State, with the privilege of adding to it afterwards, it already contained a wealth of material rare and priceless.

Already he was realizing the necessity of inaugurating in Iowa the work which had been taken up in Wisconsin and other States of preserving and gathering important legal and historical papers belonging to our State and invaluable to the future student of its history, but liable to be destroyed or lost because there was no suitable place or way to care for them. Already the plan was forming in his mind which beginning with his own collection, grew to the establishing by the Legislature of the Historical Department of Iowa and finally to the magnificent Historical Building which is now the pride of our State.

You all know the story of this splendid work which has been told in every paper in this Western land during these last days. But only his friends knew how great were the difficulties he met and overcame—what barriers of ignorance and prejudice had to be melted away by his arguments and persuasions before the crowning of his labors was achieved. As was so beautifully said in Major Byers' poem read yesterday in Des Moines:

Fate willed that he should live to see
A crown on yonder work he led—
Yet dying, dream not there would be
A greater still upon his head.

During these years he never lost his interest in his old home, he never forgot his old friends, and found a great pleasure in keeping alive the memories of the pioneers whose hardships and labors prepared the way for the men of to-day. In his friendships he was genuine and loyal not only to those who had been prosperous and successful (as success is counted), but to all whom he called friends. I was impressed with this trait, as I had often been before, when looking with him through the volume which preserves the letters written him on the death of Mrs. Matilda Aldrich. There, with the letters from William Rossetti and other men of letters from across the sea, was the rudely written but no less sincere tribute from one of the early settlers in this county, long since gone away.

Many a one, in this, Mr. Aldrich's home town, will recall to-day not only the cheery greeting, the congratulation over any little success, but will remember too the warm words of sympathy in time of trouble, the beautifully written tributes of affectionate memory which brought a ray of comfort to the house of bereavement.

The public spirit and active interest which characterized him as a resident here were manifest in many ways and in enduring forms. In our Court House there will always be the memorial, secured by his efforts, of the brave men who went to the rescue of their imperiled neighbors on the north, at the time of the Spirit Lake Massacre.

You all know the great interest he felt in the founding of this Library, within whose beautiful halls he lies to-day. The valuable gifts which he gave to enrich it speak more strongly than words of mine. We remember, also, his efforts to make it possible that the hospital, founded by one of his early friends, should be kept open for the people.

So through all the years he has given proofs that he never lost interest in this place nor forgot his old friends. And he will not be forgotten here. Every Iowa citizen will feel that the stately building yonder in Des Moines is his monument, but methinks, in future years our people will feel a thrill of pride in its contemplation, as they remember that

the man who conceived this mighty plan, and perseveringly toiled and wrought toward its achievement, was one of our own citizens.

And so it seems fitting and right that here, in the town in whose history he has borne so honorable a part, he should have chosen his last resting place.

As another has said, "To have lived uprightly, to have died serene and content is the lot of many and suffices. But to have done all this, and besides have left an imperishable monument of more than graven stone, to have created an institution that must endure while the State lives, is to have taken hold upon Fame."

CHARLES ALDRICH.

BY PROF. L. H. PAMMEL.

The following address on Charles Aldrich, by his friend, Prof. L. H. Pammel, was delivered before the Priscilla Club in Ames, Iowa, on the day of Mr. Aldrich's funeral services in Des Moines, March 11, 1908, and in the college chapel of the Iowa State College March 16, 1908:

In accepting the invitation to address you on this occasion I thought it would be very appropriate to give you a brief sketch of the life and services of Mr. Charles Aldrich. It is surely appropriate that we of this institution should pause for a few minutes to talk about the work of those who are instrumental in adding to our educational facilities. It is peculiarly befitting that I should talk of the labors of Mr. Charles Aldrich, whose life work was so unselfish, who gave what little strength he had during his old age for the educational work of our commonwealth. History in large measure must deal with the progress of education, and for this purpose abundant material must be collected and preserved. This was the peculiar work of Mr. Aldrich. More than this, Mr. Aldrich was not only a friend of this institution from its very beginning but he took a keen interest in its progress. He felt that the training given here had a peculiar and an abiding place in the educational system of the State. He knew all about the institution and the various men who had been connected with it in early days. His visits in early days were frequent, and he counted among the early professors many warm friends.

We may well pause and reflect a little over the life of our friend whose life-work was completed on Sunday morning, March 8, and who has left a host of mourners throughout the State and Union. Apprenticed to the printer's trade in 1846, he established a paper of his own in 1850, naming it the *Cattaraugus Sachem*, and later the weekly *Olean Journal*, at Olean, New York. On removing to Iowa he established the *Hamilton Freeman*, at Webster City, and was subsequently connected with the *Marshall County Times*, the *Waterloo Courier* and

the *Dubuque Times*. He was editorial writer on the *Chicago Inter Ocean*, and, most important of all, editor of the *Annals of Iowa*.

Mr. Aldrich was a member of the State Historical Society of Iowa, the American Historical Association, Loyal Legion, Grand Army of the Republic, a charter member of the American Ornithologists' Union, Pioneer Lawmakers' Association, and many other organizations.

When the country was in need of men to put down slavery he enlisted and did splendid service for his country as a brave and loyal soldier.

Many persons in the State feel as I do, that the death of Mr. Aldrich is a personal loss because he was close to his friends. I became acquainted with him some eighteen years ago, shortly after my arrival in the State. During these years my visits with him have been frequent. I have chatted with him about many things and have learned to appreciate the many-sidedness of the man, his keen appreciation of the progress of the intellectual world and in particular what was being done by men who are engaged in the study of plants and animals. He counted among his friends men of science like Gannett, Cope, Brandegee, Chittenden, Holmes, Hayden, Bessey, Coues, Beal, Parry, Leidy, and a host of others.

The loss to the State is certainly a great one, for it is doubtful whether anyone will be obtained who has the instinct of the collector as did Mr. Aldrich, especially along the lines of the materials for a great historical museum.

Mr. Aldrich was a born collector, a genius; few men have equalled him in this respect. Much of the historical matter of Iowa was rapidly disappearing when he took hold of the work; this, through his painstaking effort, has been preserved for future reference. It is for this that Mr. Aldrich has done such splendid service for the State. His wide acquaintance with public men and authors, and his geniality had their effect in getting what he wanted. In this way, he secured letters and manuscripts. Only the other day while in the Historical Department I looked over a large number of autograph albums of notes on European travel by Thomas Wilson, for many years connected with the National Museum.

It is wonderful how Mr. Aldrich succeeded in getting the material together with the limited appropriations made by the State; the numerous files of State papers, manuscripts, letters, etc. The fruition of his work is the splendid historical building and the manuscripts and books it contains on historical matter pertaining to Iowa. For the future historian these will be of inestimable value. He wanted me to write a biographical sketch of Dr. Edwin James, an early American botanist, who died near Burlington. I found much valuable material in the historical collection. I found he had succeeded in getting an old but small oil painting of Dr. James, the only one in existence.

He was very much interested in the work Coues was doing on the reprint of the Lewis and Clark expedition and afforded much assistance to him in the preparation of this reprint, in recognition of which most grateful acknowledgment was expressed in the preface.

His tenacity of purpose always stood him in good stead. He never forgot to remind the person that he would like the paper or the article. He reminded me every time I saw him that I had promised him an article on Dr. James.

Many years ago while a student in the University of Wisconsin I remember the pleasant pilgrimages made to the Historical Collections of Wisconsin. Here were gathered together the tattered flags of the Civil War, shot, shells, manuscripts and all conceivable things that bore upon the history of our country and that State in particular. The curator of that collection was Mr. Draper, who had brought together not only a library of one hundred thousand volumes, but an immense amount of historical material bearing upon many important American topics. The student had simply consulted the library and museum and without any thought of using the material for historical monographs. The history of Wisconsin antedates that of Iowa by a long period and the material gathered by Mr. Draper was unique in its character, and yet Mr. Draper never received the full credit of bringing together this great collection which has enabled Mr. Reuben Thwaites and others to profit by his work. The State tardily recognized the ability of Mr. Draper. Mr. Aldrich was a man very

much like Mr. Draper; spare in form but kind and appreciative.

Mr. Aldrich had an idea that the historical library should contain not only documents pertaining to the history of the State, political and civil, but matters pertaining to science, art and literature. He once said, "I wish the Academy of Science would meet in the Historical Building and make this its home." It was his idea in short that the Historical Department should be a great center of intellectual activity for the State.

Mr. Aldrich never considered himself a scientist, but he was a keen observer of things pertaining to natural history. His interest is shown in a series of letters written to the *Chicago Inter Ocean* from Colorado, while attached in an unofficial manner to the Hayden Geological Survey which in that season explored parts of Colorado. In their party were men who have become distinguished in the geological investigations of our country.

Exploring in those days was far different from what it is to-day. The railroad took the parties to Canon City in the Arkansas Valley only, the remainder of the survey was made with pack animals and in the saddle. He ascended to the timber line and above in southwestern Colorado. Some of the peaks in the Uncompahgre range are over 1,400 feet in height, so that Mr. Aldrich must have been a good mountain climber and entitled to membership in the Alpine Club. In his letters he gives accounts of the topographical and geological features and mentions some of the common plants, especially trees. He seems to have been attracted by our common reed grass (*Phragmites communis*), it is the only scientific name used in the letters. Mention is also made of *Bigelovia*, to which he was attracted because of its gorgeous display of yellow flowers, the sage bush, and cacti.

The prehistoric remains in the southwest seem to have been of especial interest to him. These are described in detail with size of rooms and material found therein.

Mr. Aldrich was also a contributor to some of the scientific journals, several articles appearing in the *American Natural-*

ist on such subjects as Variation in the Growth of the Virginia Creeper and Hickory, Anecdotes on the Cat, and Survival of Wild Habits of Domestic Cattle. The great museum of London, the British and South Kensington museums with their large array of birds and other natural history specimens, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and especially the museum presided over by Professor Cope in Philadelphia, were all graphically described in the *Hamilton County Freeman*.

Mr. Aldrich seems to have had an interest in birds similar to that of Thoreau. He says:

"But there is a wonderful dearth of birds; in the old times, say fifteen or twenty years ago, out on such bright, beautiful days, we would see a large number of our winter species, late chickadees, creepers, pewees, nuthatches, the lively winter sparrows, and occasionally a shrike, and numerous other common species. Sometimes the bluebird remained several days in December and in some instances the robins were seen in winter. But to-day the woods and fields are well nigh tenantless so far as the birds are concerned."

He seems to have been deeply touched by Thoreau's interest in birds. He says: "I refer to Henry David Thoreau, the poet-naturalist, whose ever enduring fame is permeating every land in which our language is written or spoken, his biographers tell us that he never used a gun, never killed a bird."

He was a sincere advocate of bird protection and the first genuine law passed on the subject was due to his efforts while he was a member of the legislature and he has had much to do with subsequent legislation.

In the old days Mr. Aldrich was a frequent visitor at the college where he formed a warm friendship with Dr. Beal, Prof. Osborn and others of the faculty, especially for Dr. Beal because he was a great lover of birds. With Dr. Beal he used to take long walks and study our birds. He was interested in them and in other pets, up to the close of his life.

Mr. Aldrich was a prolific writer, his style was lucid. His descriptions were vivid. His letters written to the *Hamilton County Freeman* on his European trip show a fine literary

style giving vivid descriptions of the old public buildings, churches and cathedrals. It is unfortunate that they did not find a larger circle of readers. The letters are well worth republishing.

The *Annals of Iowa* in which the best efforts of his life were put, contain many important historical articles. The productions are not confined to history and biographical sketches alone, but include the political history of the State and other subjects of interest dealing with the development of Iowa.

Mr. Aldrich had many advanced views on legislative matters. In the legislature he did splendid service as chief clerk of the Iowa House of Representatives during four sessions of the legislature. He did much for constructive legislation in 1882 when he was a member of the House of Representatives. It is true that he did not succeed in seeing certain matters advocated by him enacted into law while he was a member, but since then some of these laws, as the Board of Pardons and the Anti-pass Bill, have been placed on our statute books.

This useful life was brought to a close on a beautiful Sunday morning, and on another beautiful day the body was laid at rest in the cemetery by some of his old comrades who had seen duty with him on the field of battle in the dark days of our republic, the services being under the auspices of the military companies. Loving tributes from his comrades and old friends can only remind us of his unselfish deeds. Goodness and kindness illumined his face and marked every feature of the man. His was a Christian life, truly catholic; clergymen of many denominations were his true and fast friends. He accepted the Christian religion without going into the philosophy of the same. In all my conversations with him I never heard him speak ill of anyone. Though there were some things which he could not tolerate among men, he did not sneer or scoff at them.

In a review of one of Prof. Coues' books he reflects a little on religion and the hereafter, and makes one think that after all he was a man of deep religious conviction, otherwise he would not have asked, but a short time before his death, for the rite of baptism.

With the demise of Mr. Aldrich one of the great men of pioneer Iowa times has passed away. He has left a record of usefulness not accorded to any one else in the State. He was not as rich as some others in scholarship, but he was active and untiring in gathering the material for scholars.

TRIBUTES FROM ABSENT FRIENDS.

Extracts from a few of the many letters and telegrams received from Mr. Aldrich's friends at the time of his death:

Gen. G. M. Dodge, New York:

I have just received your dispatch announcing the death and funeral of my old friend, Charles Aldrich. I go back to my early days when I first made his acquaintance which grew into a friendship which has lasted all our lives. I think there is none who appreciates better than myself the great work he has done not only for your Department but for the whole State of Iowa. If he had to go it was fitting it should be while he was in the institution that he founded and has done so much to build up. * * *

Senator Wm. B. Allison, Washington, D. C.:

Regret to hear of the death of Mr. Aldrich, a good citizen, lover of Iowa, devoting his life and strength to the service of the State. His death will be greatly and universally mourned. * * *

Alonzo Abernethy, Tampa, Florida:

Have known and loved Mr. Aldrich for nearly half a century and wish to add my tribute to the life and work of this marvelous man. Iowa has produced many noble patriots but none of rarer usefulness or worth. The Historical Department, the *Annals* and the Historical Building will perpetuate his memory.

Robert F. Palmer, Chicago, Ill.:

The death of Mr. Aldrich is a personal loss. My services at your disposal if I can be of assistance.

Judge Henry C. Caldwell, Los Angeles, Cal.:

* * * In common with the people of Iowa I mourn the death of one whose work for the State will be as lasting as the history of the State itself, for largely through his life-long, earnest and intelligent work, have the materials for that history been gathered and preserved. Fifty years ago I answered many times to his roll call in the House of Representatives, now he has answered the Master's roll call ahead of me but not for long.

William H. Fleming, Washington, D. C.:

News of death of Iowa's great historiographer; am deeply grieved.

Benj. F. Shambaugh, Iowa City, Iowa:

* * * It is my feeling that on Wednesday the friends of Mr. Aldrich and the Historical Department can do the memory of the great founder of the Department no greater honor than to resolve that at any cost his work will be carried forward according to the ideas and the spirit in which he himself conceived it. The career of Charles Aldrich will remain for all time an inspiration for those who believe that honest, sincere devotion to a cause will be realized in bountiful success.

Father John F. Kempker, Davenport, Iowa:

* * * In life he was all that the papers said of him and much more. The achievements of his energy and talents were so great that, however much we may wish to give due acknowledgment, the true worth of the fruits of his work will not be thoroughly appreciated until many years or a century have passed. His researches and untiring application in the study of local history deserve the more our praise because there seemed no one at the time to undertake what he has done and it was only by self-sacrifice and perseverance in the face of astounding difficulties that he has preserved for posterity estimable memories of noble pioneers and succeeded in awakening in the breasts of many a love for our own Iowa history.

In mind and heart his qualifications were so beautiful and enchanting that nothing excepting good seemed his surround-

ings and company. May his soul rest in peace and the Lord grant him life everlasting. * * *

Reuben G. Thwaites, Madison, Wis.:

* * * I have always been greatly interested in the work of Mr. Aldrich in building up the Historical Department of Iowa. For the last twenty years we have frequently been in correspondence, and he has several times visited our institution, although it has not been my good fortune to have visited his. He was a man of great energy and with high ideals; one of those self-denying pioneers in the field of collection of western historical material of which Lyman C. Draper may be considered the archetype. He did for Iowa a work akin to that of Draper in Wisconsin. All of you owe much to him. Your sense of indebtedness will increase as the years go by, just as our debt to Draper becomes more and more evident as time goes on. No matter how large your institution may become in the future, in the hands of younger men and as a result of a quickened public consciousness in the importance of preserving materials for the history of your State, you will always look back to the work of Aldrich with keen pride and genuine enthusiasm. Men such as he are rare, even in this self-denying field, and we do well to honor them. Your Historical Department is bound to become of great importance from every possible point of view, but whatever magnitude it may attain, you will always be conscious that he laid the essential foundations.

H. H. Rood, Mount Vernon, Iowa:

With profound sorrow I note in the press the death of my friend, companion and comrade. I have known Mr. Aldrich since 1859-60, and have loved and honored him. Mr. Aldrich did more for the history of Iowa than any other man; his large view, his quick sympathy, his love of the things which go to make a state regardful of its past, its history, its mental and moral attitude, was deep, broad and strong.

In the struggle for material things by the young state, he did not forget that it should have high ideals, and to fix them in the mind and heart of the state, he did great things. * * *

Frank Springer, Burlington, Iowa:


* * * We—his friends and the State—may well mourn the loss of such a man, but for his sake we need waste no regrets. His work was done. If ever a man lived out the full measure of a rich, well-rounded and successful life, surely that man was Charles Aldrich. He leaves a monument of high and useful achievement in the service of his State, more lasting even than the splendid structure—inspired by him—which marks the completion of his labors. Let us be content, and proud to be sharers in the legacy of his life and example.

R. H. Moore, Ottumwa, Iowa:

I am inexpressibly saddened at the death of my old and valued friend, the Hon. Charles Aldrich. It will be a long time before the niche he occupied in this grand commonwealth will be filled if ever. His work was peculiarly his own, but it was a great work for the State he loved so well. But we should all bow in humble submission to His will.

Rev. William Salter, D. D., Burlington, Iowa:

Your telegram informing me of the funeral memorial services to be held on the 11th inst. for the Honorable Charles Aldrich, brings me a heavy sorrow. I deeply regret that the infirmities of age will prevent my attendance at the service. But I shall be there in spirit to mourn his death and to honor his memory. For the last twenty years he was among my most cherished and delightful friends, and I was never happier than in his company, he was so genial and kindly, and we had so many sympathies in common. His pride in Iowa and his devotion to its history have a lasting monument in the Historical Department, in the *Annals of Iowa*, which he edited, and in the rich collections he gathered which show the changes that have lifted up this portion of the world from a savage wilderness to the highest measures of modern civilization. He possessed so many admirable qualities, and rendered such a variety of services in many different fields, in legislation, in the front of war, and in the purity and integrity of his high-toned character, as well as in the history of the commonwealth, that too much cannot be done to perpetuate his memory, and write his name high in our Hall of Fame,



for the instruction and emulation of the people of Iowa in future times. * * *

Hon. C. J. A. Ericson, Los Angeles, Cal.:

It was with a feeling of great sorrow I learned through the newspapers of the death of Mr. Charles Aldrich, Curator of the Historical Department of the State of Iowa. Yet, I am thankful that his life was spared to see the great Historical Building completed for which he had worked and planned so long. It will always remain a monument to his memory in recognition of his untiring efforts to make it what it is to-day. His work is done and well done and it will be appreciated more and more as future generations shall here have the opportunity to study the history of the early pioneers of the State. Mr. Aldrich was my friend and I was his friend to the best of my ability to show my appreciation of his friendship. He was the best equipped man for this work in the whole State of Iowa. I was glad his remains were taken to Des Moines to lie in state in the Historical Building. Peace to his ashes. * * *

Ex-Gov. William Larrabee, Clermont, Iowa:

* * * I feel deeply the loss of Mr. Aldrich. He rendered most loyal and efficient service to the State and his work is highly appreciated by our people. One can afford to die after making such a record as he has made. * * *

John C. Parish, Iowa City, Iowa:

* * * I shall never cease to be thankful that I was privileged to know him these last few years; and the memory of the talks I have had with him will always be an inspiration to me. He was a man whose influence upon the State will, I am sure, be increasingly appreciated. * * *

Geo. H. Yewell, New York City:

* * * Owing to the fact that from great vitality and tenacity of life, Mr. Aldrich had more than once before come up from death's door, as it were, I had a faint hope that he might overcome this serious and painful attack; but it was not so ordered and, at last, another good, true and valuable man, who will be long remembered has gone to his rest and his reward. No man had a more unselfish desire to do a good work

for the benefit of those who were to come after him than Mr. Aldrich. We should be thankful that his life was spared long enough for him to see the successful beginning of a work that through coming years will never cease to give honor to his name and memory. * * *

Hon. Edward H. Stiles, Kansas City, Mo.:

I was greatly pained to hear of the death of Mr. Aldrich. I was absent when telegram was received and did not get it for several days. Had I been at home I should have endeavored to have gone to the funeral. My thoughts turn to him with great frequency mingled with admiration for his fine qualities and regret that he could not longer stay his departure. Iowa has indeed lost one of the most useful, and along the line he has for so many years been pursuing, the most useful of her citizens. * * *

A. S. Van Winkle, Keota, Iowa:

It is with profound sorrow that I have learned of the death of Curator Charles Aldrich. The tribute due to his memory is similar to that paid to the great Agassiz, founder of the Museum of Comparative Biology at Cambridge. Mr. Aldrich had a vast knowledge, a keen perception and a full comprehension of the needs of the future in Iowa when he brought about the foundation of the work being done in the magnificent building that will remain a tribute to his memory. * * *

Rev. O. H. Holmes, Algona, Iowa:

As one of the younger members of the Thirty-second General Assembly who came somewhat closely in contact with Mr. Aldrich and the Historical Building, I cannot let his death pass without acknowledging the great debt the younger men of the State owe to Mr. Aldrich and to the class of Iowa pioneers of which he was a type. Not one among these early comers to Iowa but whose life was in some measure a sacrifice. Many of the things they greatly desired they never had. But by their character and fortitude they have left an impress on our State that will not pass with time. True more are absent from roll call now than are present, but let us not forget those who do not answer. Many have forded the unbridged

river that runs where the dusky horizon shuts down on our uncertain and blinding vision. Pioneers they are, prospecting over there where thought and act preceded them, looking for that ideal which they could not realize here.

'Tis whispered low within the heart
 We hear it rise and fall,
 A song of those who answer not
 However we may call.

* * * * *
 They can not be where God is not
 On any sea or shore;
 Whate'er betides, Thy love abides
 Our God forevermore.

RESOLUTIONS COMMEMORATING THE DEATH OF MR. ALDRICH.

Resolutions or memorials commemorating the death of Mr. Aldrich were adopted by the following organizations:

Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States,
 Commandery of the State of Iowa.

Winfield Scott Post No. 66, Department of Iowa G. A. R.

Soldiers' Roster Board:

Board of Trustees of the State Library and Historical Department.

Octogenarian Association.

Monday Club.

The Board of Trustees of the State Library and Historical Department adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, The Hon. Charles Aldrich has for many years been associated with this Board as Curator of the Historical Department of the Iowa State Library, in this relation affording us opportunity to know him intimately, and

Whereas, His qualities of head and heart have impressed us as of the highest order and his service to the State of the greatest worth, therefore be it

Resolved, By the Board of Trustees of the Iowa State Library that in the passing of Mr. Aldrich we have lost a loved associate and wise counselor; that in creating and fostering the Historical Department and in conserving the early history

of the State, he has rendered a service of untold value to the present and to the future generations; and that in all the relations of life, in his social converse, in his literary and journalistic career, in his military and public service he has proved himself a man of high ideals, of indomitable purpose and of lofty achievement.

H. E. DEEMER,
JOHN F. RIGGS.
Committee.

The Soldiers' Roster Board adopted the following resolution of respect:

Whereas, Since the last meeting of this Board the hand of death has removed one of its members, the Hon. Charles Aldrich, Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, who died at his home in Boone, Iowa, on the 8th day of March, 1908, and

Whereas, The surviving members of the Board recognize the great loss we have sustained by the death of Curator Aldrich, therefore be it

Resolved, That we deplore his death. That we revere his memory. That we herein express our appreciation of the great service he has rendered to the State in the long years in which he was engaged in the collection of the material for its history, and the records of the men and women who have been its history makers.

The secretary of this Board is hereby instructed to spread this resolution upon the minutes, and to transmit a copy of the same to Mrs. Thirza Louisa Aldrich, the widow of our deceased member, and the Historical Department of Iowa.

In the comprehensive "Memorial on the death of our late companion, Adjutant Charles Aldrich," read and adopted by the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, Commandery of the State of Iowa, the following paragraphs occur:

"The people of Iowa recognize the great service he has rendered them in preserving the historical treasures of the commonwealth, and have provided a fitting place for the safe-

keeping of those treasures he spent long years in accumulating, in the building which stands in its dignity and beauty as an enduring monument to his memory.

"He lived an upright and honorable life. He devoted all his ability and energy to the accomplishment of lofty and noble purposes. He suffered and endured great physical pain for many years but his indomitable will and courage sustained him until his life work was done. He died in serene contentment. No higher, or more well deserved honors have been paid to any citizen of Iowa than were rendered to our companion at the time of his death. In the beautiful cemetery near his early Iowa home he lies beside the wife of his early youth. Brave, gifted, noble soul, hail and farewell."

G. W. CROSLY,
G. A. EBERHART,
S. H. M. BYERS.

Committee.

The resolutions adopted by the Monday Club are as follows:

Whereas, In the death of Curator Charles Aldrich the Monday Club of Des Moines has sustained a touching loss, therefore be it

Resolved, That this Club will hold in grateful remembrance the uniform kindness and courtesy of Mr. Aldrich in granting to this Club the use of a comfortable room in the State Historical Building for its fortnightly meetings.

We join with the family and all the people of the State in honoring the memory of a kindly, gracious and kingly man.

MRS. MARY J. COGGESHALL,
MRS. L. A. ALTONA,
MRS. CHARLES J. LUTHE.

Committee.



Mr. Aldrich's Home, Boone, Iowa

he himself presented to the State. For many years he toiled in adding to this nucleus without pay, and finally saw the dream of his life materialize in a historical building, which is one of the finest public structures in the State. Magnificent as it is and valuable as its contents, its existence is almost solely due to the tireless energy and self-sacrificing labors of Mr. Aldrich. Mr. Aldrich's life has been a notable one. He was a soldier, a legislator, a journalist and a historian. His name will be written high among the builders of Iowa; his memory will ever be an inspiration.

McGregor News, March 11, 1908:

Charles Aldrich, one of Iowa's most distinguished pioneers, passed away at the age of 79 years. He founded the State Historical Department. * * * He originated its beginnings and he developed its field. He put it on permanent foundations and before his death realized the cherished ambition of a quarter of a century when the building in which the Department is housed, through the generosity and appreciation of the State, was finished. For years he has been in delicate health but the love of his work and the undying hope of seeing the collection appropriately quartered have supplemented an extraordinary nervous force in lengthening his years until his hope was realized.

Sac Sun, March 12, 1908:

The work that will prove his enduring monument is the formation of the Iowa Historical Department, of which he was Curator from 1892 to the day of his death. Through his untiring energy a large collection of valuable records and other material has been made and classified and now they are housed in a substantial building. Mr. Aldrich inclined toward the higher ideals in political life. A quarter of a century ago, when he served a term in the legislature, he proposed a bill for the establishment of a State Board of Pardons like that established by the last legislature and he is credited with being a pioneer, also, in the matter of anti-pass legislation. A long life, well lived, has reached an honored close.

Clinton Mirror, March 14, 1908:

He at times held other important appointments, and served

one term or more in the legislature about a score of years ago; in which position he introduced a bill abolishing railroad passes—a premature measure, looming large among recent “reforms”(?), but which was laughed out of the legislature at the time. We saw him at the *Freeman* office in the fall of 1859 and again on the levee at Lyons in '62, on his regiment's way South, but always failed to find him at Des Moines. The *Mirror* was one of the very few papers advocating the passage of his pass bill, and we received a friendly word of acknowledgment from his hand, while others were characterizing him as an impracticable crank. Mr. Aldrich was a useful man in his four-score years of life, and lived to see his legislative idea made practical, embodied into law, and enforced.

Grand Junction Globe, March 13, 1908:

Charles Aldrich died at his home in Boone Sunday. He has devoted practically a lifetime and a small fortune to the securing of material bearing on the history of the State of Iowa. The great Historical Department and the many priceless treasures that have been gathered together are the results of his labors. It is impossible to estimate the value of the work that he has done. All we can do is to honor his name and it was with regret that all Iowa heard of his death. A grand old man has left us.

Waverly Democrat, March 12, 1908:

In his death the State loses one of its most useful citizens, one who will be remembered when hundreds of others equally well known have been forgotten. Practically the whole of Mr. Aldrich's life was devoted to the arranging and preserving of material of historical value in this State and the gratitude of generations to come will be his for the valuable service he thus gave. The private collection that he made and gave to the State some twenty years ago formed the nucleus of the present contents of the State's Historical Building, north of the Capitol, and it was mainly through his efforts that this building, which, with its myriad of things of historical interest, comprises one of our most valuable public possessions, was founded.

Sioux City Journal, March 10, 1908:

Mr. Aldrich, through his devotion to the work which crowned his life, won many friends and admirers, and it is doubtful if any other man of his time could have accomplished the results he attained. His success gave him the greatest pleasure; and yet he was conscious of the greater things that were possible, and his anxious thought was with the future. For a number of years Mr. Aldrich had been in delicate health, and he was never physically robust. He had activity of mind, perseverance, sincerity of purpose, great pride in his State and in its history and in the men who had won distinction in its service, and his zeal was unflagging. Men of less determination would have yielded to bodily infirmity and made complaint of deficient appreciation; but none of this moved him. He was faithful to the very end.

Saturday Evening Post (Burlington), March 14, 1908:

He is mourned sincerely by all who are cognizant of the characteristics of his lofty mind and his pleasant and kind personal bearing. Mr. Aldrich during his long life did many things, and did all of them notably well, but his promotion during a quarter century of the Iowa Historical Collection betokens him to have been easily a genius of the first rank as a collector. It is as a collector that he will go into history, and as time passes, and the nature and extent of his work comes to be better understood and its true value estimated, his fame will be assured and permanent. * * * Certainly it was a great privilege to have known Charles Aldrich, and we do not value it lightly, but on the contrary, reckon it as one of the most precious possessions of memory. That such a gentle and exalted mind should now have gone into oblivion we cannot believe and we shall with confidence anticipate another acquaintanceship with so choice and amiable a spirit in some other world.

Tipton Advertiser, March 12, 1908:

Charles Aldrich, who passed away at Boone last Sunday, was founder of the Historical Department of Iowa, and as such did a work for the State of immeasurable value. The rewards he received were entirely out of proportion to what

he accomplished in the way of securing and preserving historical documents which will tell their story to future generations. But the task was always a labor of love with him and much of his work was without thought of reward. * * *

Vinton Eagle, March 13, 1908:

The man himself was the greatest attraction. You were naturally drawn to him. It was interesting to sit by him and absorb the great fund of knowledge that dropped from his lips. He had a most wonderful memory and it readily retained almost everything he read or came in contact with personally. It was always a pride to him that he had achieved something in life and he was only sorry that it was not a great deal more. His was a restless ambition and the good of it all was that his mind was always on what he might be able to do for his fellowmen. His life was upright and clean and if he ever gave way to selfish ambition it must have been years ago and long outlived. All Iowa will mourn his death.

Sioux City Daily Tribune, March 9, 1908:

The largest and most enduring service rendered the State by Mr. Aldrich was the founding of the State's Historical Department, first in the acceptance by the State of his own modest accumulations and later to the appropriations growing, as the value of the project grew in appreciation, into the fine building at the State's capital, in which is housed the historical data of the State and whence come the growing volume of historical publications. It was the good fortune of Mr. Aldrich, denied to many who work for the good of their fellowmen, to live to see fully accomplished this work to which he gave his years of loving toil.

Council Bluffs Nonpareil, March 9, 1908:

* * * "He was truly one of nature's noblemen," said Mr. [W. W.] Wallace. He has done more to perpetuate the history of Iowa than any one man in the State's long list of patriots. I wish you could find some one who could adequately tell of the charm of Mr. Aldrich's character, who could speak of him as he deserves. In his personal life he was superior to most of the men one meets. Contact with Charles Aldrich made one palpably better. He was a lovely man. Of what religious

leanings he may have had I know nothing; that he was as a friend faithful and as a lover of Iowa enthusiastic and tireless make up the image my recollection frames of him." * * *

Spirit Lake Beacon, March 13, 1908:

At the ripe age of 80 years, Charles Aldrich, founder of the Historical Department of Iowa, passed to his reward Sunday at his home in Boone. For more than a quarter of a century as Curator of the State Historical Department his efforts were tireless in the accumulation and preservation of valuable historical relics and matter. His good works will stand for the enlightenment and pleasure of generations to come and will be more appreciated as the years pass.

Boone News-Republican, March 12, 1908:

The earthly remains of Curator Charles Aldrich will be laid away in the cemetery at Webster City, and a modest shaft will mark the spot of this gentle and retiring man's last resting place. But off to the south, under the gilded dome which surmounts Iowa's proud Capitol, his real monument will stand.

In the early days of the struggle to found the Iowa Historical Department, opinion was divided as to the usefulness and need of such an institution. Iowa is a comparatively young commonwealth, as the history of the world goes, and the business of making money and building homes engrosses the attention of most of her male population, while the duties of the household leave scant time to the matrons and misses to pore over the historical relics of the State, interesting as they might be. It required a missionary with zealous faith and self-sacrificing persistence to prove to Iowa the value of preserving her records for future generations. Now we have a collection which is priceless, and the wisdom of the founder is everywhere recognized and applauded.

Curator Charles Aldrich was inspired to do this work by the knowledge that posterity would be greatly hampered and disappointed unless it were done. While the great mass of Iowans were content to deal with the present, taking no thought of the past or future, one man had the insight and the unselfish devotion to his race to inaugurate for them a

place for a permanent record of their growth. Slowly and by unstinted energy Mr. Aldrich brought the State into a realizing sense of the need of the Historical Department, which now is rich in its fund of information and its precious relics of the past. * * *

None question now the need and value of Curator Aldrich's work. He has founded an institution which will live as long as literature and art, and for which generations yet unborn will rise and call him blessed.

Marshalltown Times-Republican, March 9, 1908:

If any man was a part of Iowa, its history and its development, Charles Aldrich was that man. His death removes another of the notable figures from among the lessening number of the men who have done their part in the making of Iowa from a prairie territory into a magnificent agricultural commonwealth and a leader among the states in all that goes to create the true greatness of a people and a nation.

He was a typical Iowa pioneer and of the high type that has left its lasting impress upon our institutions and our laws and the common thought and conviction of Iowa. Clean minded, high of aim, possessed of a large mentality, helpful, sincere, honest, and without the greed that diverts energy from its higher levels, Aldrich has served others more than himself. All his life he was a busy man. The record of his life is one of public service and without a stain. This is a great and splendid statement to be made with absolute truth above an open grave.

What did he leave? Not much to be devised by will or expended upon granite shafts rich with an adulation too often undeserved; but in the capital city of Iowa a magnificent building rears above its fellows monumental of the life and services of Charles Aldrich, father and curator of the Historical Department and prime mover and promoter of the splendid building that houses it. While Iowa's Historical Building stands, Aldrich will have an enduring monument. And the best of all is that he was the type of man who needs nor craves a monument.

Men wither and decay. A lifetime is too short for the

great work of a great and sincere man. Old age comes and the weakness of the shadow wherein no man may labor. Then night and the rest of the night. To have worked while the light endured, to have kept faith with mankind and one's own soul, to leave behind that justification for having lived that is voiced in the regret and sorrow of the living, is to have lived and died well. So lived Charles Aldrich.

Grinnell Herald, March 10, 1908:

The passing of Curator Charles Aldrich this week removes one of the few remaining figures in Iowa's public life that were a connecting link between the past and the present of our State history. Charles Aldrich was in a very real sense "one of the founders;" he was also in an equally true sense one of the strong, wholesome influences in the State during the present generation.

Mr. Aldrich was the father of the State Historical Department at Des Moines. To his enthusiasm and persistency more than to anything else is due the construction of Iowa's magnificent Hall of Archives and Historical Building. The people of Iowa do not yet fully appreciate what this work, the hard work of a historical pioneer, will mean to the State some day. Where present generations have smiled indulgently future generations will bless. Charles Aldrich will grow with passing years and in the future he will be looked back to as a man who had the scholarly foresight and practical wisdom to see the value of preserving material relating to Iowa history before it was too late.

He was a man of the most natural charm and grace. He fairly breathed refinement. He was a type of the best that New England sent to Iowa, and he was a power in shaping many Iowa institutions.

Lest it be forgotten, let it here be recorded that among other important institutions which he did much to shape was the important one of our local form of government. Coming to Hamilton County as editor of the Webster City *Hamilton Freeman*, in the days when Judge Mason's code was inflicting the autocratic rule of the county judge upon the people of Iowa, Charles Aldrich's independent spirit rebelled against

TRIBUTES FROM THE PRESS.

Mr. Aldrich was a journalist, editing and publishing newspapers for many years, himself, and contributing to them as long as he lived. Many newspaper men were numbered among his personal friends. He never overlooked the vast influence wielded by the press of the State and sought to enlist it in favor of the development of the Historical Department. He felt deep gratitude for the almost uniform support he received from the press and realized that therein lay much of his strength and success.

The following paragraphs are selected from the many beautiful and appreciative editorial tributes paid by the press:

Anita Republican, March 11, 1908:

Among Iowa's business men and statesmen there was but one Charles Aldrich. * * * He was a man who was faithful to every trust imposed upon him and who has passed away leaving to his State a name unsullied and the recollection of a life that may well be an inspiration to others. A truly great man has passed away.

Waukon Standard, March 12, 1908:

The foundation and development of the Historical Department was the thing nearest to the heart of Mr. Aldrich and had been for thirty years. But his interests were not bounded by a single idea. His activities took the widest latitude. Whether in politics, as newspaper editor, public officer or trusted lieutenant and manager for men ambitious in political affairs, or in the service of his country as a soldier, or engaged in the tasks of a lawmaker, or directing the re-unions of lawmakers and historical societies, or devoting his time and energies to the collection of historical material on behalf of the State—he was always broad-minded, liberal spirited and prepared to do his full duty as he saw it in whatever relation he was placed.

Burlington Hawk-Eye, March 10, 1908:

Personally he was a lovable, kindly man, and a tireless worker. His monument will be the Historical Department, which was founded on a small but valuable collection which

perhaps because of his knowledge of the beginnings in the State, he could see more than a passing show. It was, too, largely through his personal relations with the big men of the early days of the State that he secured from them much valuable historical material. Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, John A. Kasson and Gen. W. T. Sherman were among those who assisted Mr. Aldrich in some of his most important work. Mr. Aldrich has been very methodical in his work, so that those who come after him in the continuation of it will have little difficulty in picking up the story of Iowa's development where he has let fall the pen.

Cedar Rapids Daily Republican, March 12, 1908:

The tributes which have been paid to the life and services of the late Charles Aldrich, the Curator of the Iowa Historical Department, have all fallen short of the measure of his deserts. Mr. Aldrich was a country newspaper man when he began to interest himself in the collection of autographs and historical documents. He began at a time when such work was wholly neglected in Iowa. In the course of a few years he had gathered enough materials at his own expense to fill a few cases. After overcoming some objections he received permission to put these cases in the State Library. They began to attract attention, being one of the main features of that Library. In due time Mr. Aldrich dared to ask for small appropriations to aid in his work. They were at first either not granted or granted grudgingly and meagerly. He had to fight his way at every step against the "conservatism" of the lawmaker, many of whom sneered at the "trash" that Mr. Aldrich was gathering. But he persisted, often heartsore and weary.

But he succeeded more and more and finally the legislature was induced to rear a building to house his "trash," a building second only to the State Capitol building in magnificence. Large as it is, it will hardly house all the things that he has brought together and started for the people of Iowa. Historical material of every description is now collected and preserved and in the future years that building will be the great Historical State-House.

Mr. Aldrich lived long enough to see his great dreams accomplished realities. The last years of his long, useful and gentle life were blessed with the consciousness of things accomplished and the gratitude of the State was poured out upon him. Mr. Aldrich was also one of the grand old men of the State, a man whose name will live in the archives of Iowa. He has laid an historical foundation for the future which is priceless in value. The gentleness and the persistency of Mr. Aldrich will be missed in the Historical Department, but he has left his work where others can carry it forward.

Des Moines Capital, March 9, 1908:

Said the prophet of old, "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season." And the imagery seems to typify the long, useful and fully matured life which terminated at Boone yesterday morning.

It is no mere rhetorical exaggeration or a strained attempt at eulogy to say that the years will eventually demonstrate that the usefulness of Charles Aldrich was unsurpassed by any citizen Iowa ever produced. He was intense in his loyalty to his State. The success of Iowa people and the growth of Iowa institutions was to him ever a matter of deep personal gratification. It was that he might render some service of permanent value to the people and the State which he loved that inspired the thought of building a State Historical Building within which the records of the commonwealth might be preserved and which should be a sort of Mecca to all who desired to obtain historical information not only of Iowa and western people but of the important phases of our national history as well.

In carrying forward his great work the path of Mr. Aldrich was not always strewn with roses. Frequently discouraging obstacles appeared. Legislators were indifferent. Statesmen dodged. Politicians hesitated for fear that votes might be jeopardized.

But the faithful old man kept toiling on. His prophetic eye could see a time coming when the State would be ready to praise an achievement for which now there was so small encouragement.

It will always be a source of gratification to Mr. Aldrich's friends to remember that his life was spared long after the State had reached the point where it was ready to acknowledge its lasting obligations.

The modest collection of historical records and relics from which the present magnificent collection developed was the gift of Mr. Aldrich. For many years he labored for the upbuilding of the enterprise without pay. By and by he saw the ambition of his life realized. The State Historical Building is to-day admittedly the finest structure owned by the State, and no Iowan will ever enter its doors without thinking gratefully of Charles Aldrich.

Our news columns give in more elaborate detail the story of Charles Aldrich's life. It was many-sided but always useful. He was a soldier, a legislator, a journalist, a naturalist, and a historian. We shall not soon look upon his like again.

Register and Leader (Des Moines), March 10, 1908:

A Monument to Aldrich.—In a sense the State Historical Building stands as a monument to the life work of Mr. Aldrich. But the State should do something in a more intimate way to honor his labors. He planned the Historical Department and in the main he created it.

But few have appreciated the tireless industry with which he has worked to form the nucleus of a great historical collection. The portrait gallery alone is invaluable. Likewise the rare manuscripts he has accumulated, the newspaper files, and the no less rare volumes of the pioneer period of the west.

Mr. Aldrich received but little compensation during his life. His salary was small and many of his rarest treasures he collected at his own expense and gave to the State. Iowa should not allow this great work to go unrecognized. A bronze or granite statue should greet the visitor at the entrance of the Historical Building.

Daily Gate City (Keokuk), March 11, 1908:

Iowa newspapers, as is proper, abound in appreciations of the late Hon. Charles Aldrich. Some of the tributes are very fine, but it is a question if any of them exceed in expressiveness what the late Sam Clark once said when referring to

the fact that Mr. Aldrich had given to the State of Iowa the collection of historical records and relics which formed the basis of the present magnificent collection. Mr. Clark said that Aldrich had not only given his valuable possessions to the State, but, what was infinitely more valuable, he had given himself. Therein was Mr. Aldrich's greatest gift, and for it he deserves praise above all things else.

Nevada Representative, March 18, 1908:

The late Charles Aldrich of Iowa was a man who was an honor to the citizenship of Iowa. He was a different sort of a man from any other man that we ever knew. We had heard of him for years but we first came to know him about the time that the act of the General Assembly was passed creating the Historical Department of the State. We remember that it was in the room of the Hon. T. C. McCall, then senator from Story, that we first met him, and the subject then under discussion was the bill which was then pending and the passage of which opened up for him what was really his life work. This was in the mid-winter of 1892, when Mr. Aldrich was already a few years past 60 years of age and when many a man would assume that he was ready to quit. But a very casual review of his work since that time is sufficient to show that the previous forty years or more of his active life had in fact been merely preparatory to the work upon which he was about to enter. We are sure, therefore, that the years during which we knew Mr. Aldrich and learned to love him with increasing respect and affection were his best years and the ones by which he would wish to be and will be remembered. * * *

It was some time before we knew Mr. Aldrich that there came to our attention his proposal to give to the State certain correspondence of historical value if the State would furnish filing cases in which to take care of it. The proposal commended itself to the approval of men who were in position to act, and the necessary appropriation of a few hundred dollars was made. We thought at the moment that it was quite an appropriation for filing cases, but when some months later we first looked through the cases and the correspondence in the State Library we began to understand. This was some-

thing like twenty years ago; but nevertheless when the proposal was made to enlarge this collection into an "Historical Department," of course with Mr. Aldrich in charge—for there was absolutely no one else in the State who could have been thought of for the place—we wondered what an Historical Department could be like.

But he got his department, and years following we would go down once in a while into the southeast basement rooms of the State Capitol, and occasionally take friends down there, and Mr. Aldrich would always show us around and tell us a lot we ought to know; and we would delight in the collection and in his stories and would wish that he might live forever; for we did not know what would become of the Historical Department without him—and we do not know yet. But gradually we came to understand that Mr. Aldrich was doing the work for which he had been preparing through all the years of his earlier and middle life, and that the work was worth the preparation and the toil. And the little appreciation we could give was only illustrative of what all others who came near him and his department were compelled to give; and so gradually the public men of the State came to feel that whatever else the State might or might not have money for, that Historical Department must have better and more suitable accommodations. So the appropriation was made for the first wing of a new Library and Historical Building. The State only secured lot enough for the one wing; but the owners of adjacent property understood that condemnation proceedings might be looked for sometime, and they did not put up any fine buildings. But the wing went up; and we remember being there when the corner stone was laid. It was, we think, in the summer of 1899, and John A. Kasson we think made the address, while Harlan and Allison and many other men then living who had been prominent in making Iowa history were on the platform; but Mr. Aldrich, who simply did things without making speeches about them, was the happiest man there and was the real hero of the occasion.

And the years that followed for him were happy years.

His heart was in his work, and few were the men in or out of public life in Iowa who were not glad to respond to his requests; and he gathered a splendid historical library, and historical records, and portraits of men distinguished in Iowa history; and all his work was done without thought of any selfish ambition, but that the history of Iowa might be written and gathered and preserved, while yet the men and women should be living who could tell the story. And so he published the *Annals of Iowa*, in which are preserved so much that might otherwise be lost sight of; and the valuable fact is that the material is accessible to the antiquarian and the investigator not merely now, but will be later when the difficulty of getting historical information is vastly increased; and all this has come about because Charles Aldrich knew about Iowa and appreciated what should be done and had the unselfish spirit that made him do the work and enabled him to command the necessary support. Toward the very end of his time the State bought the adjacent ground and put up the rest of the Historical and Library Building and Hall of Archives; but this achievement Mr. Aldrich lived only to see barely completed and not to be enjoyed; but its erection by the State was the final seal of approval by the State upon his splendid work, and it was a seal that was given in his lifetime.

Iowa has had many great and useful and worthy public men; and many there have been who have had their little day of glory such as Mr. Aldrich never had; but few there are that have done so much for the State as he has done, and none there are who have been more sincerely loved and honored nor whose works will better and longer endure.

Daily Freeman-Tribune (Webster City), March 9, 1908:

When Mr. Aldrich set up his modest little printing office in this city and began to proclaim republican principles with that courage and tenacity which have marked his whole life, the village had only about 200 inhabitants, and the county was democratic. The new editor was not only a vigorous writer, but an organizer as well and with the fire of enthusiasm burning in him, and the energy and tact to meet pioneer

conditions, he soon had a strong following and his office became the political headquarters of this part of the State.

* * * * *

In the death of Mr. Aldrich the birds and dumb animals lose one of the best and strongest friends they ever had. His versatile pen was ever ready to take up their battles and he did as much as any man in Iowa to create proper sentiments for the care and treatment of all animals and birds.

But Mr. Aldrich's crowning monument is the founding of the Historical Department of Iowa. The great building recently completed in Des Moines for this department will stand as a tribute to his unselfish devotion and energetic persistence, for without him the Historical Department would not exist. He began the collection of autographs when a mere boy, and as he grew in the knowledge of the world and into wider opportunities for obtaining interesting and instructive specimens, he acquired a reputation as a collector, and by the time he and his wife suggested its presentation to the State, it had become very interesting and quite valuable. * * *

Mr. Aldrich took a deep interest in the monument to the victims of the Spirit Lake Indian massacre of 1857, which was built in 1894, by a legislative appropriation. He caused to be placed a tablet in the Hamilton County court house to the memory of the rescue company that went to the relief of the settlement, and he gathered the data and prepared the inscriptions that are on the monument, including the names of all the members of that historic band of pioneers.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

" * * When he [Mr. Aldrich] closed his desk, for the last time, there were within it manuscripts * * * some editorial and much material undeveloped or in outline. * * * It will be the purpose of the writer, who has been appointed Acting Curator * * * to continue the form of the journal identical with that preceding the death of Mr. Aldrich, and make use of such material * * *. If any deviation shall be made it will be in the number closing the volume [which may] include all * * * communications * * * incident to Mr. Aldrich's death.*

EDGAR R. HANSEN."

(Annals of Iowa, Third Series, Vol. 8, P. 385.)

Honored with the implicit confidence of Charles Aldrich, one loved him as a man and acquired an inspiration from his work. Official associates could not so judiciously compose a valedictory upon his labors as may those who bore with him no other burdens. Of the hosts of volunteers remaining by his side the last few years, none stood more closely than Doctor Frank I. Herriott, to whose appreciation yields the Notable Deaths feature and other customary editorial matter in this number. Nothing could more fitly close the volume.—E. R. H.

CHARLES ALDRICH.

Much has been said—and fittingly said—of what Charles Aldrich accomplished. His services to his fellows as an editor, soldier, statesman, and especially as the Conservator of Iowa's history elicited, during his life and on his death, the plaudits of men of light and leading in our Commonwealth. As the years increase the worth of his work will be appreciated more and more, and the greater will be his meed. To those, however, who enjoyed more than a passing acquaintance with Mr. Aldrich what he achieved, the records or results of his work remaining, while noteworthy as the world measures success are minor or secondary in their memory. His deeds and successes were merely indices to the character of the man that men attracted them.



Marble Bust of Mr. Aldrich in State Historical Building.
From the Studio of Messrs. Pugi, Florence, Italy

So many men of vasty reputations shrink and shrivel on close acquaintance. In the rounds and stress of the matter-of-fact they are discovered to be inadequate, contracted, mean, petty; fuss and fustian, hypocrisy and pretense constitutes so much of the groundwork of their lives and reputations; and familiarity breeds contempt. Such was not the case with Charles Aldrich. He had, like all the descendants of the recreant Adam, his eccentricities and shortcomings, his faults and his foibles, but these in the main were defects of his virtues, phases of his strength. Those who knew him best, especially those who saw him in the harness, particularly those who worked with him—not on dress parade when the applause of the forum and the market place makes men gracious and considerate but in the dull grey days when the prosaic tasks of life's routine with the pull and tug of petty trials and the grit of aggravations try patience and test metal—such familiars held him in esteem. More, respect and affection compassed their admiration of the man.

The public realized in some measure the results of his activities; but outside the circle of his close friends and acquaintances few appreciated the charm and force of his personality. The nature of his influence was now and then partially apprehended when a stroke from his pen would stir the public mind and anon men in high places would move in harmony with his wishes and later the agencies and machinery of the government would operate in the accomplishment of his day dreams and sanguine hopes. But the public saw comparatively little of the man. He was not much in evidence. He was seldom or never found at the crossroads disputing with men and none heard him shrieking his sentiments from the housetops. He hardly ever was seen among the "front benchers." He could not or would not attempt to make "speeches." And in the last ten years of his life—the period of the fruition of his hopes—he seemed to shrink from public demonstration—a practice not uncommon with the select souls who conceive large projects and secure their realization.

Of the great Corsican a saying goes: "Napoleon was not a man—he was a system." Persons not intimately acquainted

with Charles Aldrich, contemplating the tangible results of his work and the honors that came to him e'er his frail body was taken on its last journey will naturally conclude that he, too, was some sort of a "system" rather than a man, which, glacier-like, moved forward in the accomplishment of his designs with inscrutable, relentless, all-compelling force.

On our capitol hill stands a beautiful and stately structure. Within its spacious halls and vaults the people's archives and the large and increasing treasures of our State's history are now safe-guarded against moth and rust and reckless loss. Such ample, not to say, splendid provision for the preservation of the historic lore and public records of the Commonwealth are not forthcoming simply on the suggestion and the mere asking. Legislators, when first appealed to for funds, are wont to be indifferent or reluctant. It requires earnest, systematic effort and concentration of decided public interest upon the guardians of the people's purse in order to secure their favor and support. Usually there is considerable evidence of a "literary bureau" and not infrequently signs of the existence of what both profane and pious persons call a "machine" or "organization" whereby popular interest is

generated and aggressive public opinion is manufactured, assembled and co-ordinated so as to be efficient, that is coercive.

The creator of the great Historical Collections of Wisconsin, Lyman C. Draper, labored and garnered at Madison from 1852 to 1887 with irrepressible ardor. When he began he had an interstate reputation as a collector of precious manuscripts; he had back of him constantly a large and influential Historical Society of scholars and citizens "all gentlemen of prominence throughout the State"; he had also the hearty collateral support of the administrative and instructional staff and Alumni of a great University; from the beginning the legislature of Wisconsin "looked kindly on the undertaking" and with a "few notable exceptions" harmony prevailed; with cellars, stack rooms, cubby holes, and garrets bursting with his precious accumulations he began in 1881 a systematic campaign for a suitable separate building; he had the "unanimous support of the newspaper editors"—yet his bill wrecked amidst "complications"; he resigned in 1887 and on August


26, 1891, he died, "his great ambition unattained, his Carcassonne unreachd"; and in 1894 his distinguished successor declared that "the most immediate need of the Society is a new, commodious, fire-proof building—"and that plans were then maturing for securing legislative appropriation for its construction. It was not until 1900 that the Historical Society of Wisconsin found itself in its present magnificent quarters.

Strange indeed the contrast in the career of Charles Aldrich. It was not until 1884 that he offered his Collections of Autographs, mementos and valuable papers to the trustees of the State Library of Iowa, on condition that they should be adequately cared for. Although accepted the care given was insufficient and in order to prevent the failure of his design and the loss of his precious collections he was obliged in 1888 to come to Des Moines to look after them personally "for no one else would do the work," which meanwhile he had carried on at considerable personal expense. When Mr. Aldrich undertook the practical work he had no celebrity among scholars; his reputation was confined by the borders of the State. He had no learned society or university at his back and enthusiastically supporting and furthering his plans. His old friends and fellow workers of the press gave him kindly support but the people at large, while perhaps friendly after a vague fashion, were not energetic promoters of his project. In truth, indifference was the most conspicuous fact he encountered. Nevertheless, after he took actual hold, developments were steady and rapid. In 1888 Gov. William Larabee demonstrated his personal interest and official favor and the legislature made an appropriation of \$500 per annum for the upkeep of the collection. In 1890 Gov. Horace Boies gave it another lift and \$1,500 per annum for two years was granted for its exhibition and enlargement. Finally in 1892 his plans were substantially recognized; special quarters in the basement of the Capitol and an annual appropriation of \$6,000 were given, and provision made for the first time for his salary and for clerical help. In 1896, the legislature admitted that a separate building was needed for his collections and

\$25,000 was appropriated for the purchase of a site and architectural plans. Increased provision was made in 1898 and on May 17, 1899, surrounded by the notables of the State, many of them statesmen of fame in the nation, the recipient of the congratulations of friends and universal good-will, Charles Aldrich witnessed the laying of the corner-stone of the present Historical Building, and from March, 1900, to the day of his death he had the supreme satisfaction of doing his work within its walls, wherein the public appropriately did their last honors to his mortal remains on March 11, 1908. The conclusion that the late Curator was of the Napoleonic type would seem to follow.

Charles Aldrich, however, was not a Napoleon. He was neither a "system" nor a domineering person; nor did he possess, nor did he strive to exercise, any fell influence over men's minds. He was a man, fashioned in the common mould; but a man surcharged with an intense vitality, whence his light and energy. He was a veritable dynamo that generated currents of high potential which flashed forth ideas that secured attention and energized his fellows into action. Senator Harlan, as early as 1858, discovered that Charles Aldrich was a "potent citizen." Although small of stature and slender in structure he was in the prime of his powers, a tireless worker. Mentally he was more than ordinarily alert and acute. He had a ready and tenacious memory and an incisive, picturesque, racy style of expression that caused his utterances to be widely quoted.

In the heyday of his journalistic career, from 1857 to 1880, he was a vigorous fighter for any measure he espoused and especially for any friend or champion he supported. His opposition to the county judge system from 1858 to 1860, his advocacy of anti-pass legislation in 1882 and his promotion of the political careers of Governors James W. Grimes and Cyrus C. Carpenter was downright and outright and efficacious. He took his coat off and did the field work that determines the fate of men and measures in politics. He fought hard and in the clash of conflict his pen would often cut to the quick, sometimes with a slashing stroke. Friends and opponents knew exactly what to expect. But while he was ardent and



generous on behalf of his friends and gave his opponents no peace until victory was assured or the fates decreed otherwise, he was not malevolent. He had a long memory for personal injuries; but he never let malice prompt him to do injury even to those who had done him a wrong. In those years of journalistic life he made the hosts of friends and gained the respect and good-will of editors and political leaders who inform the public and more or less create public opinion which controls legislative action. Herein was the main secret of his later success. He had the working confidence of the public who controlled the State's affairs.

In carrying on his campaign for popular and legislative support for the Historical collections he developed no "system." Friends and enemies were not listed on a card index nor was a credit and debit account carefully kept. There was no "literary bureau" that regularly sent out "literature" and "personal letters" in mimeograph and stereotype, designed to arouse friends and enlist new supporters. They were not systematically coddled or placated by the various modes of showing distinguished consideration. He delighted to give visitors and friends souvenirs of the work he or the Historical Department was doing; but it was a spontaneous expression of a generous nature, often indicated in a naive, childlike fashion. He wrote here and there as circumstances suggested. He was always on the alert to enlist friends for his work. He never went any place, nor met any one, but the alpha and omega of his conversation was the welfare of the Historical Department and its collections. It was his happiness and his method to urge the public, rich and poor, all and sundry, to visit the Library and Portrait Gallery and Museum and personally to act the part of guide and demonstrator, for he knew that once the nature of the work he had so much at heart was realized, public interest would soon provide adequate support. But it was Charles Aldrich himself who spoke to them—not a bureau or system or machine.

When the legislature was in session he hardly ever concentrated any forces upon the members of that body. His old friends and co-workers in the Pioneer Lawmakers' Associa-

tion, constituted his only flying squadron, and indeed they were virtually his only organized troops—but their sessions once in two years seldom lasted more than two days. He spoke to as many members as he could, but he wasted little time seeking after all of them. He dealt chiefly with the leaders who could influence the result decisively. And in this particular Charles Aldrich was a master craftsman in the lobby. He had a keen eye for strategic points. He knew whom to see and especially whom to avoid. He knew what to say and what not to say. He was earnest, adroit, direct and courteous. The vigor and vivacity of his speech gained easily the right of way for his plea and won recruits. No sharp practice, no dubious diplomacy into which men in the eager pursuit of legislative support are so much tempted to engage that entail ghosts and ugly complications that rise later to plague, characterized his course of procedure. He gained his points usually by direct frontal attacks; and it is little short of astonishing that he secured his results with no resort to the minor maneuvers of the lobby on which most men so commonly depend. But those who recall his resistance to political assessments and his discharge of assistants or employes despite the adverse influence of high potentialities of party politics and his employment of one who became his most trusted assistant in the face of a possible collision with the chief executive himself know that his courage and nerve were staunch.

It will be difficult for those who saw and knew casually the frail figure of Mr. Aldrich during the last ten years of his life, his delicate frame racked by frequent paroxysms of bronchial affliction, to realize that he was a master of tactics and strategy long before he achieved his last great triumph. His career had been one long training in diplomacy and procedure in dealing with public bodies. He had four times been Clerk of the House of Representatives of the State from 1860 to 1870. When the land titles of the pioneers in the upper reaches of the Des Moines valley were controverted and ouster was the fate of the settlers, Mr. Aldrich was one of those sent to Washington to examine into and secure their equities; and he was probably the chief factor in securing the passage of

the remedial act of Congress, approved March 3, 1873. President Grant signified appreciation of his services by appointing him upon the National Commission of three, created to make a further investigation of the perplexing issues. In 1877 he was employed by the Illinois Central railroad in a task that indicated the high estimate placed upon his ability and address by great Captains of Industry. The iron clad provisions of the Iowa law governing railroad traffic rates known as "the Granger Law" had become a grievous obstacle to railroads. Retrogression had set in and ruin was imminent, if it and like laws in other States were not liberalized. Mr. Aldrich was asked to go east and arouse a sentiment for such modification. His visits to New York, Boston and other eastern centers were so successful that he exceeded all expectations of those employing him and soon had even the "prairies on fire" in the west. He had hardly returned to Iowa when he was called east again at the request of friends of Dr. Wm. A. Hammond, Surgeon General of the army during the civil war, whose career, on a collision with the irascible, autocratic Stanton, had been summarily closed by court-martial and dismissal from the service. Mr. Aldrich was asked to take sole charge of a bill restoring him to his rank and honors. Again he scored in 1878 a distinguished success. His last great success in creating the Historical Department and securing a library building for it, was not, therefore, an accident, nor a stroke of luck, nor a matter merely of plotting and persistence. It was the achievement of a man with a good cause who rapidly won men over to his support by the vigor of his appeal and the avoidance of faulty procedure.

Mr. Aldrich was both a strategist and tactician of high order. He knew that he could do but little in legislative halls unless public opinion was back of him; and much of his effort was expended in creating a state of mind favorable to his plans. Here again his method was direct personal work. He contributed largely to the pages of his old friends of the press in various parts of the State, especially in Burlington, and Sioux City, Des Moines and Webster City. For the most part his contributions were unsigned, going as the work of

the editors or of their staff. He dealt usually with some matter of local historical or scientific interest. His editorial experience trained his eye for what was timely and interesting and his articles were most acceptable and with few exceptions were widely quoted. He did not "harp" on the Historical Department. If he mentioned his work it was in such a way as to arouse interest in his collections and a desire to see their usefulness enlarged. Few men of note in the State were doing good work or passed from the stage of action but Mr. Aldrich would commemorate their work with an interview full of interesting recollections. His practice of anonymous writing was due alike to design and modesty. He knew that editors liked to get his articles for they enhanced the attractiveness of their pages and he thereby increased their personal interest in his own particular work and further he knew that too much publicity that smacks of self-exploitation is detrimental. Moreover, he had pleasure in watching the effect of his stray darts shot thus silently into the air. In his immediate dealings with men, Mr. Aldrich was an interesting complex of affability and force, reserve and timidity. He was gracious with strangers visiting the Department and genial and confiding with his friends. He was generous to a fault with his time with youth, curious about his treasures, pouring out interesting anecdotes and information that fascinated his young auditors.

He never cajoled people but he sometimes captured them by a vehement onslaught that took them off their feet. One day a stranger came into his office and asked as to the value of an Indian ax he had in possession. It attracted Mr. Aldrich who at once turned his batteries on the owner. "Why don't you donate that ax to the Historical Department? This is the proper place for such relics." The man demurred. "But you ought to leave it here, Sir," rejoined the Curator and thereupon the visitor received a lecture upon the duty of a citizen to promote the general welfare. The difficulty of safe-keeping in private houses, the indifference and negligence of heirs and assigns and the greater usefulness of valuable mementos in a museum were energetically demonstrated.



With his body tingling with nervous force and his blue gray eye ablaze he wound up with a downright "You must leave it here, Sir." The visitor's face was an interesting study. Surprise was in his countenance but no resentment and he seriously responded, "Well, perhaps it would be more sensible to do as you say." There was no arrogance nor impertinent presumption in Mr. Aldrich's manner. He was dead in earnest and he made you feel that he was acting from a sense of duty in the capacity of a public servant and not as a grasping selfish collector seeking personal aggrandizement.

One of the most conspicuous traits of Mr. Aldrich's many sided character was his intense love of old time friends, and those friends, who were legion, included birds and dumb creatures no less than men. His much quoted obituary notice of the death of his cat, his successful advocacy of a law for the protection of song birds, his delight in the songs and domestic debates and difficulties of the wrens that nested in the south front of his home at Boone bespoke a nature keenly sensitive to the beauties and finest melodies of nature. It was his greatest delight to commemorate his associates in editorial, legislative and political life. To give praise justly due, particularly to give a record to one whom oblivion seemed prone to obscure and especially to recover for a friend popular esteem of which calumny or misapprehension had deprived him was his supreme pleasure. As he would think of his articles or of those he had secured in which the good deeds and characters of Rev. John Johns and Thomas Drummond, of Governors Grimes and Carpenter were extolled, and the good names of Col. W. T. Shaw, General J. G. Lauman and General Geo. W. Jones were defended against unjust tricks of fate, his features would become luminous with pleasure.—F. I. H.

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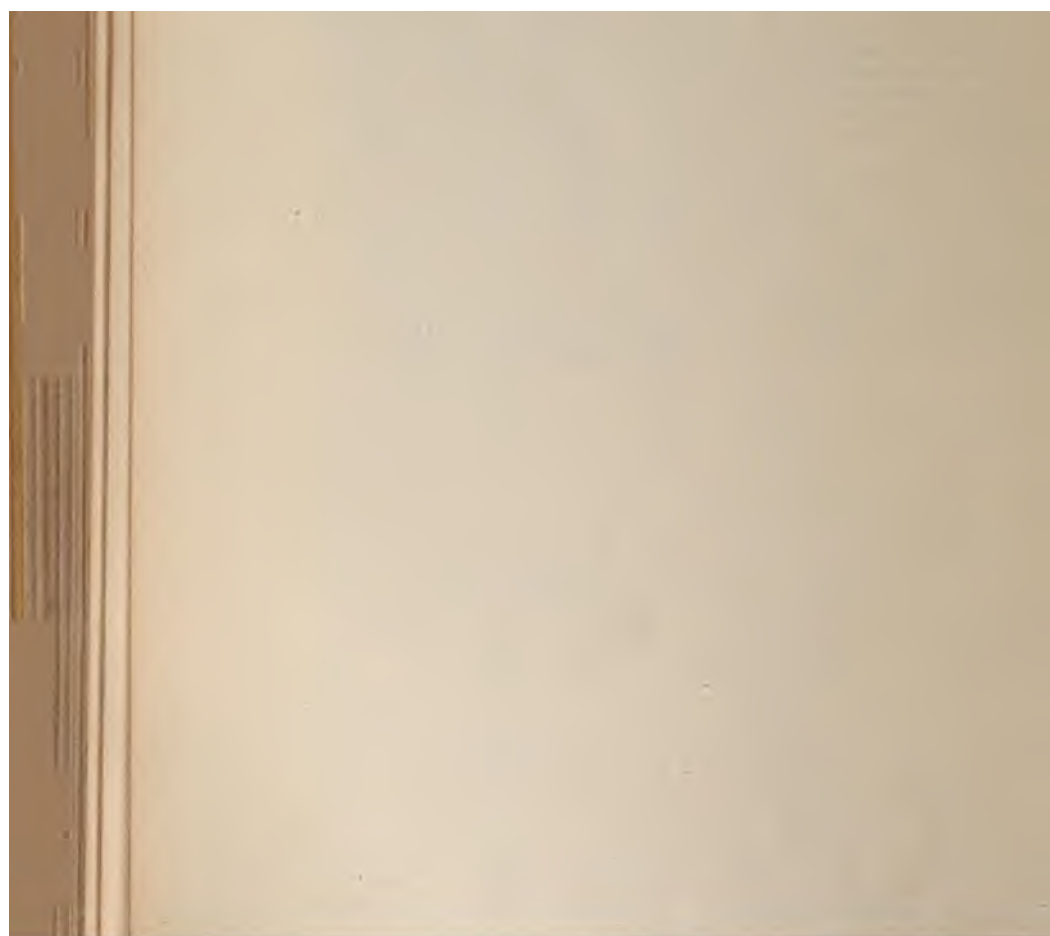
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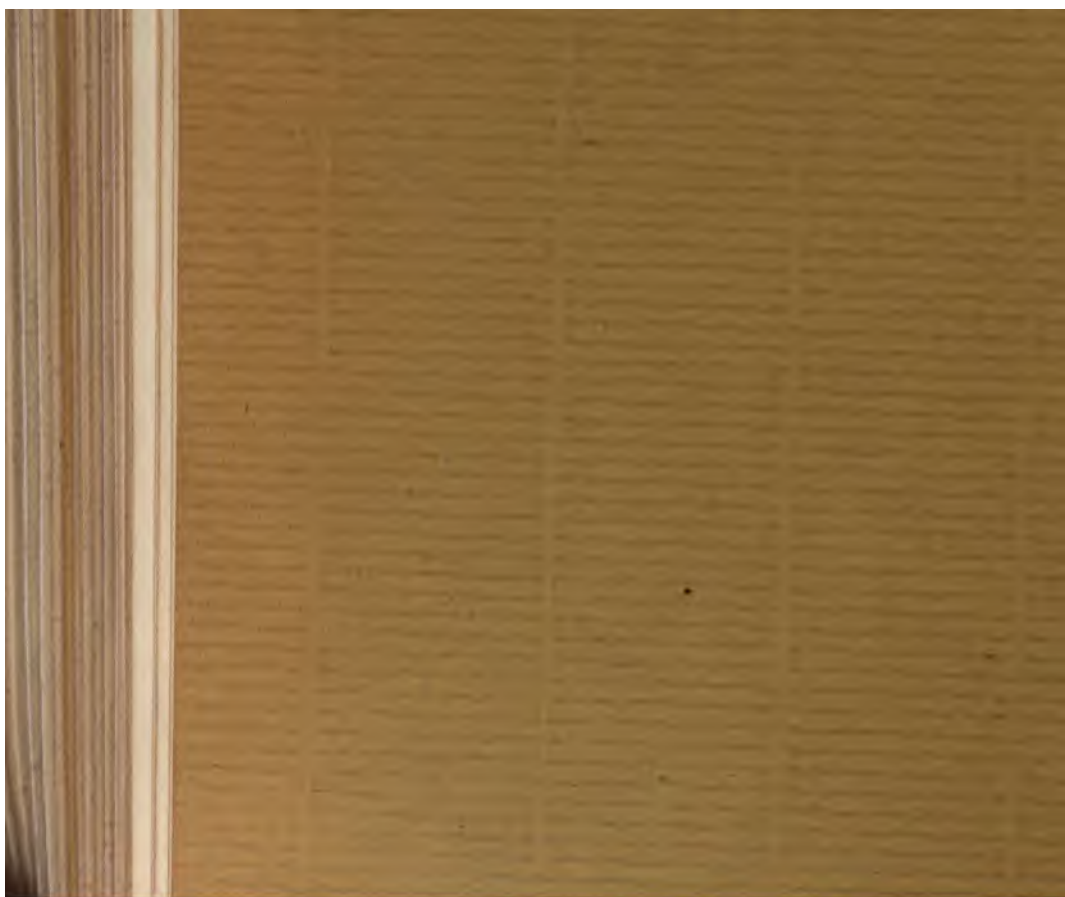
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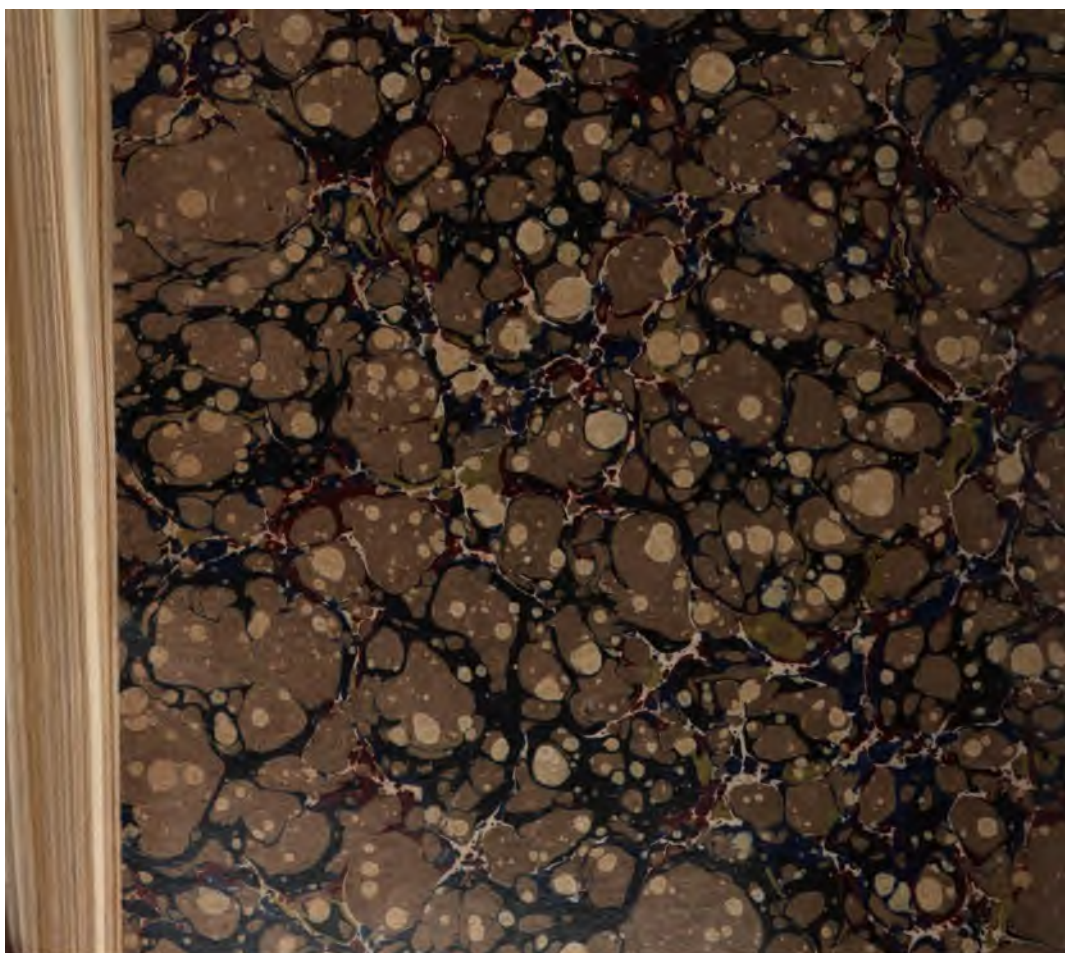












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